



To the PRINCE.

S: F: R:

Having ended this taske of Observations, and according to your gratioues pleasure & command, supplied such parts as were wanting to make vp the Totall of these Commentaries: it doth return again, by the lowest steps of humblenesse, to implore the high patronage of your Princely fauour; Emboldened specially because it carieth Cæsar and his Fortunes, as they come related from the same Author: which, in the deepe Iudgement of his most excellent Maiesty, is preferd aboue all other profane histories; and so, commended, by his sacred Authoritie, to your reading, as a cheefe paterne and Maister-peece of the Art of warre. And herein, your admired wisedome, may happely the rather deeme it capable of freer paſſage, in that it is not altogether vnproper for these happie dayes; as knowing, that Warre is neuer

ΒΑΣΙΛΙ-
ΚΟΝ ΔΩ-
ΠΟΝ.

so well handled, as when it is made an Argument of discourse in times of sweete and plentious peace. The blessings whereof, may euer crowne your yeares; as the soueraigne good of this temporarie life, and the chiefest Orna- ments of Princely condition.

The humblest

of your Highnesse seruants,

4 DE 65

CLEMENT EDMONDSES.



*In Clementis Edmondi de re militari ad Iul. Caesaris Com-
mentarios Observaciones.*

C Vr creperos motus, & aperto pralia Marte
Edmondus nobis pace vigente refert?
Cur sensu mensaque Ducum rimatur, & effert?
Diferetque Anglos bellica multa docet?
Scilicet, ut media medietur pralia pace,
Anglia bellipotens, nec moriarur honos.
Pronidus hac certe patrie depromit in usus,
Vt patrie pacem qui cupit, arma parat.

Guil. Camdenus, Cl.

To my friend, Maister Clement Edmonds.

Who thus extracts, with more then Chymique Art,
The spirit of Bookes, shewes the true way to finde
Th' Elixer that our leaden Parts conuert
Into the golden Metall of the Minde.
Who thus obserues in such materiall kinde
The certaine Motions of hie Practises,
Knowes on what Center th' Actions of Mankinde
Turne in their course, and fees their fatalnes.
And hee that can make these obseruances,
Must be aboue his Booke, more then his Pen,
For, wee maybe affurd, hee men can gheffe,
That thus doth *CÆSAR* knowe; the Man of men,
Whose Work, improv'd here to our greater gaine,
Makes *CÆSAR* more then *CÆSAR* to containe.

Sam. Daniell.

To his worthy friend, Maister Clement Edmonds.

O bseruing well what Thou haft well Obseru'd
In *CÆSARS* Worke, his Warres, and Discipline;
Whether His Pen hath earn'd more Praife, or Thine,
My shalow Censur doubtlessly hath swerv'd.
If strange it were, if wonder it deferv'd,
That what *He* wrought so faire, *Hee* wrote so fine:
Me thinkes, it's stranger, that *Thy* learned Line
Should our best Leaders lead, not hauing *swerd*.
But hereby (*Clement*) haft Thou made thee knowne
Able to counsaile, aptest to recordre
The Conquests of a *CÆSAR*, of our owne;
HENRY, thy Patron, and my Princely Lord.
Whom (*O*) Heav'n prosper, and protect from harmes,
In glorious Peace, and in victorious Armes,

IOSVAN SYLVESTER.

TO MY FRIEND, MAISTER
CLEMENT EDMONDIES.

Epigramme.

Not Cesars deedes; Nor all his honors wonne
In these West-parts; Nor, when that warre was done,
The name of Pompey for an Enemie;
Cae to boote; Rome, and her libertie;
All yeelding to his fortune: Nor, the while,
To haue ingrav'd these Acts with his owne stile;
And that: so strong, and deepe, as might be thought:
He wrote with the same spirit that hee fought:
Nor that his Worke liv'd, in the hands of foes,
Vn-argu'd then: and (yet) hath fame from those;
Not all these, Edmonde, or what else, put to
Can speake Cesar, as thy Labors doo.
For, where his person liv'd (carle one iust age,
And that: mis-entny and Parts: then, self by rage;
His deedes too dying, saue in bookees: (whose good
How few haue read! how fewre vnderstood!)
Thy learned hand, and true Promethean Art,
As by a new creation, part by part,
In eruer councell, stratageme, designe,
Action, or Engine, worth a note of thine,
T' all future time, not only doth restore
His Life: but makes, that hee can dy no more.

Ben. Jonson.

Another, of the same.

Who, Edmondes, reads thy booke, and doth not see
What th'antique Souldiers were, the moderne be?
Wherein thou shew'st, how much the latter are
Beholden, to this Maister of the Warre:
And that, in Action, there is nothing new,
More then to varie what our Elders knew.
Which all, but ignorant Captaines, will confess:
Nor to give Cesar this, makes ours the lesse:
Yet thou, perhaps, shalt meete some tongues, will grutch
That to the world thou shouldest reueale so much;
And, thence, deprave thee, and thy Worke: To those
Cesar stands vp, as from his vrne late role
By thy great Art; and doth proclaime, by mee,
They murder himagine, that enuie thee.

4. DE 65

Ben. Jonson.

READING AND DISCOURSE
are requisite, to make a Souldier perfect in the Arte
Militarie, how great soever his knowledge may be, which
long experience, and much practice of
Armes hath gained.



HEN I consider the weaknes of mans judgement, in censuring things, be it knowne vnto it selfe, and the easynesse of his discourse, in discouering the nature of vnaquainted objects; choosing rather to hold any fable, then a true report, which custome hath by long practice imbrayred, then to hearken to some other more reasonable perswasion: I do not marvel, that such Souldiers, whose knowledge groweth onely by experience, and consisteth in the rules of their owne practice, are hardly perswaded, that histories and speculative learning, are of any vse in perfecting of their Arte, being so different in nature from the principles of their cunning, and of so small affinity with the life of action; where the vse of Armes and atchievements of war, seeme to haue their chiefe being. But those purer spirits, embellished with learning, and enriched with the knowledge of other mens fortunes (wherein varietie of accidents, affordeth varietie of institutions, and the mutuall conference of things happened, begetteth both similitudes and differences; contrarie natures, but yet loyntly concurring to season our judgement with discretion, and to enstall wisedome in the government of the mind) These men, I say, mounting aloft with the wings of contemplation, doe easily discouer the ignorance of such Martiallites, as are only trained vp in the Schoole of practice, and taught their rudiments vnder a fewe yeeres experience, which leueth to interpret no other author, but it selfe, nor can approoue his Maximes, but by his owne authoritie; and are rather moued to pitie their hard fortune, hauing learned onely to be ignorant, then to enuie their skill in matter of warre, when they oppose them selues against so manie. A i. Which

Which proposition, that I may the better confirme, giue me leaue to reauen a little of the grounds of learning, and dispute from the habitude of Artes and Sciences; which are then said to be perfectly attained, when their particular parts are in such sort apprehended, that from the varietie of that individuallitie, the intellectuall power frameth general notions and maximes of rule, vnitting reaumes of the same nature in one head, and distinguishing diversities by differences of properties, aptly dividing the whole body into his greatest and smallest branches, and fitting each part with his descriptions, duties, cautions, and exceptions. For, vntill the vnderstanding be in this sort qualified, and able by logisticall discourse, to ascend, by way of composition, from singularity to catholike conception; and returne againe the same way, to the lowest order of his partitions, the mind cannot bee saide to haue the perfection of that Arte, nor instructed in the true vse of that knowledge: but guiding her selfe by some broken preceptes, feeleth more want by that shee hath not, then benefit by that she hath.

Wherby it followeth, that a Science diuided into many branches, & consisting in the multiplicite of diuers members, being all so interessed in the Bulk, that a Maime of the smallest part, causeth either debilitie or deformitie in the bodie, cannot be said to be throughly attained, nor conceiuied with such a profiting apprehension as steeleth the mind with true judgement, and maketh the Scholler, Maitler in his Arte, vntill the nature of these particularities bee first had and obtained.

And forasmuch as no one Science or faculty whatsoeuer, in multitude and pluralite of parts, may anie way be comparable to the Arte Militarie, wherein every small and vnrespected circumstance, quite altereth the nature of the action, and breedeth such disparitie and difference, that the resemblance of their equall participating properties, is blemished with the dissimilitude of their disagreeing parts; it cannot bee denied, but hee that is acquainted with most of these particular occurrences, and best knoweth the varietie of chances in the course of warre, must needs be thought a more perfect souldier, and deserueth a title of greater dignitie in the profession of Armes, then such as content themselves with a fewe common precepts and ouer-worne rules: without which, as they cannot be said at all to be souldiers; so with them and no more, they no way deserue the name of skilfull and perfect men of war. Now whether meere experience, or experience ioyned with reading and discourse, doe feaste the minde with more varietie and choice of matter, or chertaine knowledge with greater plentie of nouelties, incident to expeditiions and vse of Armes, I will vnother reason to determine of this question, then that which Franciscus Patricius alledgedh in his Parallely, where he handleth this argument which I intreat of.

He that followeth a warre (faith he) doth see either the course of the whole, or but a part only. If his knowledge extend no farther then a part, he hath learned lesse then he that saw the whole: but admit he hath seene and learned the instructions of one whole warre, he hath notwithstanding learned lesse then he that hath seene the proceeding of two such warres. And hee againe hath not seene

seene so much as another that hath serued in three severall warres: and so by degrees, a souldier that hath serued tenne yeeres, must needs knowe more then one that hath not serued so long. And to conclude, hee that hath received 22 yeeres stypend (which was the iust time of iurcye amogst the Romans before a Souldier could be dismissed) hath greater meanes of experience then another, that hath not so long a time followed the Campe, and cannot challenge a discharge by order and custome. And hence it consequently followeth, that if in one, or more, or all these warres, there haue happened few or no actions of service, which might teach a souldier the practice of Armes; that then his learning doth not counteruaile his labor. And if the war through the negligence, or ignorance of the chiefe Commanders, haue bin ill caried, he can boast of no knowledge, but that which acquainted him with the corruptions of Militarie discipline: if the part which he followed, were defeated and ouerthronwe, hee knoweth by experience how to lose, but not how to gaine. And therefore it is not only experience and practice which maketh a souldier worthy of his name, but the knowledge of the manifold accidents which rise from the varietie of humane actions; wherein reason and error, like Marchants in traffick, enterchange contrary events of Fortune, giuing sometime copper for siluer, and balm for poysone, and repaying againe the like commoditie as time and circumstances doe answere their directions. And this knowledge is onely to be learned in the registers of Antiquite and in histories, recording the motions of former ages.

Caius Iulius Cæsar (whose actions are the subiect of these discourses) after his famous victories in France, and that he had gotten the Province of Spaine, broken the strength of the Romaine Empire at Pharsalia, was held a souldier surmounting enuie and all her exceptions: and yet notwithstanding all this, the battell he had with Pharnaces, king of Pontus, was like to haue buried the glorie of his former conquests, in the dishonourable memorie of a wilfull overthrow: for, hauing possest himselfe of a hill of great aduantage, he beganne to encampe himselfe in the toppe thereof. Whiche Pharnaces perceiving (being lodged likewise with his Camp vpon a Mountaine confronting the Romaines) imbatelled his enemy, marched down from his camp into the valley, and mounted his forces vp the hill, where the Romans were busied about their intrenchments, to giue them battell. All which, Cæsar tooke but for a brauado: and measuring the enemy by himselfe, could not be persuaded that any such foolehardines could carry men headlong into so dangerous an aduenture, vntill they were come so neare, that he had scarce any time to call the legions from their wode, and to giue order for the battell. Whiche so amazed the Romaines, that vnfesse, as Cæsar himselfe faith, the aduantage of the place, and the benignitie of the Gods had greatly fauoured them, Pharnaces had at that time reuenged the overthrowe of Pompey & the Senat, and restored the Romaine Empire to liberty. Which may learne vs how necessary it is (besides experience, which is infinite) to perfect our knowledge with varietie of chances; and to meditate vpon the effects of other mens aduentures, that their harrhes may be our warings, and their happy proceedings our fortunate directions.

And albeit amongst so many decades of History, which pregnant wits haue preferred

presented to these later ages, we seldom or never meet with any one accident which jumpeth in all points with another of the like nature, that shall happen to fall but in managing a warre, or fettling forth of an Armie; and so doe seeme to reape little benefit by that wee read, and make small vse of our great trauell: Yet we must understand, that in the Audit of Reason, there are many offices, which through the soueraigne power of the discursive facultie, recue great commodities, by whatsoeuer falleth vnder their jurisdiction, and suffer no action to passe without due triall of his nature, and examination of his state; that so the judgement may not be defrauded of her renewes, nor the mind of her learning. For notwithstanding disagreeing circumstancies, and differences of formes, which seeme to cut-off the priuilege of imitation, and frustrate the knowledge we haue obtained by reading: the intellectuall facultie hath authorite to examine the vse, and looke into the inconueniences of these wants and diuersties, and by the helpe of reason, to turne it to her aduantage; or so to counterpoise the defect, that in triall and execution, it shall not appearre any disadvantage. For, as in all other Sciences, and namely, in Geometry, of certainte bare elements, and common sentences, which send admitteth to the apprehension, the powers of the soule frame admirable Theoremes and Problemes of infinite vse, proceeding with certaintie of demonstration, from proposition to proposition, and from conclusion to conclusion, and still make new wonders as they goe, besides the strangenesse of their Architecture, that vpon such plaine and easie foundations, they should ere such curios and beautiful buildings: so in the Arte Military, the examples, which are taken from histories, are but plaine kind of principles, on which the mind worketh to her best aduantage, and vseth reason with such dexteritie, that of inequalities, shew concludeth an equalitie, and of diffimilitudes most sweete resemblances; and so she worketh out her owne perfection by discourse, and in tyme groweth so absolute in knowledge, that her sufficiencie needeth no further directions. But as Lomazzo the Milines, in that excellent worke which hee wrot of picturing, faith of a skilfull Painter; that beeinge to draw a portraiture of gracefull lineaments, will never stand to take the symmetry by scale, nor marke it out according to rule: but hauing his iudgement habituated by knowledge, and perfected with the varietie of shapes and proportions; his knowledge guideth his eye, and his eye directeth his hand, and his hand followeth both, with such facilitie of cunning, that each of them serue for a rule wherby the true measures of Nature are exactly expressed: The like may I say of a skilfull Souldier, or any Artizan in his facultie, when knowledge hath once purified his judgement, and tuned it to the key of true apprehension.

And although there are many that will easilly admit a reconciliation of this disagreement, in the resemblance of accidents being referred to the arbitrement of a well tempered spirit; yet they will by no means acknowledge, that those monstrous & inimitable examples of valour & magnanimity (wherof antiquity is prodigall, & spendeth as though time should never want such treasure) can any way auaille the maners of these daies, which if they were as they ought to be, wold appeare but counterfeit to the lustre of a golden age, nor yet comparable

ble to siluer or brasse, or the strength of yron, but deserue no better title then earth or clay, wherof the frame of this age consisteth. For, what resemblance (say they) is between the customs of our times, & the actions of those ancient Heroes? They obserued equity as well in war as in peace: for, vertue rather flourished by the naturall disposition of men, then by lawe and authoritie; the tenure of their Empire was, valour in war, and concorde in peace; the greatest treasure which they esteemed, were the deedes of Armes which they had achiued for their country, adorning the temples of their gods with pietie, and their priuate houses with glory, pardoning rather then prosecuting a wrong, and taking nothing from the vanquished but ability of dooing injury: But the course of our times hath another bias; for, couetousnes hath subuerted both faith and equity, and our valour affecteth nothing but ambition, pride and cruelty, tyrannize in our thoughts, and subtily teacheth vs to carrie rather a faire countenance, then a good nature; our meanes of getting are by fraud & extortion, and our manner of spending is by waste and prodigalitie; nor esteeming what we haue of our owne, but coveting that which is not ours; men effeminated & women impudent, vsing riches as seruants to wickednes, and preuenting Natures appetite with wanton luxurie; supplanting vertue with treachery, & vsing vicyry with such impietie, as though *injuriam facere, were imperio vti*: and therfore the exemplary patterns of former times wherin true honour is expressid, may serueto be gazed vpon, but no way to be imitated by this age, being too subtile to deale with honesty, and wanting courage to encounter valour. I must needs confess, that he that compareth the historie of Luike with that of Guichardine, shall find great difference in the subiects which they handle; for, Luike triumpheth in the conquests of vertue, and in every page erecteth trophies vnto valour, making his discourse like Cleanthes table, wherein vertue is described in her entire Maiestie, and so sweetned with the prefence & seruice of the Graces, that all they which behold her are rapt with admiration of her excellency, and charmed with the loue of her perfection: but Guichardine hath more then Theseus taske to perform, being to winde through the labyrinths of subtily, and discouer the quaint practices of polititianise wherein publicke & open desaignes are oftentimes but shadows of more secret projects, and these againe serue as foilesto more eminent intentions; being also discoloured with dissimulation, and so insnared in the sleights of subtilitie, that when you look for war, you shall find peace; and expecting peace, you shall fall into troubles, dissensions and wars: So crabbed and crooked is his argument in respect of Luiies fortune, and such art is required to vnfolde the truth of these mysteries.

But to answere this obiection in a word, and so to proceed to that which followeth, I say those immortall memories of vertue which former time recordeth, are more necessarily to be known, then any stratagems of subtler ages: for, equitie and valour being truely apprehended, so seafon the motions of the soule, that albeit in so corrupt a course, they cannot peraduenture stir vp imitation; yet they oftentimes hinder many malicious practices, and diuinely deuises, when euill is reproved by the knowledge of good, and condemned by the autho-

authority of better ages. And if we will needs follow those steppes which the present course of the world hath traced, and plaie the Cretian with the Cretian; this obiection hindereth nothing, but that historie, especially these of later times, affordeth sufficient instructions to make a Souldier perfect in that point.

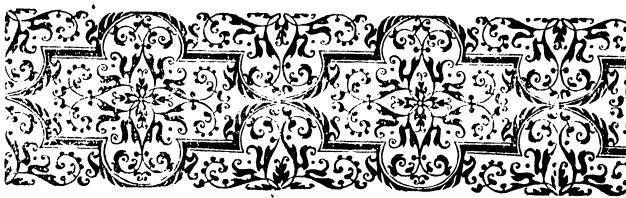
Let not therefore any man despise the sound instructions which learning affordeth, nor refuse the helpe that history doth offer to perfect the weaknes of a short experiance; especially when no worth can counteruaile the waight of so great a businesse: for, I take the office of a chiefe Commander, to be a subiect capable of the greatest widsome that may be apprehended by naturall meanes; being to manage a multitude of disagreeing mindes, as a fit instrument to execute a desaigne of much consequence and great expectation, and to qualifie both their affections and apprehensions according to the accidents which rise in the course of his directions; besides the true judgement, which he ought to haue of such circumstances as are most important to a fortunate end: wherein our prouidence cannot haue enough eyther from learning or experiance, to prevent disadvantage, or to take holde of opportunities. Neither can it be denied, but as this knowledge addeth perfection to our judgement, so it serueth also as a spur to glory, and increaseth the desire of honour in such as beholde the atchivements of vertue, commended to a perpetuall posteritie, hauing them selues the like meanes to consecrate their memory to succeeding ages, wherein they may serue for examples of valour, and reap the reward of true honour. Or to conclude, if we thirt after the knowledge of our owne fortune, & long to foresee the end of that race which wee haue taken, which is the chiefe matter of consequence in the vse of Arms; what better conjecture can be made, then to looke into the course of former times, which haue proceeded from like beginnings, and were continued with like meanes, and therefore not unlikely to sort vnto like ends?

And now if it be demanded whether reading or practice haue the first place in this Art, and serueth as a foundation to the rest of the building? Let Marius answer this question: who enuying at the nobilitie of Rome, saith thus; *Qui postquam consules facti sunt, atra Maiorum & Graecorum militaria praecepta legere cuperint: homines propositi, nam legere quam fieri, tempore posterius, re & vnu prius est.* Whereas (saith he) reading ought to go before practice (although it follow it in course of time; for, their is no reading, but of some thing practised before,) these preposterous men, after they are made Consuls and placed at the helme of government, begin to read, when they shoulde practice that which they had read; and so bewray their insufficiencie of knowledge, by vsing out of time that, which in time is most necessarie. This testimonie gaue Marius of reading & book-learning, being himselfe an enemy to the same, forasmuch as al his knowledge came by meere experiance. But how soever his judgement was good in this poynct: for, since that all motion and action proceedeth from the soule, and cannot well be produced, vntill the Idea thereof be first imprinted in the minde, according to which patterne the outward being and sensible relliance is dueley fashioned; how is it possible that any action can be well exprefed,

fed, when the minde is not directed by knowledge to dispose it in that sort, as shall best agree with the occurrents of such natures, as are necessarily interest both in the means and in the end thereof? And therfore speculative knowledge as the Tramontane, to direct the course of all practice, is first to bee respected.

But that I may not seeme partiall in this controuersie, but carrie an equal hand betwene two so necessarie yoak-fellowes, giue me leaue to conclude in a word, the benefite of practice, and define the good which commeth from experiance; that so nothing that hath beene spoken may seeme to come from affection, or proceed from the forge of vniuit partiality. And first it cannot bee denied, but that practice giueth boldnesse and assurance in action, and maketh me expert in such things they take in hand: for, no man can rest vpon such certaintie, through the theorike of knowledge, as he that hath leene his learning verified by practice, and acknowledged by the testimonie of assured proofe: besides, there are many other accomplements gotten onely by practice, which grace the presence of knowledge, and giue credit to that which we haue read as fit to learn the vse & aduantage of the Arms which we beare; secondly, by frequent alpe & familiarity of dangers, and accidents of terror, to learne to feare nothing but dishonour, to make no difference betweene heatte and colde, sommer and winter, to slepe in all places as on a bed, and at the same timo to take pains & suffer penury, with many other difficulties which custome maketh easie, and cannot be gotten but by vse and practice.

And thus at length, I haue brought a shallow discourse to an abrupt end, wifling with greater zeale of affection then I am able with manifest proofe of reason, to demonstraue the necessarie, that both these parts were by our soldiers so regarded, that neither practice might march in obiane blindnesse without learned knowledge; nor this againe be entertained with an idle apprehension without practice: but that both of them may be respected, as necessarie partes to make a compleat nature; wherin knowledge as the intellectuall part giueth life and spirit to the action, and practice as the materiall substance maketh it of a feasible being, and like a skilfull workman exprefeth the excellency, which knowledge hath fore-conceiued: wifling no man to despaine of effecting that by practice, which the Theorike of knowledge commendeth. For, *Cur desperare nunc posse fieri, quod iam toties factum est?*



THE SVMME OF THE FIRST
BOOKE OF CÆSARS COMMENTARIES;
WITH OBSERVATIONS UPON THE
same, discouering the excellencie of
Cæsars Militia.

THE ARGUMENT.

N this first booke, are contained the specialities of two great warres, begun and ended both in a Summer: the first, between Cæsar & the Heluetij; the second, between him & Ariouistus, king of the Germans. The history of the Heluetians, may be reduced to three principall heads: vnder the first, are the reasons that moued the Heluetians to entercaine so desperate an expedition, & the preparation which they made for the same. The second, containeth their defeat by Cæsar: and the third, their returne into their Country. That of Ariouistus, diuideth it selfe into two parts: the first giueth the causes that induced Cæsar to vndertake that war: the second, intreateth of the war it selfe, and particularly describeth Ariouistus ouerthrow.

Switchers.

CHAP. I.

Gallia described: the Heluetians dislike their natiuē
seate, and proouond to themselues larger territories in
the Continent of Gallia. Orgetorix feedeth
this humour, for his owne ad-
vantage.



ALLIA is all diuided into three parts; vwhereof the Belges do inhabite one, the Aquitanes another, & those which they call Celtes, & we, Galles, a third: all these do differ each from other in maners, language, & in lawes. The riuier Garun doth separate the Galles from the Aquitanis, and Marne & Seine doe bound them from the Belges: of these the Belges are most warlike, as furthest off the civilitie & politure of the Province, & lesse frequented with Merchants, or acquainted with such things as are by the imported to effeminate mens minds: as likewise being fisted next to the Germans beyond the Rhene, with whō they haue continuall wars. For which cause also the Heluetians

Matrona.
Sequana.

B.

doe

doe excell the rest of the Galles in deeds of Armes, being in daily conflicts with the Germanies, for defence of their owne territories, or by invading theirs. The part inhabited by the Galles, beginneth at the riuier Rhone, and is bounded with Garun, the Ocean, and the confines of the Belges; and reaching also to the Rhene, as a Linet from the Sequans & Heluetians, it stretcheth northward. The Belges take their beginning at the extreme confines of Gallia, and inhabit the Country which lieth along the lower part of the Rhene, trindling to the North, and to the East. Aquitania spreadeth it self between the riuier Garun & the Pyrenean hills, and butteth upon the Spanish Ocean, between the West and the North.

Amongst the Heluetians, Orgetorix did far exceed all others, both for noble descent and store of treasure: & when M. Messala and M. Piso were Consuls, being stirred up with the desire of a kingdom, he mooued the Nobilitie to a commotion, persuading the State to goe out of their confines with their whole pouer: as an easie matter for them, that excelled all other in valour & proweſs, to ſeize upon the Empire of all Gallia. To which he did the rather perwade them, for that the Heluetians were on every ſide ſbut up, by the ſtrength & nature of the place vwherein they dwelt; on the one ſide, with the depth and breadth of the riuier Rhene, which diuideth their Country fro the Germanies; on the other ſide, with the high ridge of the hill Iura, which runneth between them & the Sequans: & on the third part, they were flanked with the lake Lemanus, & the riuier Rhone, parting their territories from our Province.

Hence it happened, that being thus ſtraightened, they could not easily enlarge themſlues, or make war upon the bordering Countries: and thereupon, beeing men wholy bent to Armes and war, were much grieved, as hauing too little elbow-roome for their multitude of people, and the renoune they had got of their valor; their whole country containing but 211 miles in length, & 180 in breadth. Spurred on with these inducments, and mooued ſpecially with the authority of Orgetorix, they refouled to make prouision of ſuch things as were requisite for their expedition; bought great number of Carrs, and horses, for carriages; ſowed much tillage, that they might haue plentie of Corne in their tourney; made peace and amity with the confining Countries. For the perfiting and ſupply of which things, they tooke 2 years to be ſufficient; and in the third, enaſted their ſetting forward by a ſolemne Law, aſſigning Orgetorix to give order for that which remained.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

 E that will examine this expedition of the Heluetians, by the transmigrations and ſittings of other Nations, ſhall find ſome vnxampted particularities in the course of their proceeding: for, firſt it hath neuer beeene heard, that any people vterly abandoned that Country which Nature or prouidence had allotted them, vñleſſ they were driven therunto by a general calamity, as the infection of the aire, the cruelty & opprefſion of a neighbor nation, as were the Sueuians, who thought it great honor to ſuffer no man to border vpon their confines; or ſome

ſome other vniuersall, which made the place inhabitable, and the people willing to undertake a voluntarie exile. But oftentimes we read, that when the inhabitants of a Country were ſo multiplied, that the place was ouer-charged with multitudes of offspring; and like a poore father, had more children then it was able to ſustaine, the abounding ſurplus was ſent out to ſeek new fortunes in forraine Countries, and to poſſeſſe themſlues of a reſting ſeate; which might recompence the wants of their native Country, with a plentious revenue of neceſſary ſupplements. And in this ſort, wee read that Rome ſent out many Colonies into diuers parts of her Empire. And in this manner the ancient Galles diuined themſlues of their ſuperfluicie, and ſent them into Asia. The Gothes came from the Ilands of the Balticke ſea, & in Sulla his time, swarmed ouer Germanie: besides many other Nations, whose tranmigrations are particularly deſcribed by Lazio. But amongt all theſe, we find none that ſo forſooke their Country, but there remained ſome behind to inhabit the ſame; from whence, as from a fountain, ſucceeding ages might derive the ſtreame of that ouer-flowing multitude, and by them take notice of the cauſes, which mooued them vnto it. For, their manner was in all ſuch expeditiōns, and ſending out of Colonies, to diuide themſlues into two or three parts, equall both in equalitie and number: for, after they had parted their common people into euēn companies, they diuided their Nobility with as great equalitie as they could, among the former partitions: & then caſting lots, that part which went out to ſeek new aduentures, left their lands & poſſeſſions to the rest that remained at home; and ſo by induſtric, they ſupplied that defect which conuiance of time had drawne vpon them. And this was the meaneſs, which the firſt inhabitants of the earth found out after the flood, to people the vnhabited places, and to keepe off the inconueniences of ſcarcitie and famine.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



E that would prognosticate by the course of theſe ſeuerall proceedings, whether of the two betokened better ſuccesse, hath greater reaſon to foretell happiness to theſe which I laſt ſpake of, then to the Heluetians; vñleſſ their valour were the greater, and quitted all diſſiculties which hatred and enuie would caſt vpon them: for, an action which ſauoureth of neceſſitie (which was alwaies underſtood in ſending out a Colonie) hath a more plauible paſport amongt men, then that which proceedeth from a proud voluntarie motion. For, as men can bee content to tolerate the one, if it concerne not their particular; ſo on the other ſide, they count it gaine to puniſh pride with shame, and to oppole themſlues againſt the other.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

 Rgetorix, thirsting after princely dignitie, discouereth the humour of vaine-glorie. For, not contented with the substance of honour, beeing alreadie of greatest power amongst the Heluetians, & ordering the affaires of the State by his owne direction, thought it nothing without the marks and title of dignitie, vnto which the inconueniences of Maiestie are annexed: not considering that the best honor, fitteth not alwaies in imperiall thrones, nor weareth the Diadems of Princes; but oftentimes resteth it selfe in meaner places, and shineth better with obscurer titles.

For proose whereof, to omit antiquitie, take the familie of the Medices in Florence, and particularlie, Cosimo and Lorenzo, whose vertue raised them to that height of honour, that they were nothing inferiour to the greatest Potentates of their time, beeing themselves but private Gentlemen in that State, and bearing their proper names as their greatest titles. But howsoever; the opportunitie of changing their soile, was well obserued by Orgetorix, as the firtst meane to attempt an innovation: but the successe depended much vpon the fortunate proceeding of their expedition.

For, as a multitude of that nature, can bee content to attribute a great parte of their happiness, wherein every man thinketh himselfe particularly interest, to an eminent Leader; & in that vnuerfall extasie of ioy, will easilie admit an alteration of their State: so, if the issue be in any respce & vnfornunate, no man will acknowledge himselfe faultie; but, euery one desirous to discharge his passion vpon some object, a chiefe director is likeliest to be the mark, at which the darts of their discontent will be throwne; and then he will find it hard to effect what he intendeth.

CHAP. II.

Orgetorix practices are discouered: his death. The Heluetians continue the resolution of their expedition, and prepare themselves accordingly.

 Rgetorix, thereupon, undertooke imployement to the adioyning States; and first perswaded Casticus, the sonne of Catamantides, a Sequan (vvhose father had for many yeeres reigned in that place, and was by the Senate and people of Rome, stiled with the title of a Friend) to possesse himselfe of the Signorie of that State which his Father formerly injoyed: and in like manner, dealt with Dumnorix the Heduan, Diuitiacus brother (who at that time was the onely man of that Province, & verie well beloued of

the

COMMENTARIES, LIB. I.

5.

the Commons) to indeauour the like there; and vntill, gave him his daughter in mariage: shewing them by liuely reaons, that it was an easie matter to effect their deaignes; for that he being sure of the soueraintie of his State, there was no doubt but the Heluetians would doe much throughout all Gallia, and so made no question to settle them in those kingdome, with his power and forces. Drawne on with these inducements, they gane faith and oath each to other, hoping vwith the support of the soueraintie of three mightie Nations, to possesse themselves of all Gallia.

This thing beeing discouered, the Heluetians (according to their customes) caused Orgetorix to answe the matter in Durance: whose punishment vpon the Attaint, was to be burned aliue. Against the day of triall, Orgetorix had got together all his Family, to the number of ten thousand men, besides diuers followers, and others far indebted, which were many; by whose meanes he escaped a iudicall hearing. The people, thereupon, being much incensed, agreed, the Magistrate shoulde execute their lawes with force of Armes, and to that end, shoulde raise the Country: but in the meane time, Orgetorix was found dead, not without suspicion (as was conceiued) that he himselfe was guilty thereof.

Notwithstanding his death, the Heluetians did pursue their former designe of leauing their Country: and when they thought themselves readie prepared, they set fire on all their Townes (which were in number 12) together with four hundred Villages, besides private houses, and burnt likewise all the Corne, saue that they caried with them; that al hope of returne being taken away, they might be the readier to undergoe all hazard: And comanded that every man should carie so much Meale with him, as would serue for thre Months.

Moreover also, they perswaded the Rauraci, the Tulingi and Latobrigi, their neighbour borderers, that putting on the same resolution, they would set fire on all their habitations, and goe along with them. And likewise tooke unto them the Boij, which had dwelt beyond the Rheine, but were now seated in the Territories of the Norici, and had taken the capitall towne of that Countrey. There were only two waies which gave them passage out of their Country: the one through the Sequans, very narrow and difficult, betweene the Hill Iara, & the Riuere Rhone, by which a single Cart could scarce passe; and had a high hill hanging ouer, that a small force might easily hinder them. The other, was through our Province, farre easier and readier; forasmuch as the riuere Rhone, running betweene the Heluetians and the * Allobroges (vvhose were lately brought in obedi-
ence to the people of Rome) did give passage in diuers places by Forordes.

* Sauoyens.

The vtmost towne belonging to the Allobroges, that bordereth vpon the Heluetians, is Geneua; whereunto adioyneth a bridge leading to the Heluetians; vvhose doubted not but to perswade the Allobroges (that seemed as yet to carie no great affection to the people of Rome) or at least, to force them to give them passage. Things beeing now ready for their journey, they assigned a day vwhen all should meeke together vpon the banks of Rhone: vvhich day was the first of the Calends of Aprill, in the Consulship of Lu. Piso, and A. Gabinius.

O B S E R V A T I O N .



These prouisoers were all requisite; so one thing was omitted, which might haue furthered their good fortune more then any thing thought of: which was, to haue concealed by all meanes the time of their departure. For, all the beasts of the wood must needs stand at gaze, when such Lions roused themselues out of their dennes; and be then very watchfull of their safetie when they knew the instant of time, when some of their spoiles must needs bee offered to appease their furie. Or at the least, it behoued them so to haue dealt by hostages and treatie, that such as were likeliest, and best able to crosse their deaignements, might haue beene no hinderance of their proceedings: considering there were but two waies out of their Countrey by which they might goe; the one narrow and difficult, betwene the hill Iura and the riuere Rhone, by the Countrey of the Sequani: the other through Prouence, far easier and shorter, but not to be taken but by the permission of the Romaines. But how-so-ever; their errour was, that after two yeres prouision to goe, and hauing made an exterminating decree which injoyed them to goe, when they came to the point, they knew not what way to goe.

C H A P . III .

Cæsar denieth the Heluetians passage through the Romane Prouince: he fortifieth the passage betwene the hill Iura, and the lake of Geneua.



Soone as Cæsar was aduertised, that their purpose was to passe thorough our Prouince, he hasted to leaue the * Cittie, & passing by great iourneys into the further Gallia, he came to Geneua. And inrolling great forces throughout all the Prouince, for that there was but one legion in those parts, he brake downe the bridge at Geneua.

The Heluetians, hauing intelligence of Cæsars arrivall, they sent diuers of the best of their Nobility, Embassadours unto him, whereof Numesus & Veredotius were the chiefe; to give him notice, that they had a purpose to passe peaceably through the Prouince, hauing no other way to goe: & therein to pray his suffrage and permission.

Cæsar, well rememburing how Lu. Cæsius the Consull was slaine, his Armie beaten, and the souldiers put under theyoke, did not hold it conuenient to grant their request. Neither did hee thinke that men so ill affected, could forbear to offer wrongs & insolencies, if leaue were giuen them as was required. Howbeit, for the better gaining of time, and getting such forces together as were caused

10

C O M M E N T A R I E S , L I B . I .

7.

to be inrolled, he answered the Commissioners that he would take a time of deliberation; and to that end, willed them to retorne againe by the Ides of Aprill. And, in the meane time, with that legion he had ready, and the souldiers that came out of the Prouince, he made a ditch, and a wall of sixteene foot in height, from the lake Lemanus, which runneth into the Rhone, to the hill Iura, that diuideth the Sequans from the Heluetians, beeing in length nineteen miles; and disposed gaurisons and fortresses along the worke, the better to impeach them, if happily they went about to breake out by force.

At the day appointed, when the Embassadours returned, for a resolution, he utterly denied to giue any leaue to passe through the Prouince; hauing neither custome nor president from the people of Rome, to warrant him in that kind. And if they should endeauour it by force of Armes, he would oppugne them.

T H E F I R S T O B S E R V A T I O N .



His manner of prolonging of time, to renforce the troupes or get some other aduantage, as it was then of great vle to Cæsar, and hath oftentimes been practized to good purpose; so doth it discouer to a circumspect enemy, by the directions in the meane time (which cannot easily be shadowed) the drift of that delay; and so inviteth him wth greater courage, to take the opportunitie of that present aduantage; especially if tract of time may strengthen the one, and not further the other: which is easily discerned by the circumstances of the action.

T H E S E C O N D O B S E R V A T I O N .



His request of the Heluetians seemed to deserue a facile answer; being in effect no more then Nature had giuen to the riuere Rhone: which was to passe through the Prouince, with as much speed & as little hurt as they could. But Cæsar, looking further into the matter, and comparing things already past, with occurrences that were to follow after, found the maiestie of the Romane Empire to be interessed in the answer; beeing either to maintaine her greatness, by resisting her enemies, or to degenerate from ancient vertue, by gratifying such as fought her ruine: which in in matter of State, are things of great consequence. And further, hee knew it to be an vnsafe course, to suffer an enemy to haue meanes of doing hurt; considering that the nature of man is alwaies prone to loade him with further wrongs whom hee hath once injuried: not but that he could peraduenture be content to end the quarrall vpon that aduantage; but fearing the other, whom he wronged, to expect but an opportunitie of reuenge, he gets what aduantage he can before hand, and so ceaseth not, vntill he haue added a bloody end to an iniurious beginning.

THE

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

Concerning this maruellous fortification, between the hill & the lake, how seruiceable such works were vnto him in all his wars; in what sort, and in how small a time they were made; I will deferre the treatise of them vntill I come to the height of Alesia, where he gaue some ground of that hyperbolical speech: *An me delecto, non animaduertebat is decem habere leet as quidem legiones populum Romanum, quem non solum vobis obfistere sed etiam cælum diruere possent?*

CHAP. III.

The Heluetians, failing to passe the Rhone, take the way through the Countrey of the Sequani. Cæsar hasteth into Italie, and there inrolleth more legions: and returning, ouer-throweth part of them at the riuer Arat.



He Heluetians, frustrated of their former hope, went about, some vwith boats coupled together, others with Flats (wherof they made great store) the rest, by foords and places where the Riuer vvas shallow, sometimes in the day, and often times in the night, to breake out: but beeing beaten back by the helpe of the fortification, and the concourse of souldiers, and multitude of vweapons, they desisted from that attempt.

There was only another way left, through the Sequans, which they could not take, by reason of the narrownesse therof, but by the fauour of the Country. And forasmuch as of themselves they were able to preuaile little therein, they sent Messengers to Dumnorix the Heduian, that by his mediation, they might obtaine so much of the Sequans. Dumnorix, vwhat through fauour and bountious cariage, was of great power in his Country, much affecting the Heluetians, by reason of his mariage with Orgetorixs daughter: & drawne on with a desire of a kingdome, gave his mind to new projectes; labouuring to gratifie many States, to tie them the rather to fauour his courses. And there-upon, undertaking the busynesse, got the Sequans to giue the Heluetians leaue to passe through their Confines; giuing each other Pledges, that the Sequans should not interrupt the Heluetians in their iourney: nor they, offer any iniury to the Country.

It was told Cæsar, that the Heluetians were determined to passe through the Territories of the Sequans and Heduians, on the confines of the Santons, who are not farre from the borders of the Tholefans, a people of the Prouince: which if they did, he foresaw how dangerous it would be, to haue a warlike Nation, and such as were enemies to the people of Rome, to come so neare them; and to haue the aduantage of an open and plentious Country.

For

COMMENTARIES, LIB. I.

9.

For which causes, he left T. Labienus a Legat, to command those works, and he himselfe made great iourneys to get into Italy; vwhere he inrolled two legions, and tooke 3 more out of their wintering Camps, neer about Aquileia: and with these five legions, went the next way ouer the Alps, into the further Gallia. Where, by the way, the Centrons, Garocles, and Caturiges, taking aduantage of the open ground, did seek to keep the Army from passage: but, being beaten and put off by many skirmishes, they came in seauen daies from Ocellum, a towne in the furthest parts of the neerer Prouince, into the confines of the Vocontij, a people of the further Prouince: from whence he led them into the territories of the Allobroges; and so unto the Sabustians, that are the firſt beyond the Rhene, bordering upon the Prouince.

By that time, the Heluetians had caried their forces through the straights, and frontiers of the Sequans, into the Dominions of the Heduans, and began to forrage & pillage their Country. Who, finding themſelues unable to make resistance, ſent Messengers to Cæſar, to require aide; ſhewing their deſerts to be ſuch from time to time of the people of Rome, that might challenge a greater reſpect, then to haue their Country ſpoiled, their children led into captiuitie, their townes aſſaulted and taken, as it were in the ſight of the Romaine Army. At the ſame iſtant likewiſe, the Ambarii, that had dependancy & alliance with the Heduans, aduertified Cæſar, that their Country was utterly wasted, and they ſcarce able to keep the Enemy from entering their townes. In like manner alſo, the Allobroges, that had farmes and poſſeſſions beyond the Rhone, fled direſtly to Cæſar, complayning that there was nothing left them but the ſoile of their Country.

With which aduertisements, Cæſar was ſo mooued, that he thought it not conuenient to linger further, or expect vntill the fortunes of their Allies were all vvaſted, and that the Heluetians were come unto the Zantones. The* riuer Arar, that runneth through the confines of the Heduans and Sequans, into the Rhone, paſſeth away with ſuch a ſilenes, that by view of the eye, it can hardly be diſcerned which way the vwater taketh. This riuer did the Heluetians paſſe ouer, by Flotes, & bridges of boats. When Cæſar vvas aduertified by his Diſconverers, that three parts of their forces were already paſſe the vwater, and that the fourth was left behind on this ſide the riuer; about the third watch of the night he went out of the Camp vwith three legions, and ſurprizing that part which was not as yet gotte ouer the riuer, ſlew a great part of them: the reſt fled into the next woodds.

This part vwas the Tigurine Canton: and the Heluetians beeing all parted in to fourre diuisions, this Canton alone, in the memory of our fathers, ſlew L. Caſſius the Consull, and put his Army under the Yoke. So, whether it were by chaunce, or the prouidence of the Gods, that part of the Heluetian State, which gaue ſo great a blowe to the Romaine people, was the firſt that did penance for the ſame. Wherin, Cæſar tooke reuenge, not onely of the publique, but of his particular losſ; forasmuch as the Tigurines, had in that battell, with Caſſius, ſlaime L. Piso, the Grandfather of L. Piso, his father in law.

* Soane.

Zuricke.

THE

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

 His defeat beeing chiefly a seruice of execution, vpon such as were taken at a dangerous disadvantage, which men call vnaware, containeth these two aduilioes. First, not to neglect that aduantage which Sertorius by the haires of his horse taile hath prooued to bee very important; that beginning with a part, it is a matter of no difficultie to ouercome the whole. Secondly, it may serue for a caueat, so to transport an Armie ouer a water, where the enemie is within a reasonable march, that no part may be so seuered from the bodie of the Armie, that aduantage may thereby be taken to cut them off altogether, and separate them from themselves. The safest and most honourable way, to transport an Armie ouer a riuver, is by a bridge, placing at each end sufficient troopes of horse and foot, to defend the Armie from suddaine assaults, as they passe ouer the water; and thus went Cæsar ouer the Rhene into Germanie, two seuerall times.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

 Concerning the circumstance of time, when Cæsar went out of his Campe, which is noted to be in the third watch, we must understand, that the Romans diuided the whole night into 4. vatches, every watch containing three hours: and these vatches were distinguisched by seuerall notes and sound of Cornets or Trumpets; that by the distinction and diversitie thereof, it might easilly bee knowne what wach was sounded. The charge and office of sounding the watches, belonged to the chiefeſt Centurion of a legion, whom they called Primipilus, or Primus Centurio; at whose pavilion the Trumpetters atteded, to be directed by his houre-glaſſe.

The first watch began alwaies at funne-setting, and continued three hours (I understand such hours as the night contained, beeing diuided into twelve: for, the Romaines diuided their night as well as their day into twelve equal spaces, which they called hours): the ſecond watch continued vntill midnight; and then the third watch began, & contained likewife three hours; the fourth was equal to the reſt, and continued vntill funne-rising. So that by this phrase *de tertia vigilia*, we vnderſtand, that Cæſar went out of his Campe in the third watch; which was after midnight: and ſo we muſt conceiue of the reſt of the watches, as often as we ſhall find them mentioned in historie.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Cæſar paſſeth ouer the riuver Arar: his horſemen incountred with the Heluetians, and were put to the worse.



After this ouerthrowe, he caused a bridge to be made ouer the riuver Arar, and caried ouer his Army, to pursue the reſt of the Heluetian forces. The Heluetians, much daunted at his ſuddaine comming, that had gotte ouer the riuver in one day, which they could ſcarce doe in twentie, ſent Embaſſadours unto him, of whom Dincto was chiefe, that commanded the Heluetians in the warre againſt Cæſſus: who dealt with Cæſar to this effect; That if the people of Rome would make peace with the Heluetians, they would go into any part which Cæſar ſhould appoint them: but, if otherwife he would prosecute warre, that he ſhould remember the ouerthrowe which the people of Rome received by their valour; and not to attribute it to their owne woorth, that they had ſurprized at vnwares a part of their Army, when ſuch as had paſſed the riuver could not come to ſuccour them. They had learned of their fore-fathers, to contend rather by valour, then by craft and deuices; and therefore, let him beware, that the place vwherein they now were, did not get a Name, or carie the marke to all future ages, of an eminent calamity to the people of Rome, & of the utter deſtruction of his Army.

To this, Cæſar answered; That he made the leſſe doubt of the ſuccesse of these businesſes, in that he vwell remembred and knew thofe things, which the Heluetian Commissioners had related: and was ſo much the rather grieved therat, because it happened without any cauſe or defert of the people of Rome; who, if he were guiltie of any wrong done unto them, it were a matter of no difficultie to beware of their practices: but therein was his errore, that he could thinke of nothing which he had committed, that might cauſe him to feare: neither could he feare without occaſion. And, if he would let paſſe former iſolencies, could hee forget thofe late & fresh iuſtices? in that they had attempted to paſſ through the Province by force of Armes, ſacked and pillaged the Heduans, Ambars, & Allobrogians? that did ſo iſolently vaunt of their victorie, admiring that thofe iuſtices were ſuffered ſo long time to reſt unreuenget; came all in the end to one paſſe. For, the immortall Gods were vuent ſometimes to giue happiſſe and long impunitie to men; but by the greater alteration of things, the punishment ſhould be the more grieuous for their offences. Howbeit, if they would giue Hoſtages for the performance of thofe things which were to be agreed vpon, and ſatisfie the Heduans and Allobrogians, together with their Allies, for the iuſtices they had done unto them, he would be content to make peace with them.

Dincto replied, that they were taught by their Anceſtors, to take Hoſtages, rather then to giue them, whereof the people of Rome were witneſſes: and there-

upon

Cæſar.

upon departed. The next day they remoued the Campe, and the like did Cæsar, sending all his horse before, to the number of four thousand (which he had rai-sed in the Province, and drawne from the Heduans, & there Associates) to un-derstand which way the Enemy tooke: who, prosecuting the reare-ward over-boly, were forced to undertake the Heluetian Country, in a place of disadua-nage; and thereby lost some few of their Company.

The Enemy, made proud with that encounter, hauing with fiftie hundred horse beaten so great a multitude, did afterwards make head with more assurance; and sometimes stuck not to fally out of the Rearward, and assault our Partie. Cæsar kept back his men from fighting; and held it enough for the present, to keepe the Enemy from spoiling and harrying the Country: and went on for fifteen daies together, in such manner, as there were but fiftie or sixe miles between the first troopes of our Armie, and the Rearward of theirs.

O B S E R V A T I O N.

His example of the Heluetians, may lesson a Commaunder, not to be wexe insolent vpon every ouer-thowre which the enemy taketh, but duely to weigh the true causes of a victorie gotten, or an ouer-thowre taken; that apprehending the right current of the action, he may neither vaunt of a blind victorie, nor be dismayed at a casuall mishap.

And heerein, let a heedfull wariness so moderate the sequells of victorie in a triumphing spirit, that the care and ialousie to keep still that sweet sounding fame on foote, may as farre surpass the industrie which he first vied to obtaine it, as the continuance of happiness doth exceede the beginning of good fortunes. For, such is the nature of our soule, that although from her infancie, euen to the manhood of her age, she never found want of that which shee lusteth after: yet when shee meeteth with a counterbuffe to check her appetite, and restraine her affections from their satisfaction; shee is as much troubled in that want, as if shee had never receiued any contentment at all: for, our will to euerie obiect which it seeketh after, begetteth alwaies a new appetite: which is not satisfied with a former quittance; but either seeketh present painement, or turneth discontentment vnto the mind.

And, as our soule is of an everlasting beeing, and cannot thinke of an end, to her beginning: so shee seeketh a perpetuall continuance of such things which shee lusteth after: which hee that meaneth to hold Fortune his friend, will endeour to maintaine.

C H A P.

C H A P. VI.

Cæsar sendeth to get the aduantage of a hill, and so to give the Heluetians battell: but was put off by false intelligence. The opportunitie beeing lost, hee intendeth prouision of Corne.



In the meane time, Cæsar pressed the Heduans from day to day to bring in Corne, according to their promise: for, by reason of the cold tempe-rature of Gallia, which lieth to the Northward, it happened not only that the Corne was farre fro beeing ripe; but also, that there was scarce forrage for the horses. And, the prouisions whiche were brought along the riuere Arar, stood him in small feed at that time, forasmuch as the Heluetians had tooke their journey cleane from the Riuere, and that he would by no meanes forsake them.

The Heduans, putting it off from one day to another, gaue out still it was up-on comming. But, when Cæsar found the matter so long delaied, & that the day of meting out Corne to the soldiery was at hand, calling before him the chiefe Princes of the Heduans, of whom he had great numbers in his Campe, and amongst them, Dinitiaceus and Liscus, vwho for that time were the soueraigne Magistrates (vwhich they call Vrgobret, being yeearely created, & hauing power of life & death) he did greatly blame them, that he was not supplied with Corne from them, the Enemy beeing so neere, and in so needfull a time, that it could neither be bought for money, nor had out of the fields: especially, when for their sake, and at their request, he had underooke that warre. Whereat hee was the rather grieved, because he found himselfe forsaken of them.

At length, Liscus, moued with Cæsars speech, discouered (which before hee had kept secret) that there were some of great authority amongst the Commons, and could doe more being priuate persons, then they could do being Magistrates. These, by sedicious and bad speeches, did deser the people from bringing Corne: shewing it better for them, sith they could not attaine to the Empire of Gallia, so to doubt, but if the Romaines vanquished the Heluetians, they woulde bereave the Heduans of their libertie, with the rest of all Gallia. By these men are our deliberations and counsells, or what soever else is done in the Campe, made knowne to the Enemy: neither were they able to keepe them in obedience; but knew well withall, what danger hee fell into, by acquainting Cæsar with these things; which was the cause he had kept them from him so long.

Cæsar, perceived that Dumnorix, Dinitiaceus brother, was shot at by this speech of

Cæsar.

of Liscus: but, forasmuch as hee wold not haue those things handled in the presence of so manie, hee speedilie brake off the Councell, and retaining Liscus, asked priuately after those things whiche he had deliniered in the Assembly; wherunto he spake more freely and boldly then before. And inquiring secretlie of others, he found it to be true, that Dumnorix was of great courage, and singularly fauoured for his liberalitie of the Common people: Desirous of nouelties and changes, and for many yeres, had kept at a lowe rate, the Taxes and impositions of the Heduans, forasmuch as no man durst contradiet what he would haue done. By which course, he had increased his priuate estate, and got great meanees to be liberall: for, a great number of horsemen, did onely liue vpon his entertainment, and were continually about him, beeing not onely poverfull at home, but abroad also, amongst diuers of the neighbour States. And for this cause, had married his Mother to a great Rich man, and of a Noble house, in the Country of the Bituriges; himselfe had tooke a wife of the Heluetians, had matched his sister by his Mother, and others of his kinne, into other States. For that affinitie, hee fauoured and wissled well to the Heluetians: and on the other side, hated the Romaines, and specially Cæsar, of all others; for that by their comming into Gallia, his power was weakened, and Dinitiacus his brother restored to his auncient honour and dignitie. If any miscasualtie happened to the Romaines, his hope was to obtaine the Principalitie by the fauour of the Heluetians: where-as the sueraigntie of the Romaines, made him not onely despaire of the kingdome, but also of the fauour, or what other thing soeuer he now injoyed. And Cæsar had found out by inquierie, that the beginning of the flight, when the Canalrie was routed, came from Dumnorix, and his horsemen: for, hee commannded those troops which the Heduans had sent to aide Cæsar, and out of that disorder, the rest of the Caualrie tooke a fright.

Which things beeing discouered, forasmuch as these suspicions were seconded with matters of certaintie, in that hee had brought the Heluetians through the confines of the Sequans, had caused hostages to be giuen on either side, and done all those things, not onely without warrant from the State, but without acquainting therethere with. And lastly, in that he was accused by the Magistrate of the Heduans, hee thought it cause sufficient for him to punishe him, or to commannd the State to doe iustice vpon him. One thing there was which might seem to oppugne all this; the singular affection of Dinitiacus, his brother, to the people of Rome; the great loue he bare particularly to Cæsar; his loyaltie, iustice & temperancie: and therefore he feared, least his punishment might any way alienate or offend Dinitiacus sincere affection. And therefore, before hee did anie thing, hee called Dinitiacus, and putting aside the ordinarie Interpreters, hee spake to him by M. Valerius Proculus, one of the principlall men of the Prouince of Gallia, his familiar friend, and whom hee specially trusted in matters of importance, and tooke notice what Dumnorix had vitered in his presence, at a Councell of the Galles, shewing also what informations hee had priuately received concerning him: and therefore, by way of aduise, desired, that without any offence to him, either hee himselfe might call him in question, or the State take some course in the same.

Diniti-

Dinitiacus, imbracing Cæsar, with many teares beought him, not to take anie feuer course wth his brother; hee knew vwell that all those things were true, neither was there any man more grieved therat then himselfe. For, wher- as he had credit and reputation, both at home and amongst other States of Gallia, and his brother beeing of small power by reason of his youth, was by his aide and assistance, growne into fauour and authoritie, hee vised those meanees as an aduantage, not onely to weaken his authoritie, but to bring him to ruine: And yet neuerthelesse, he found himselfe ouer-ruled through brotherly affection, and the opinion of the common people. And if Cæsar shold take any strict account of these offences, there was no man but wold thinke, it was done wth his priuicie, considering the place he held in his fauour; vhereupon, would consequently follow, on his behalfe, a generall alienation, and distaste of all Gallia.

As hee uttered these things, with many other words, accompanied wth teares, Cæsar, taking his right hand, comforted him, and desired him to intreat no further: for, such was the respect he had vnto him, that for his sake, and at his request, he forgave both the iniurie done to the Common-wealth, and the displeasure whiche he had iustly conceiued for the same. And therupon, called Dumnorix before him, and in the presence of his brother, shewed him wherein he had deserved much blame and reprofe; told him what he had understood, & what the State complained on; aduised him to awide all occasions of mislike for the future; that which was past, hee had forgiuen him, at Dinitiacus his brothers intreatie. Howbeit, he set espialls upon him, to obserue his courses, that he might be informed what he did, and with whom he conuersed.

The same day, understanding by the Discouerers, that the Enemie was lodged under a Hill, about eight miles from his Campe, he sent some to take a viewe of the Hill, and of the ascent from about the same. Which was found, and accordingly reported vnto him to be very easie. In the third wwatch of the night, hee sent avay T. Labienus the Legat, wth two legions, and those Guides that knew the way; commanding him to possesse himselfe of the toppe of that Hill. Himselfe, about the fourth wwatch, marched on after the Enemie, the same way they had gone, sending all his horsemen before.

P. Causidius, that was held for a great soudier, first, in the Army of L. Sylla, and afterwards wth M. Crassus, was sent before, wth the Discouerers. At the breaking of the day, when Labienus had gotte the toppe of the hill, and himselfe was come within a mile and a halfe of the Heluetian Campe, wthout any notice to the Enemie, either of his or Labienus approach (as was afterwards found by the Captives) Causidius came running as fast as his horse could drue, and told him, that the Hill vwhich Labienus shold haue taken, was held by the Galles, wthch hee perceiued plainelie by the Armes and Ensignes of the Heluetians. Whereupon, Cæsar drew his forces to the next Hill, and imbat- teleed the Armie.

Labienus (according to the directions hee had from Cæsar, not to fight, unlesse hee saw his forces neere the Enemis Campe, that they might both at the same time assault them from diuers parts at once) when he had tooke the Hill, kept his men from battell, expecting our Armie.

At length, when it was farre in the day, Cæsar understood by the Discouerers, that the Hill was possessed by his Party; as also, that the enemy was dislodged, & that Causidius was so astonished with feare, that he reported to have seene that which he saw not. The same day, he followed the Enemy, at the distance hee had formerly vſed, and incamped himselfe three miles from them. The day following, forasmuch as the Army was to be paid in Corne within two daies next after, & that he was but eightene miles distant from Bibrat, a great and opulent City of the Heluanians, hee turned aside from the Heluanians, and made towards Bibrat.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

 He getting of this hill, as a place of aduantage, was maruelous important to the happy successe of the battell: for, the aduantage of the place is not onely noted as an especiall cause of easie victorie, throughout this historie; but in all their warres, from the very cradle of their Empire, it cleared their Armies frō all difficulties, to what extremities soever they were put. The first reason may bee in regard of their Darts & Slings, and especially their Piles; which being a heauy deadly weapon, could not any way bee so availeable, beeing cast countermont or in a plaine Iuell, as when the de: luitie and down, fal of a swelving banke, did naturally lecond to their violent impulsion. Neither can the shocke at handy-blowes bee any thing so furious (which was a point of great respect in their battels) when the souldiers spent their strength in franchising the iniurie of a rising Mountaine, as when the p'ace by a naturall inclination did further their course.

And to conclude, if the battell succeeded not according to their desire, the fauour of the place afforded them meanes of a strong retreit, in the highest part wherof, they had commonly their Camps well fensed, and fortified against all chaunces. If it be demanded, whether the vpper ground be of like vſe, in regard of our weapons: I an'were, that in a skirmish of shotte, I take the aduantage to lie in the lower ground rather then on the hill; for, the pieces being hastily charged, as commonly they are after the firt volle, if the bullet chance to lie loose, when the nose of the peece is lower then the breech, it must needs fli at randome, and be altogether vneffecuall: but when the nose shall be raised vpward to the side of a hill, the bullet beeing rammed in with his owne waight, shall fli with greater certaintie and furie; considering the nature of the powder to be such, that the more it is slopt and shut in, the more it seeketh to enlarge his roome, and breaketh forth with greater violence and fury.

Concerning other weapons, I take the vpper ground in the shocke and incounter, to be aduantageous, as well for the sword as the pike, and would deserve as great respect, if the controuersie were decided by these weapons, as sildome times it is.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

 Y Causidius his demeanour, we see that verified which Physitions affirme, that Nothing will sooner carrie our iudgement out of her proper seate, then the passion of feare: and that amongst souldiers themselves, whom custome hath made familiarlie acquainted with horrour and death, it is able to turne a flock of sheepe into a squadron of Corflets, & a few canes or Oliers, into Pikes and Lanciers. Which may serue to aduise a discreet Generall, not easily to credit a relation of that nature, when a man of reputation, in so perfitt a discipline, and so experienced in the seruice of three famous Chieffes, was so surprised with feare, that hee could not discerne his friends from his enemis: but I will speake more of this passion, in the war with Ariouistus.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

 Every relation throughout the whole course of this historie, the first words are commonly these, *Refumentaria comparata*; as the foundation & strength of euery expedition, without which no man can manage a war, according to the true maximes and rules of the Art Military, but must be forced to relieue that inconuenience, with the losse of many other aduantrages of great consequence. Which gaue occasion to Gaspar de Coligni, that famous Admirall of France, amongst other Oracles of truth, wherwith his mind was maruellously inriched, often to vſe this saying; that He that wil shape that beast (meaning war) must beginne with the belly. And this rule was diligently obserued by Cæsar, who best knew how to expref the true portraiture of that beast, in due proportion & liuely resemblance.

The order of the Romans was, at the day of measuring, to give corne to every particular souldier, for a certain time, which was commonly defined by circumstancies: and by the measure which was giuen the, they knew the day of the next payement; for, every footman received after the rate of a bushell a weeke, which was thought sufficient for him and his seruant: for, if they had paied the their whole stipend in money, it might haue beene wasted in vnnecessarie expences: but by this meanes they were sure of prouision for the time determined; & the sequell of the war, was prouidently cared for by the Generall.

The Corne being deliuered out, was husbanded, ground with hand-milles, which they caried alwayes with them, & made into haſt cakes, dainty enough for a souldiers mouth, by no other but themselves and their seruants. Neither could they ſell it or exchange it for bread; for, Salust reckoneth this vp amongſt other dishonours of the discipline corrupted, that the souldiers ſold away their corne, which was giuen the by the Treasurer, & bought their bread by the day. And this manner of prouision had many ſpeciall commodities, which are not incident to our custome of victualing: for it is imposſible, that victualers should

should follow an Armie vpon a seruice, in the Enemies Countrey, twentie or thirtie daies together, with sufficient prouision for an Armie: And by that meanes, the Generall cannot attend aduantages & fittest opportunities, which in tract of time are often offred; but is forced either to hazard the whole, vpon unequall termes, or to sound an vnwilling retreit.

And whereas the Victualers are for the most part voluntarie, respecting nothing but their graine; and the souldiers on the other side, carelesse of the morrow, and prodigall of the present: in that turbulent mar-market, where the seller hath an eye onely to his particular, & the buyer respecteth neither the publique good, nor his priuate commoditie, there is nothing to be looked for, but famine and confusion: Where-as the Romains, by their manner of prouision, imposeth the generall care of the publique good vpon the chiefe Commander, whose dute it was to prouide store of Corne for his Armie; and the particular care vpon every priuate souldier, whom it especially concerned to see, that the allowance which the Common-weale had in plentifull manner giuen him, for his maintenance, might not bee wasted through negligence or prodigallitie: which excellent order, the nature of our victuals will no way admit. Their Prouinces, & the next confederate States, furnished their Armies continually with Corne; as it appeareth by this place, that for prouision of graine, he depended altogether vpon the Hedui: and, when they were in the Enemies Countrey, in the time of haruest, the souldiers went out to reape and gather Corne, and deliuered it threshed and cleansed to the Treasurer, that it might be kept vntill the day of painement.

But, to leaue this frugall and prouident manner of prouision, as vnpossible to be imitated by this age, let vs retурne to our historie, and see how the Heluetians were ledde, by a probable error, to their last ouerthowre.

CHAP. VII.

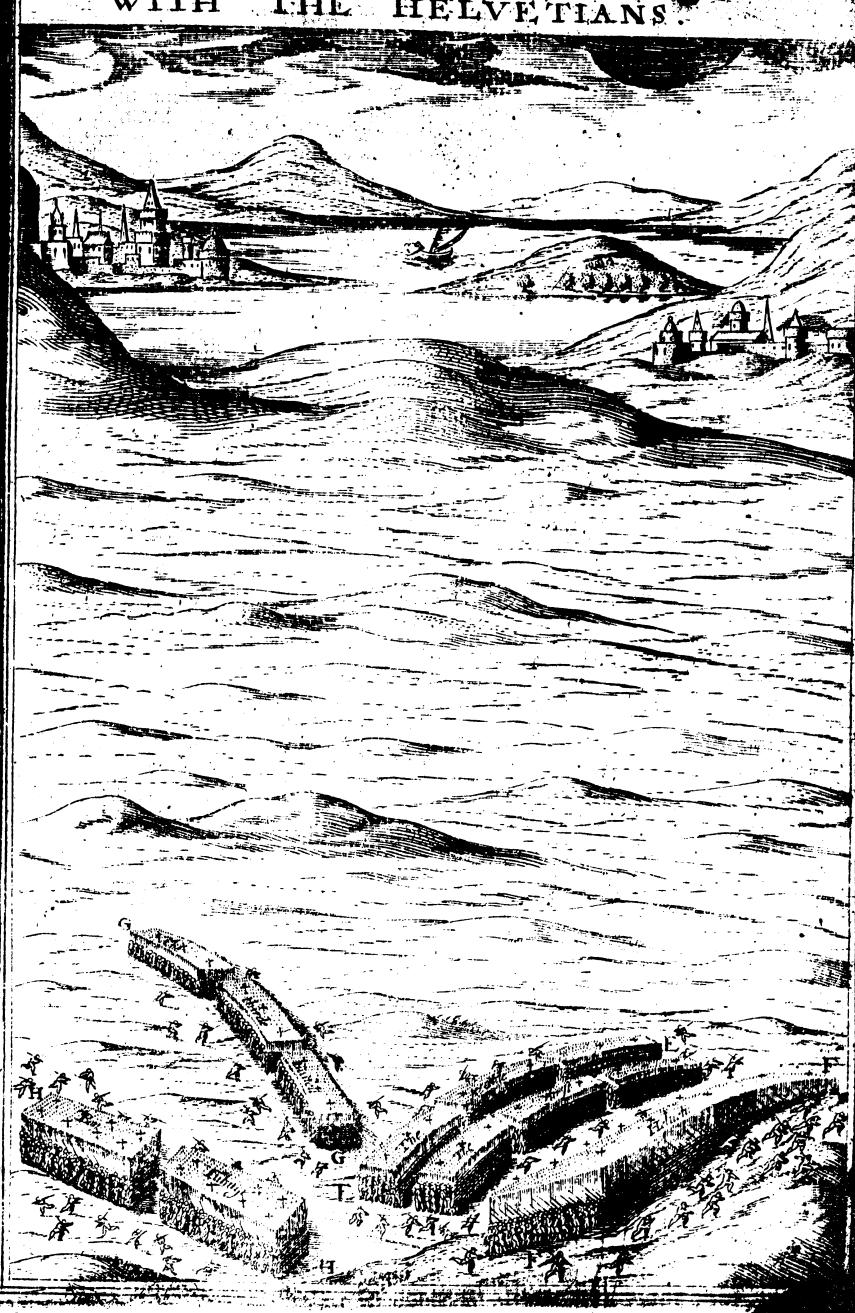
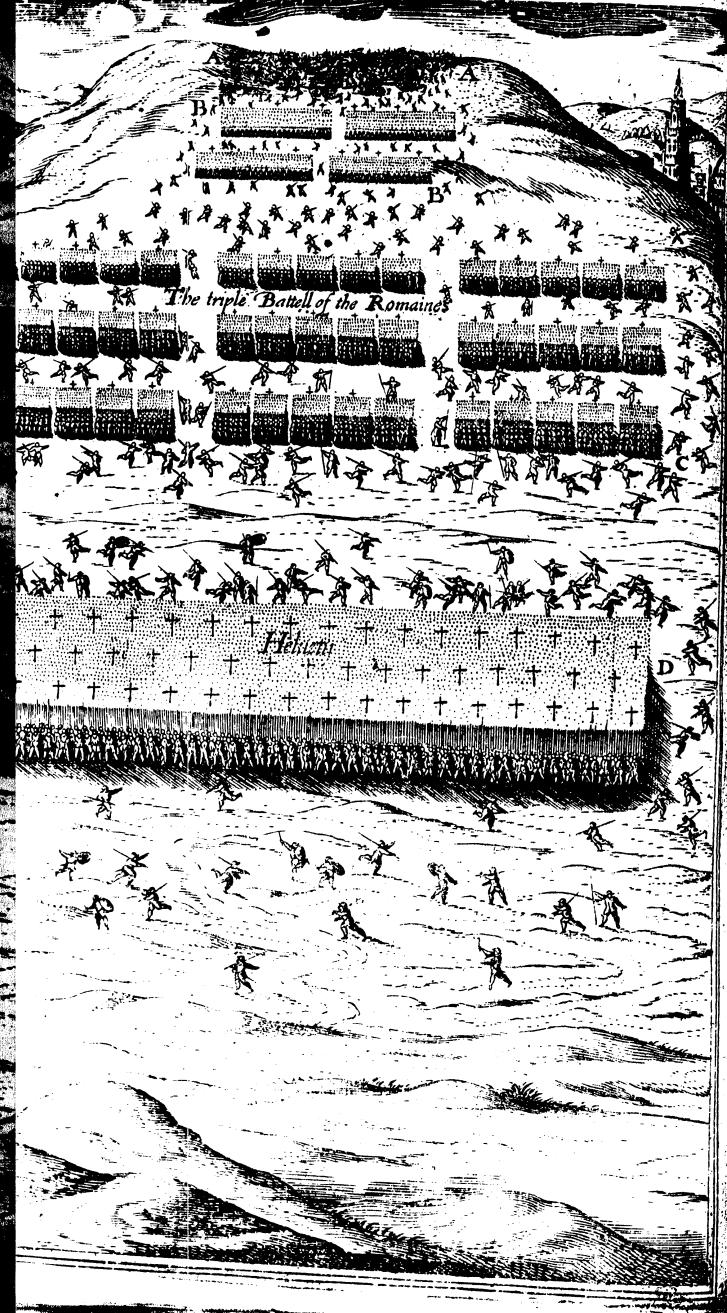
The Heluetians follow after Cæsar, and ouertake
the Rereward. *He imbatteileth his legions vpon the
side of a hill: and giueth order for
the Battaille.*



Hereof the Enemy beeing aduertised, by certaine fugitives of the troope of horse, commandned by L. Emilius, presently; whether it were that they thought the Romaines did turne away for feare (and the rather, for that the day before, haing the aduantage of the upper ground, they refused to fight) or whether they thought to cut them off from prouision of Corne, they altered their purpose; and turning back againe, beganne to attack our men in the Rerare. Whiche Cæsar perceiving, hee drew his forces to the next hill, and sent the Caualrie to sustaine the



WITH THE HELVETIANS.



the charge of the Enemy: and in the meane time, in the mid of the hill, made a triple battell, of foure legions of old soldiery; and upon the highest ridge thereof, he placed the two legions which he had lately inrolled, in the hither Gallia, together with the associate forces; filling the whole front of the hill with men, and bowing the carriages in one place: which he comandued to be fenced & guarded by those that were in the uppermost battalions.

The Helvetians, on the other side, conuayed their carriages and impediments into one place; and hauing beaten back Cæsars horsemen, with a thick-thronged Squadron, they put themselves into a Phalanx, & so pressed under the first battell of the Romaine legions.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

 Oncerning the true sense of this triple battell, which Cæsar made vpon the side of the hill, I understand it according to the ancient custome of the Romaines; who in the infancie of their Militarie discipline, diuided their Armie into three sorts of soldiery, *Hastati*, *Principes*, and *Triarij*: for, I omit the *Velites*, as no part of their standing battells; and of these they made three severall battells, from front to back. In the first battell were the *Hastati*, and they possessed the whole front of the Armie, and were called *Acies prima*. Behind these, in a convenient distance, stood the *Principes*, in like sort and order disposed, and were called *Acies secunda*: and lastly, in a like correspondent distance, were the *Triarij* imbarrelled, and made *Acies tertiam*.

Their legion consisted of tenne Companies, which they called cohorts, and euerie cohort consisted of three small Companies, which they named *Mamipuli*: a maniple of the *Hastati*, a maniple of the *Principes*, and another of the *Triarij*, as I will more particularly set downe in the second booke. And as these three kinds of soldiery were separated by distance of place from front to backe: so was euery battell diuided into his maniples; and these were diuided by little allies and waies, one from another, which were vied to this purpose. The *Hastati*, beeing in front, did euer begin the battell: & if they found themselves too weake to repell the enemy, or were happily forced to a retreit, they drew themselves through these allies or distancies, which were in the second battell, betwene the maniples of the *Principes*, into the space which was betwene the *Principes* and the *Triarij*; and there they rested themselves, whil'st the *Principes* tooke their place, and charged the Enemie. Or otherwise, if the Commanders found it needfull, they fild vp thole distancies of the *Principes*: and so, united with them into one body, they charged the enemy all in grosse; and then, if they preuailed not, they retred into the spaces between the *Triarij*, and so they gaue the last assault, all the three bodies being ioyned all into one.

Now, if we examine by the current of the history, whether Cæsar obserued the same order and diuisions in his warres, we shal find little or no alteration at all: for, first, this *triplex Acies* heere mentioned, was no other thing but the diuisi-

The manner
of their im-
battelling.

By *triplex
Acies*.



diuision of the *Hastati*, *Principes* and *Triarij*, according to the manner of the first institution. And least any man should dreame of that ordinary diuision, which is likewise threefold, the two cornets and the battell, and in that sense he might say to haue made *triplices Acies*, let him understand, that the circumstancies of the diuision haue no coherence with that diuision: for, in that hee saith of the Helvetians, *successerunt Aciem primam*, pressed neare the first battell or Vangard, hee maketh it cleare, that the Armie was diuided into a triple battell from front to backe: for, otherwile, hee would haue said, *successerint dextram aut sinistrum cornu, aut medium Aciem*: for so were the partes of that diuision tearemed. Againe, in the retrait which the Helvetians made to the hill, when he saith that the first and second battell followed close vpon the enemy, and the third oppoised it selfe against the *Boii* and *Tulingi*, & stood ready at the foote of the hill, to charge the legions in the flanke and on the backs, It is manifest, that no other diuision can so fitly be applied to this circumstance, as that from front to back.

But that place in the first of the Ciuill warres taketh away all scruple of controuerfe, where he vseth the verie same tearmes of *prima*, *secunda*, and *tertia Acies*: for, beeing to iugcampe him selfe neare vnto Afranius, and fearing least his souldiers should be interrupted in their work, he caused the first and second battell to stand in Armes, & keepe their distance, to the end they might shroud from the view of the enemy; and this kind of imbattelling, Caesar obserued in most of his fightes: by which it appeareth, that he vseth the very same order and discipline for imbattelling, as was instituted by the old Romaines.

Concerning the auncient names of *Hastati*, *Principes*, and *Triarij*, which Ramus in his *Militia Iulij Cæsaris*, wrgeth to be omitted throughout the whole historie, I grant they are sildome vseth in these *Commentaries*, in the sense of their first institution: for, the *Hastati*, when the discipline was first erected, were the youngest and poorest of the legionarie souldiers. The *Principes*, were the lustie and able bodied men: and the *Triarij* the eldest, and best experienced. But in Cæsars Campe, there was little or no difference either of valour or yeeres, betweene the *Hastati*, *Principes* or *Triarij*; which hee nameth, *Prima*, *Secunda*, and *Tertia Acies*: and therefore, were neuer tearemed by thole names, in respect of that difference.

Notwithstanding, in regard of order and degrees of discipline, that vertue might be rewarded with honour, and that time might challenge the priuilege of a more worthy place, the said distinctions and tearmes were religiously obserued: for, in the battell with Petreius at Ilerda in Spaine, hee mentioneth the death of Q. Fulginius, *ex primo Hastato legionis quarta decima*: and in the ouerthrowe at Dyrrachium, he saith, that The Eagle-bearer being grievously wounded, commanded the lastie of his Ensigne to the horsemen, all the Centurions of the first Cohort beeing slaine, *præter principem Priorem*. And for the *Triarij*, there is no tearme more frequent in Cæsar, then *Principiarius*; which name, by the rules of the auncient discipline, but to the chiefeft Centurion of the first maniple of the *Triarij*: whereby it appeareth, that the mani-

bles
Lib. 1. de bello
Cimili.

Lib. 3. de bello
Cimili.

ples kept the same names in regard of a necessary distinction, although peraduenture the *Hastati* were as good souldiers, as either the *Principes* or the *Triarij*.

As touching the spaces betweene the maniples, whereinto the first battaile did retite it selfe if occasion vrged them, I never found any mention of them in Cæsar. Excepting once heere in England, where, in a skirmish the Brittaines so vrged the court of guard, which kept watch before the Romaine Camp, that Cæsar sent out two other Cohorts to succour them; who making distance betweene them as they stood, the court of guard retired it selfe in safetie, through that space into the Campe: otherwile, we never find that the first battell made any retitie into the allies, between the maniples of the second battell; but when it failed in any part, the second and third went presently to second them: as appeareth in the battell following with Ariouistus and in diuers others.

Concerning the vle of this trip'e battell, what can be said more then Lipsius hath done? where he laieth open the particular commodities thereof, as farre forth as a speculative judgement can discerne of things so far remote from the vle of this age, which never imitath this triple battell, but onely in a march: for, then commonly they make three companies; a vanguard, a battell, and a reward: but in imbattelling, they draw these three Companies all in front, making two cornets and the battell, without any other troops to second them. Let this suffice concerning Cæsar his manner of imbattelling, and his *triplex Acies*, vntill I come to the second booke; where I will handle more particularly the parts of a legion, and the commoditie of their small battalions.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



He Macedonian Phalanx, is described by Polybius, to bee a square battell of Pikemen, consisting of sixteene in flanke, and five hundred in front; the souldiers standing so close together, that the pikes of the first ranke, were extended three foote beyond the front of the battell: the rest, whose pikes were not lervicable, by reaon of their distance from the front, couched them vpon the shoulders of those that stood before them; and so locking them in together in file, pressed forward, to hold vp the sway or giuing backe of the former ranks, and so to make the assaile more violent and vntrebatible.

The Grecians were very skilfull in this part of the Art Militarie, which contained order and disposition in imbattelling: for they maintained publique professors, whom they called *Tacticci*, to teach & instruct their youth the practice and Art of all formes convenient for that purpose. And these *Tacticci*, found by experience, that sixteene in flanke, so ordered as they were in a Phalanx, were able to beare any shock, how violent so euer it charged vpon them: which number of sixteene, they made to consist of foure doubles: as first vnitie maketh no order, for order consisteth in number & pluraltie; but vnitie doubled, maketh two, the least of all orders, and this is the double: which doubled againe,

A Phalanx
described.

againe, maketh the second order, of fourtoulidiers in a file, which doubled the third time, maketh eight, and this doubled, maketh 16, which is the fourth doubling from a vnite; and in it they staied, as in an absolute number and square, whose roote is fourtoulidiers the Quadruple, in regard of both the extremes: for every one of these places, the *Tactici* had severall names, by which they were distinctly knowne. But the particular description requireth a larger discourse, then can be comprehended in these shott obseruations. Hee that desirereth further knowledge of them, may read Elianus, that liued in the time of Adrian the Emperour: and Arianus in his historie of Alexander the great: with Mauritius, and Leo, Imperator; where he shall haue the diuisions of *Tetraphalangia diphalangia*, *Phalangia* vnto a vnite, with all the discipline of the Grecians. The chieft thing to be obserued, is, that the Grecians, hauing such skil in imbatelling, preferred a Phalanx before all other formes whatsoeuer; either because the figure in it selfe was very strong: or otherwise, in regard that it fited best their weapons, which were long pikes and targers. But, whether Cæsar tarmmed the battell of the Heluetians a Phalanx, in regard of their thicke manner of imbatelling onely, or otherwise, forasmuch as besides the forme, they vied the naturall weapon of a Phalanx, which was the pike, it remaineth doubtfull. Brancatio, in his discourses vpon this place, maketh it no controverie, but that every fouldier caried a pike and a target. The target is particularly named in this historie: but it cannot so easily be gathered by the same, that their offensiu weapons were pikes. In the fight at the baggage it is said, that manie of the legionarie fouldiers were wounded through the cart-wheele, with *tragulas* and *materias*, which are commonly interpreted Speares and Iavelins: and I take them to be weapons longer then common darts; but whether they were so long as the Sarissas of the Macedonians, I cannot tell. Howsoeuer; this is certaine, that the Heluetians haue ever been reputed for the true *Phalanx*, next vnto the Macedonians; and that in their thicke and close imbatelling, they failed not at this time of the forme of a Phalanx: for, they rooed it so thick with targers, that Cæsar saith they were sore troubled, because manie of their targers were falcened and tied together, with piles darted through the. Whichever, that their Phalanx was very thicke thronged, whatsoeuer their vveapon was.

CHAP. VIII.

Cæsar sendeth away al the horses of ease, exhorteth his men; and beginneth the battell.



Cæsar, to take away all hope of safety by flight, first caused his own & then all the private horses of ease to be caried out of sight; and so vsing some motiues of courage, began the battell. The fouldiers the Heluetians Phalanx, & then with their swords betook themselves to a furious close.

THE

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



He ancient Sages found it necessary, to a faithfull and serious execution of such an action, to prepare the minds of their men with words of encouragement, and to take away all scruple out of their conceits, either of the vnlawfulnesse of the caufe, or disadvantage againt the Enemie: for, if at any time that saying be true, that *Oratio plus potest quam pecunia*, it is here more powerfull and of greater effect. For, a donatiue or liberanca, can but procure a mercenarie indeavour, euer yielding to a better offer, and doe oftentimes breed a suspition of wrong, euer amongst those that are willingly enriched with them; and so maketh them slack to discharge their seruice with loyaltie: yea, oftentimes of friends to become enemies. But inasmuch as speech discloseth the secrcts of the soule, and discouereth the intent and drift of every action, a few good words laying open the iniurie which is offered to innocencie, how equity is controlled with wrong, and justice controlled by iniquite (for, it is necessary that a Cōmander approue his Caufe, and seale an opinion of right in the mind of his fouldiers, as it is easie to make that seeme probable which so many offer to defend with their bloud; when indeed every man relieft vpon another's knowledge, and respecteth nothing lesse the right) a few good words I say, will so sturre vp their minds in the seruentines of the cause, that every man will take himfelfe particularly engaged in the action by the title of Equitie; and the rather, for that it iumpeth with the necessity of their condition. For, men are willing to doe well, when well-dooing agreeith with that they would doe: otherwise, the Act may formerly be effected, but the mind never approacheth it by assent.

And this manner of exhortation or speech of encouragement, was never omitted by Cæsar in any conflict mentioned in this historie: but hee still vied it as a necessary instrument to set vertue on foote, and the onely meanes to stir vp alacritle. Or if it happened that his men were at any time discuraged by disaster or croſſe accident, as they were at Gergobia, & at the two ouerthrowes he had at Dyrrachium; he never would adventure to give battell, vntill he had encouraged them againe, and confirmed their minds in valour and resolution. But this age hath put on so scornewfull a humor, that it cannot heare a speech in this key, found it never so grauely, without scoffing and derision: and on the other side discontinuance of so necessarie a part, hath bred at length such an *inutilem pudorem* in our chiefe Commanders, that they had rather lose the gaine of a great aduantage, then buy it with words to be deliuerned in publicke.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

In this Chapter we may further obserue the violence of the Romane pile, which being a heauie deadly weapon, could hardly be frustrated with any resistance, and in that respect was very proper and effectuall against a Phalanx, or any other thicke and close battell, or where-

Speeches of
incoura-
gement before
they gaue
battell.

Lib. 7. de bel-
lo Gallico.

The Romane
Pile descri-
bed.

wheresoever elle, the stroke was certaine, or could hardly deceiue the aime of the cauter: for, in such encounters, it so galled the enemy, that they were neither able to keep their order, nor answere the assault with a resiting counterbuffet. By which it appeareth, that the onely remedie against the Pile was, to make the ranks thinne; allowing to every souldiour a large podisme or place to stand in, that so the stroke might of it selfe fall without hurt, or by fore-sight bee prevented; as it shall plainly appear by the sequel of this historie, which I will not omit to note, as the places shal offer themselues to the examination of this discourse.

But as touching the Pile, which is so often mentioned in the Romaine historie, Polybius describeth it in this maner; A Pile, saith he, is a casting weapon, the staffe whereof is almost three cubites long, and it hath *palmarem diametrum*, a hand breadth in thicknes. The staves were armed with a head of iron, equal in length to the staffe it selfe: But in that sort, that halfe the head was fastened vp to the middle of the staffe, with plates of iron, like the head of a Halberd: and the other halfe stooke out at the end of the staffe, like a pike, containing a fingers breadth in thicknesse, and so decreasing lesse and lesse, vnto the point, which was barbed. This head was so slender toward the point, that the waight of the staffe would bend it as it stooke, as appeareth in this battell of the Heluetians. This weapon was peculiar to the Romans, and was called *Pilum*, as Varro noteth of *Pilum a Pestell*, *quod Hostes feriret pilum*. Lipsius, finding that *palmarem diametrum*, was too great a thicknesse to be managed by a man's hand, interpreteth it to be foure inches in circuit, if the staves were either round or square, for they had of both sorts, and so hee maketh it very manageable; but nothing answerable to the description, giuen by Polybius, either in forme or waight.

Patricius, in his Parallel, maketh the staffe to have *palmarem diametrum* in the butte end, but the rest of the staffe he maketh to decrease taper-wise, vnto the head of iron, where it hath the thicknesse of a man's finger; and so it answereth both in forme and waight to a Pestell, as may be seene by the figure, and I take it to bee the meaning of Polybius. Patricius in that place setteth downe foure discommodities of the Pile. First, a furious and hot spirited enemie will easily prevent the darting of the Pile, with a nimble and speedy close: And so wee read, that in the battell which Cæsar had with Ariouistus, the Germanes came so violently vpon them, that the souldiers cast away their piles, and tooke them to their swords. And likewise, in that woorthy battell betweene Cateline and Marcus Petreius, they cast away their piles on either part. The second discommoditie was, that the piles being so heauie, could not be cast at a distance; but were onely seruicable at hand. Thirdly, they could not bee cast with any aime, or as they say, point blanke. And lastly, the souldiers were to take aduantage of ground backward when they threw them: which might easily disorder their troopes, if they were not very well experienced.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.



He last thing which I obserue in this specialtie, is, that the legionarie souldiers had no other offensive weapon, but one pile or two at the most, and their swords. By which it may bee gathered, that all their victories came by buckling at handy-blowes; for, they came alwaies so neare before they cast their pile, that they left themselues no more time then might conveniently serue them to draw their swords: neither would their Armes of defence, which was compleat, besides a large target which they caried on their left arme, suffer them to make any long pursue, or continued chace, wheresoever a light armed enemy did make any speedie retreat; as will more plainly appear by that which followeth.

CHAP. IX.

The Heluetians, fainting in the battell, retire to a Hill: the Romans follow after, and the battell is continued.

(. . .)



Cæsar. *T*was a great hinderance to the Galles in their fight, that manie of their Targets were stroke through, and tied together with one fall of a pile: for, so it happened, that it could neither be pulled out by reason of the bowing of the Iron, nor could they use their left hand for the defence of themselues. Whereby it fell out, that many of them (after a wearisome toyle) did cast away their targets, and fought naked, and unarmed. At length, fainting with wounds, they began to give place, and retraeted to a Hill a mile off.

The Hill beeing taken, and the Legions following on to drue them fro thence, the Boij and Tulingi, to the number of fifteene thousand, beeing in the Reare of the Enemy, to guard the lagge of their Army, setting on our men, as they were in pursuit of the rest, did charge them upon the open side, and beganne to inclose them about: which, the Heluetians, that had got the Hill, perceiving, beganne againe to fal vpon our men, & renewed the battell. The Romaines diuiding themselves, turned their Ensignes two waies; the first and second Armie fought against the Heluetians that returned from the Hill, and the third battell tooke charge of them that stod ready to inclose them about. And heere the fight was doubtfull and furious for a long time; vntill at length they were no longer able to endure the violence of the legionarie souldiers: and so one part betooke themselves as at the first, to the Hill; and the other, to the place where their Carts and baggage were lodged.

OBSERVATIONS UPON CÆSARS

And hitherto there was not one man seene to haue turned his backe in all conflict; although the fight continued from the seauenth hour untill the ninth.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

 Concerning the Ensignes of the Romaines; wee are to vnderstand that the chiefe Ensigne of every Legion, was an Eagle: which alwaies attended vpon the Primipile or chief Centurion of the said Legion. The Ensigne of a Maniple was, either a Hand or a Draon, a Woolf or a Sphinx; as it appeareth (besides the testimonie of historic) the Column of Traiane in Rome, wherein the Ensignes are figured, with ch purtrraies: so that these Ensignes, resembling the proportions of living creatures, had their fore-parts alwaies caried that way which the legions were in march, or where they were to fight. And therefore in this history, by the aect and carrying of the Ensignes, the front of the Armie was commonly noted: as in this place it is said, that the Ensignes of the first and second battell, were caried towards the hill, whither the Heluetians had made their retrait; & the Ensignes of the third battell looked another way, towards the Boij and Tungi, which stood on the foote of the hill. By which is signified, how the legions were diuided to resist the brunt of the double encounter.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

 Concerning the time of the day: wee are to vnderstand, that the Romaines vsed not the same diuision of the day as we commonlie doe: for, they diuided their artificiall (which is the space betwene sunne rising and setting) into twelve equall parts, which the Astronomers called vnequal or planetarie hours. The first houre of the day beganne alwaies at sunne rising; the sixt houre was alwaies high noone; and the twelfth houre was sunne setting. And, as the day waxed longer or shorter, so these hours were either greater or lesse: neither did they agree with equal or equinoctiall hours, such as are now vsed, but onely at the *equinoctium*: so that by this manner of reckoning, *ab hora septima ad vesperum*, is meant, the battell beganne about one of the clocke, according to our computation, & continued vntill the euening. The like we must understand, throughout this whole historie, as often as there is mention made of the circumstance of time.

CHAP.

COMMENTARIES, LIB. I.

27.

CHAP. X.

The Heluetians continue their fight at the caria-
ges: but at length they left the field, and mar-
ched towards Langiers.

(..)



*N*like manner, the fight was kept on foote at the carriages, vntill it was farre in the night; the place beeing fortisched with Cartes in stead of a Rampier: and the Enemy casting their weapons from the upper ground, and with darts and lauer-
lins, under the vraggons, and from between the wheelles, did wound and gall many of our men. After a long conflict, our soldiers tooke their carriages and their Campe: vvhether in Orgetorix daughter, and one of his sonnes were taken. There were fained out of that battell, about one hundred and thirtie thousand persons; who marching continually all that night, and making no stay in any place, came the fourth day into the confines of the Lingones: for, by reason of the soldiers hurts, and the battall of the slaine, wherein there was spent three daies, there was no pursuit made after them.

Cesar.

Langres.

O B S E R V A T I O N.

 If we consider the nature of the action, and looke into the true cause of their overthrow, as faire as the right sensse of the historic shall direct our judgement, wee shall find valour not to be wanting in the Heluetians, but rather superlatiuyly abounding in the Romans. For, that vehement opinion of their valiancie and manhood, which caried them out of the streights of the Country, to seek larger fortunes in other kingdoms, was not so abated with the losse of the fourth part of their Host at the riuer Arar; nor with the terrible furie of those veteran legions: but it yielded this effect, which Cæsar in his estimate of valour thought memorable, that for fife hours space or more, there was not one man seene to haue turned his backe. Their maner of imbattailing, had not the Romaines been the enemie, was unrefistable. For, beeing cast into a Phalanx, which in the Plaines of Asia had made Alexander the great and the Macedonians famous, they did as faire surpaſſe any other forme of imbattelling (supposing that the convenientie of the place did fit that disposition) wherein the strength of the whole is diuided into many particulars, as the violence of a great body exceedeth the force & motion of his parts, when it is diuided into smaller cantons. For, as in a phalanx, many particular fouldiers are by a close & compact order incorporated into one entire body: so their severall vertues are gathered into one head, & are as parts united into one general force; which easly swalloweth vp the ability of many other leſſer quan-

D 2.

uantities, into which a greater strength is equally diuided.

The aduantage of the place which they got by retrait, & the double charge herewith they ingaged the Romaines, both in front and flank, was able in an different confit, to haue made Fortune fugitiue, and beare armes on their de: or at the least, so to haue steemed the swelling tide of victorie, which carred the Romaines so violently in the chase, that they might haue beeene equall harers in the honor of the day; had it not followed from an Ocean of valour, whose course could not be hindered with any stops and oppositions, vntill it came to that height, which true valour and vnexampled resolution affected. And yet the height of this courage, could not so allay the heat of the Heluetians furie; but it brake forth into dangerous flames, when it came to the place where their carriages were laid, and cost much bloud and many mens liues before they quitted the place: for, they fought with that spirit and industrie, as though they meant to make triall, whether their fortune would proue no better in the night then it had done in the day.

The ouerthowre of the Tigrine Canton at the riuers Arar, proceeded rather from want of good directions (which is the leſſe to be maiuelled at, conſidering they had no chiefe Commanduer as wee read of) then from any defect of valour: for, the rules of Militarie gouernment, require especiall care in passing ouer a water; for, then especially, an Armie is in greatest danger, when it is diorderd and diuided. And therefore the Romaines attiued this victorie by the horrible vigilancy (as Tully calleth it) of their Cōmander: who alwaies catched opportunitates rei bene gerenda, as necessary and speedy meaneſ to overcome in all his warres.

CHAP. XI.

Cæſar, after three daies respite, followeth after the Heluetians: he taketh them to mercy, and ſendeth them backe againe to the Country.



Cæſar ſent Letters and Meffengers to the Lingones, forbidding to ſupply them, either with Corne, or any other thing; vwhich if they did, hee vwould eſteeme of them as of the Heluetians. Himeſelfe, after three daies respite, followed after vwith all his forces. The Heluetians, prefſed with the want of all neceſſarie prouiſions, ſent Commissioners unto him, to great of their reddition. Who, meeting him on the way, caſt themſelues at his feete; and with humble wrods and teares, deſired Peace. Beeing commaunded to attend in the place they then were, they accordanctly obaied. Cæſar, being come up unto them, required hofſtages, together with their Armes and ſervants; as alſo the fugitiues that were fledde unto them.

While

While thofe things were ſough out, and brought, in the night time, ſix thouſand men or thereabouts, of the Canton, called Verbigene, vwhether moone through feare of being executed, after their Armes were given vp, or induced with hope of escaping (as thinking that amongſt ſuch a multitude of people, that were there to be rendred, their flight ſhould not be miſſed, or at leaſt vould be concealed) di in the beginning of the night, leaue the Heluetian Camp, & made towards the Rhene, and the conſines of the Germanes.

Cæſar, understanding through whofe territories they paſſed, commaunded them to feke them out, and bring them back againe, if they vould be blameleſſe in that behalfe: And being brought back, dealt with them as enemis. All the reſt, after Hoftages, Armes and fugitiues were given in, hee received to mercie, and commaunded the Heluetians, Talinges, and Latobrigi, to returne into their Country from whence they came. And for a muſt, as hauing lost all their prouiſion of Corne, there remained nothing at home to ſatisfie hunger, hee gaue order to the Allobroges to ſupply them with Corne; and willed the Heluetians to refiſe their Townes and Citties, that they had before deſtroyed & forſaken. Which he diſpecially for this caufe; that the Germanes inhabiting beyond the Rhene, might not be inuited vwith the richneſſe of that ſoile, to ſeat themſelues ſo neare neighbours to the Prouince of Gallia, and the Allobroges. The Boii, at the mediation of the Heduans, as knowing them to be men of great valour, were permitted to dwell in their Country, to whom they gaue lands and poſſeſſions, and reſcued them into the ſame liberties and immunitiues, as they themſelues injoyed.

In the Heluetian Campe was found a Lif, or Register, wriuen in Greekke, and brought to Cæſar, containing by pole, the vwhole number that left their Country, how many of them were able to beare Armes: & in like maner, the boies, old men and women, were inrolleſ apart by themſelues. The ſummary wherof was, that the vwhole number of the Heluetians amounted to 263 thouſand, the Talinges to 36 thouſand, the Latobriges to 14, the Rauracks to 23, the Boii to 31. Of thofe there were that bare Armes, 192 thouſand. The totall of all, were 368 thouſand. A view being taken by Cæſars appointment, of thofe that returned home, there were found 110 thouſand.

O B S E R V A T I O N .

He directions concerning their rendry & returne, were very ſound, and of good conſequeneſ. For firſt, in that he commaunded them to attend his comming, in the place where they were, hee tooke away all motions of new trouble, which often remoues might haue cauiled, by the opportunity of ſome accident which might haue happened; affuring himſelfe, that their aboad in that place would increase their miseries, and conſequently ripen that deſire of peace which they made ſhew of; conſidering that the Lingones, in whose territories they were, diſt not for feare of Cæſars diſpleaſure, furniſh them with any neceſſarieſ in that extremitie. Touching the ſecuritie, which the Romaines required, of the loyaltie of ſuch people as they conqueſted; their maner was to take as hoftages, a ſufficient number of the men

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chil-

ldren of the chiefe men of that Nation: whose liues depended vpon their rents fidelitie, and ended with the first suspition of their rebellion. Whiche tome, besides the preuent good, promised the like or better securitie to the age; when as thofe children by conuictiōn and acquaintance shoule be affected to the Romaine Empire, that returning to their own country, their ions might rather tend to the aduauncement thereof, then any way be pre-
ficial to the fame. And, leaſt the loue of libertie and freedome, shoule pre-
ſe more with them, then that affection which Nature had inioyned them to
are to their children; he did what hee could to take away the meanes and
inſtrumentes of their rebellion, by causing them to deliuer vp ſuch Armes & wea-
pons as were there present: and ſo to become ſuſtable to that petition of peace
which they had made.

The ſumme of all is this; he corrected the iſolencie of a furious people, and
duced them to a feeling of their owne madneſſe. He kept them from ſacking
the poſſeſſions of many thousands, in the continent of Gallia; and ſent them
cke againe to continue their name and Nation, in the place where they first
habited; which continueth vnto this day. And thus we fee, that there is no
moue to head-strong, nor to backt with ſtrength of circumſtances, but it
ay meeke with a remedie to qualifie the iſolencie thereof, and make it ſub-
iect to correction and controlement.

CHAP. XII.

The States of Gallia congratulate Cæſars victorie:
they call a councell, and diſcuer their inward
griefe, concerning Ariouſtus and
his forces.

Cæſar.
¶ He Heluetian warre beeing thus ended, the Princeſs and
chiefe men of all the ſtates of Gallia, came to Cæſar, to
congratulate the happineſſe of this victorie; in ſomuch as
they vwell understand, that albeit the people of Rome, had
by the courſe of this warre revenged the iniurieſ vvh. ch
heeve-to fore they had done unto them: yet neverthe-
leſſe, the iſſue thereof did redound no leſſe profitable to
the peace of Gallia, then to the Romaine Empire; foraſmuch as the Heluetians,
ſt their houſes and Country, abounding with all plenty and proſperitie, for no
her purpoſe, but to inuade the vhole Country of Gallia, & to bring it in ſub-
tition to themſelues; and, chafing out of that large Continent, ſome fitte, and
quitemeſſe place of habitation, to make the reſt of the ſtates their Tributaries:
and required further, that with his good leauue they might call a generall aſſem-
bly at a day prefixed, of all the ſtates of Gallia, foraſmuch as they had matters
of great importance to be handled, which they desired (with a common conſent)

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to preferre to his conſideration. Which beeing graunted, and the day of meeting
appointed, they bound themſelues by oath, not to reueale the cauſeſ of their aſ-
ſembly, but to ſuch as ſhould be deſigned by common Councell.

The Parlement beeing broken vp, the ſame Princeſs returned to Cæſar, and
deſired that they might in ſecret treat wth him, of the ſafety of themſelues, &
all the reſt: which beeing granted, caſt themſelues in lamentable manner at his
feete, contending wth as great earnestneſſe, that thoſe things wth which they deli-
uered, might not be reuealed, as they did to haue their petition graunted: foraſ-
much as they ſaw, that the diſcouerie of ſuch declarations as they proponed,
would neceſſarily pull upon them moſt grieuous afflictions.

Dinitiatus the Heduan, in the name of the reſt, deliuered; that Gallia was di-
uided into two faſtions: the Hedui were the head of the one, and the Auerni of
the other. Theſe two ſtates, contending many yeeres for the principalitie, the A-
uerni, with the Sequans their Clients, hired the Germanies to take their part;
of whom, at firſt, there paſſed over the Rhene ſome fifteene thouſand: but after-
wards, theſe barbarous people, hauiing taſted the plenite & ciuitatice of the Galles,
drew over many more, that now therer were no leſſe then one hundred & twen-
tie thouſand. With theſe, the Hedui & their Clients, had once or oftener fought;
but the ſuſceſſor to their owne calamite, & the uter ouerthrowe of their
Nobilitie and Senate: wth which loſſeſ, they were ſo broken and decaied, that
where-as heere to fore, as well by their owne credit, as by the fauour of the people
of Rome, they ſtrooke a great ſtroake throughout all Gallia, they were now dri-
uen to deliuer the chiefeſt of their State, as pledges to the Sequans, and to binde
themſelues by oath, neuer to ſeek their reſeale or freedome, nor to implore the
aide of the people of Rome, nor to ſeke meaneſs to free themſelues from their ſo-
veraignty; onely himſelfe, of all the Heduans, could not be brought to take that
oath, or to give his children as hoffages: for which cauſe he fled to Rome, and be-
ſought helpe of the Senate, beeing no way obliȝed to the contrary, either by oath
or hoffages.

But it ſo fell out, that the victorie became more grieuous to the Sequans then
to the Heduans; for-that Ariouſtus, king of the Germanies, was planted in their
territories: and beeing alreadie poſſed of a third part of their Country, which
was the beſt part of all Gallia, did now require the Sequans to forgoe another
third part, for-that a few months before, there were come unto him twentie-
fourre thouſand Harudes, to whom lands and poſſeſſions were to bee allotted.
Whereby it vwould come to paſſe within a few yeeres, that all the Galles would
be driven out of their dwellings, and all the Germanies would come ouer the
Rhene; for, there was no comparison beſtweenne Gallia and Germanie, either in
richneſſe of ſoile or faſhion of life.

Concerning Ariouſtus, after he had once defeated the Galles in a battell, neer
Amagetobrig, he carid himſelfe very cruelly, and iſolently, requirin the chil-
dren of all the Nobilitie for hoffages, & ſhewing ſtrange examples of torture up-
on them. If any thing were done, not according to his command or deſire, hee
would eaſilie ſhew himſelfe to be a barbarous, fierce and hafte man; whose tyran-
nie they could no longer indure: and unleſſe there were help to be found in Cæſar
and

and the people of Rome, all the Galles must as the Helvetians did, forsake their countrey, and seeke new houses, and seates of habitation, farre remote from the Germaines, and try their fortunes, what-ever besell them. If these things should appely to Ariouistus, he would doubtlesse take a feuer revenge of all the pledges in his custodie. Cæsar might by his owne authority, or the presence of his Armie, or by the renouew of his late victory, or by the countenaunce of the people of Rome, keepe the Germaines from transporting any more Colonies into Gallia, and defend it from the iniuries of Ariouistus. This speech beeing deliuered by Dinitiatus, all that were present, with much weeping beought Cæsar to iue them reliete.

Cæsar obserued, that onely the Sequans of all the rest, did no such matter, or were so affected as the others were; but with their heads hanging downe, looked mournefully vpon the ground: and wondering at it, asked them the cause thereof. To which they made no reply, but stood silent, with the same countenaunce of wrow. And hauing oftentimes iterated his demaund, without gaining any word of answere; Dinitiatus the Heduian, replied, that the state of the Sequans, was nearein more miserable and grieuous then the rest; that they of all others, durst not complaine, or implore aide, altho' it were in secret: as hauing before their eyes the cruetie of Ariouistus being absent, no lesse then if he were present. And he rather, for that other men had safe meanes of flying away: but the Sequans, vauing received Ariouistus into their Country, and made him Maister of their ownes, were necessarily to undergoe all miseries.

These things being knowne, Cæsar encouraged the Galles with good woords, and promised them to haue a care of that matter, as hauing great hope, that by his meanes and power, Ariouistus should bee forced to offer no further iniuries, and therevpon dismissed the Councell.

O B S E R V A T I O N S.

In this reation, there are diuers points woorthily recommended to the discretion of such, as are willing to bee directed by other mens maladuictors. As first, into what extremities ambition doth drine her thirsty fauourites, by supressing the better faculties of the soule, and setting such vnbridled motions on foote, as caty men headlong into most desperate attempts. For, as it had deserved commendation in either faction, so to haue caried their emulation, that by their owne meanes & strength applied to the rule of good gouernment, their authoritie might wholly haue twaied the inclination of the weaker states: so was it most odious in the Sequani, to call in braunes forces, to satiate the appetite of their vntempered humor; and in the end, were accordingly rewarded.

Secondly, it appeareth how dangerous a thing it is, to make a stranger a tickler in a quarell which ciuill diffencion hath broched, when the partie that called him in, shall not be as able to refuse his assistance vpon occasion, as he was willing to entertaine it for aduantage. Lastly, the often discontents of these

theire States shew the force of a present ciuill, which posseseth so vehementlie the powers of the soule, that any other calamitie, either already past, or yet to come, how great soever, seemeth tolerable and easie, in regard of that smart which the present griefe inflieth.

So the Sequani, chose rather to captiuate their libertie to the Barbarisme of a savage Nation, then to indure the Hedui to take the hand of them. And againe, to make themselues vassals to the Romans, rather then indure the vslping cruetie of the Germaines. And finally (as the sequell of the historie will discouer) to hazard the losse of life and Country, then to suffer the taxes & impositions of the Romans: So predominant is the present ciuill in mens affectiōns, and so it preualeth at the seate of our iudgement.

CHAP. XIII.

The reasons that mooued Cæsar to
undertake this warre.

Any vvere the inducements which mooued him to take that businesse to hart: As first, that the Heduans, who were often-times stiled by the Senate with the title of Bretheren, Cousins and Allies, vvere in the seruitude and thraldom of the Germaines, and that their hostages vvere with Ariouistus and the Sequans: vwhich in so great a soueraigntie of the people of Rome, he tooke to be very dishonourable, both to himselfe and the Common-weale: as also, for that hee saw it very dangerous for the Romaine Empire, that the Germaines shoud accylome, by little and little, to flocke in such multitudes into Gallia. Neither did he thinke he could moderate or restraine such fierce & barbarous people; but, that hauing possessed all the Continent of Gallia, they would, as the Cimbri and Teutons had done before, breake out into the Prouince, and so into Italy: especially the Sequans; beeing diuided from the Prouince but with the riuier Rhone.

These things he thought fitte with all speede to prevent: and the rather, for that Ariouistus was grown to that pride and arrogancie, as was not to be suffered. For vwhich respect, he thought it expedient to send Embassadours vnto him, to appoint some indifferent place for parlee; for that he had to treat with them, concerning publique affaires, and some matters that did much import both of them.

O B S E R V A T I O N S.



May heere take an occasion, to speake somewhat concerning the authoritie of the Roman Generals, which we see to be very large; con sidering that Cæsar of himselfe, without any further leauue of the Senate & people of Rome (for what may be gathered by this historie) did

Cæsar.

The authoritie of the Romaine Generals.

dyndiate a warre of that consequence, and put in jeopardie the Legions, the Prouince, or what other interest the Romans had in Gallia. Wherein we are to understand, that when the state of Rome did allorte the gouernment of any Prouince to a Proconsull, they did likewise recommend him, the carefull managing of such accidents, as might any way concerne the good of that regiment. For, considering that such caules as may trouble a well ordered government, are as well externall and forraigne, as internall, and red within the bounds of that Empire: it had been to small purpose, to haue given him onely authoritie, to maintaine a course of wholeome government at home; and no meanes to take away such oppositions, which forraigne accident might set vp against him. And so we see, that Cæsar undertooke the Helvetian warre, in regard of the saeftey of the Prouince: and this againe with Aouitius, least the Germans shoud so multiply in Gallia, that the Prouince it selfe might at length bee indangelered. Neither had their Generals authoritie only to vndertake these warres: but the absolute disposition also of the whole course thereof, whether it were to treat, capitulate, compound, or what els they thought convenient for the aduancement of the Common-weale, did holly rest vpon their direction; *repub. bene gesta*, beeing the stile of the warre for all their actions.

Neither may we thinke, that any subordinate or depending authoritie, can be so powerfull in the course of busynesse, as that which absolutely commandeth without controlement, and proceedeth according to the opportunitie of me and occasion, further then either precription or limitation can direct it. And therefore, whensoeuer the Romaine affaires were dittaſſed, and driven to a exigent, they created a Dictator, that had *regiam potestatem*, such an absolute commandaunce, that whatsoeuer power rested either in the Consuls, or in the tribunes, in the Senate, or in the people, it gaue way to the greatnessse of that magistrate; that there might bee no let or retracting power to weaken that course, which nothing but an absolute command could establish, for the good of the Common-weale. And yet notwithstanding this absolute gouernment, they attributed such power to the course of humane actions, that by the punishment which they inflicted vpon dissolute and unfortunate Leaders, they cined to acknowledge, that no man, how circumſpect soeuer, could promise more then likelihoods or probabilities of good fortune, as farre foorth as his eanes and industry could attchienie it. For, old M. Fabius, pleading for the e of his gallant sonne, and oppoſing the rigour of Papyrius the Dictator, with examples of antiquite, saith: *Populi quidem, penes quem potestas omniorum estet, ne iram quidem unquam atrociorum fuisse in eos quis temeritatemque infesta exercitus amifent, quidam ut pecunia eos multaret: capite an-* quisitum ob rem male gestam de imperatore nullum ad eam diem esse. The people, saith he, in whom the soueraign power of things confiſteth, never shewed greater displeasure against such, as had lost an Armie, either by rashnesse or unskilfulness, then imposing a fine vpon them: but, to bring the life of a General in question for failing in his indeauours, was never heard of to that day.

The condition of the inferiour Officers of their Campe, was farre otherwise

in

in regard of Militarie discipline: for, preſcription guided them in all their seruices, and the chiefest part of their dutie was obedience; although they ſaw evident reaſon to the contrarie, and found their direcſions vnprefect in that behalfe: and therefore Cæſar ſaith vpon that occaſion: *Alia ſunt legati partes atque imperatoris: alter omnia agere ad preſcriptum, alter liberè ad ſummam rerum conſulere debet.* The office of a Legate or Lieutenant, diſtereth from that of a General: the one doing all things by preſcription; & the other freely deliberating of whatſoever may concerne the cauſe. And this course the Romans held, concerning the authoritie of their Generals.

Lib. 3, de bello Cimili.

CHAP. XIIII.

Ariouistus his anſwere: a ſecond Embaſſage,
with the ſuſſeſſe thereof.

(. . .)



O that Embaſſage, Ariouistus anſwered; That if his occaſions had required Cæſars aſſiſtance, he would haue furthered them with his owne preſence: and hee thought it as reaſonable, that if it were in his meanes to pleaſure the Romans, Cæſar ought not to thinke much of the like labour. For his owne part, hee durſt not come into thoſe parts of Gallia which Cæſar poſſeffed, without an Armie; nor could draw an Armie to a head without great trouble & expence. The thing that he moſt wondered at, was, that the Romaines, or Cæſar, had to doe in that part of Gallia, vvhich the law of Armes had made his inheritance.

Vpon the retурne of this anſwer, Cæſar framed a ſecond Embaſſage; the purpoſe whereof was: Foraſmuch as he thus required the honour vvhether with the people of Rome had beautified his beſt dignity (for, in Cæſars Consulſhip, the authoritie of their Empire had vouchſafed to eſteeme of him, as a King in his domiſions, & as a friend unto their State) & that he diſdained to admit of a Parle, concerning the common good; let him knowe, that theſe were the things that he required to be performed by him: First, that hee ſhould not ſuffer any more troopes of Germanes to be transported ouer the Rhene into Gallia. Secondarie, that he ſhould deliver vp thoſe Hoſtages which hee had of the Heduanes and Sequans; & ſhould ceaſe to moleſt them further with war or other iniurieſ. Theſe things if he diſperformed, Cæſar vvhould affiſe him of a gratefull acceptance on the behalfe of the people of Rome: otherwife, foraſmuch as in the Conſulſhips of M. Mæſſala, and L. Piso, the Senate had decreed, That hee ſhould obtaine the gouernment of the Prouince, ſhould as neere as it would ſtand with the good of the Common-weale, indeauour the deſence of their Aſſociates and Friends: therefore hee would not neglect the iniurieſ done unto the Heduanes.

To theſe Mandates, Ariouistus replied: The law of Armes kept this tenure amongſt

Cæſar.

mongst all Nations; That a Conquerour might gouerne a subdued people, according as he thought best for his owne safetie. The people of Rome, did not direct the course of their government, by another mans prescript, but by their own arbitrement: and, as he had not directed the Romans, so ought not they to meddle with his proceedings.

The Heduans, hauing tried the fortune of vvarre, were by right become his Stipendaries; wherin Caesar offered great wrong, for that his comming thither, had made their tribute much leſſe unto him then before. Touching their Hostages; his purpose was still to retaine them. Neither vwould hee make any unijſt warre upon any of their Associates, if they obſerved the Articles of agreement, and paid their yearely tribute: but if they failed in that, the fraternity of the Romaines would come too late to their succour. If Caesar vwould needs undertake their quarrell; Hee was to let him knowe, that no man euer contended with Ariouſtus, but to his on ne deſtruction. Try wouſt he wouſt, he ſhould find what valour coniſteth in the Germaines, that for foureteene yeres ſpace, were never couered with other rooſe then the Heauens.

O B S E R V A T I O N .

 Nd thus farre proceeded Caesar with Ariouſtus, in debating the wrongs and agrieuances of the Hedu. Wherin appeareth the diſſenſe betwixne a matter handled according to morall ciuitie, in termes of mildneſſe and pleaſing accent, and that which is rudenly deliuereſt, & dependeth rather upon the plainneſſe of the project, then ſuited with words fitte for peruation. For, that which Ariouſtus alledgad, to make good his i[n]terest in Gallia, was as conformant to reaſon, as any thing to the contrary vrged by Caesar.

But as the Lacedemonian ſaid of one, That hee ſpake the truth otherwise then it ſhould be ſpoken: ſo it may be ſaid of Ariouſtus aūfwere, that it wanted that ſweeting humanitie which giueth credit to veriteit ſelue; forasmuch as it proceſſeth from a well tempered ſpirit, wherin no turbulent paſſion ſeemeth to controul the force of reaſon, nor hinder the ſentence of true iudgement; but rather, ſeaſoning her conceptions with humilitie, doth couerly complaine of open wrong, and ſtrengthen her aſſertions with a pleaſing deliuerie. And therefore, how great ſouer the controuerſie be, that partie which exceedeth not the boundes of modeſtie, but maketh mildneſſe his chiefeſt advocate, will ſo preuaile in any auditore, that albeit equitie doth diſallow her title; yet the manner of his cariage will cleare him from offering wrong, in that he vſeth the ſequels of innocencie, to proue his i[n]terest in that which he demandeth. But to leaue this circumſtance, as onely to be noted, let vs proceed to the vwarre it ſelue, which I made the ſecond part of this historic.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

The Treuiri bring newes of one hundred towneſhips of the Sweui, that were come to the Rhene. Caesar taketh in Befanson: his ſouldiers are ſurprized with an extreame feare of the Germaines.



Caſar. Tthe ſame time, as this anſwer vras returned to Caesar, there came likewife Embaſſadours from the Heduans and Treuiriſ. The Heduans complained, that the Haudes, lately transported into Gallia, did depopulate and waste their borders, and that they could not buy their peace of Ariouſtus, vwith giuing of Hoſtages for their alleageance. The Treuiriſ brought newes of one hundred towneſhips of the Sweui, that were come to the riuer Rhene, to ſeek a paſſage into Gallia, conducted by Nafua and Cimberius, two bretheren. Whereat, Caesar being exceedingly mooued, thought his beſt meaſes of preuention to coniſt in celeriti, leſt the diſſiculty of reiſiſting ſhould growe greater, when thofe new forces of the Sweui, vvere ioyned with the power whch was al[e]ady with Ariouſtus. And therefore, hauing prouided Corne, hee made haſte to ſeek the Germaines. And having gone three daies journey on his way, he had intelligence, that Ariouſtus with all his forces, was gone to take in Befanson, the greateſt towne of the Sequans; and that hee was three daies journey on his way already.

Caſar, knowing how much it impoſted him to preuent that diſaduantage (for alſt the Towne abounded vwith all neceſſarie prouiſions for vwarre, and was ſo ſitid, that hee that comauanded it, might prolong the warre at his owne pleaſure: beeing incircled vwith the riuer Alduabis; excepting a ſmall ſpace of ſixhundreſt ſoote, whiſch was fortiſt vwith an exceeding high Hill, the ſoote whereof diſt at each end ioyne unto the Riuer, and the Hill (rengthened with a wall, and ſo ioyned to the towne) made all the haſte hee could to take the towne, and there leſt a gauar[an]t. And as hee reſted there a few daies, to make prouiſion of Corne, and other neceſſaries, the Romaines inquiering of the Galles and Marchants, concerning the qualite of the Germaines; underſtood that they were men of a huge ſtature, of courage iuincible, and of great praice and expeſſe in ſteates of Armes; vwhereof the Galles had oftentimes made triall: for, when they incountered them, they were not able to indure ſo much as the ſterneneſſe of their countenaunce, or the fierceneneſſe of their lookeſ. The vhole Armeſ conceiued ſuſt a ſeaſe therat, that all mens minds were wonderfullie appaileſt. This ſeaſe beganne first amongſt the Tribunes and Commanders of horſe, and ſuch others as for friendſhip ſake followed Caſar from Rome, & had ſmall or no ſkill in matter of war. Theſe men, faining ſome one excuse, & ſome another, of very eaſeſt busiſeſ, which caſt the home, deſired leaue to depart. Some others wh[o] ſame wouſt not ſuffer to forſake the Campe, bewraied the like paſſion

le doux.

passion in their countenances & behaviour: for, hiding themselves in their Tents, they either bewailed their desacie secretly to themselves, or otherwise, with their acquaintance and familiar friends. They lamented the danger they were all like to fall into; so that throughout the whole Campe, there was nothing but making and signing of Testaments. And through the talke and fearefulnes of these men, the old soldiery and Centurions, and such as had great experience in the Campe, beganne by little and little to apprehend the tesser wher-with the rest were amaz'd: and those that would seeme to be leſſe fearfull, said, they feared not the enemy, but the narrownesse of the wayes, & the greatnesse of the woods, that were betweene them and Ariovitus; or otherwise they cast doubts wher they might haue prouision of Corne. And many stac not to tell Cæsar, that whenouer he shoulde give commandement to march forward, or aduaunce the Standards, the soldiery would refuse to doe it.

O B S E R V A T I O N .

Herein, for that we find a strange alteration, no way answerable to that courage, which a late gotten victorie doth usually breed in noble spirits; it shall not bee amisse, a little to infis vpon the qualite of the accident, and to gather such breefe instructions from their weakenesse, as may best serue to qualifie the amazement of horrour, and mitigate the frenſie of ſo violent a paſſion. And albeit my ignorance in the works of Nature, cannot promife any ſuch learning, as may diſcouer the true meaneſs and ſecret motions, whereby a ſore conceiued fear doth trouble the ſenes, and aſtoniſh the mind; yet ſith the hiſtory offereth it to our ſcanning, give me leaue onely to note the ſtrangeneſſe of the circumſtance, and rudely to delineat the purtrature of a beaſt oþerne ſcene then wel knowne, uſing the vniwieldie pile for my penſile, and ſuting my ſpeech to a warlike auditořie. I knowe not how it happeneth, but thus it may happen, that when the ſenes receive intelligence of an eminent euill, which may either diſpoſe the ſoule of this earthly manſion, or trouble the quiet wherin ſhee reſteth; the ſpirits (as it ſeemeth) by the direcſion of their oueraigne Miftrefſe, retire themſelues into the inner cabinets and ſecreter pauiſhions of the body, where the chiefelie part of the ſoule is moſt reſident: & ſo they leaue the frontier quarters of her kiŋdom, naked and vnguaranzeed, the better to ſtrengthen then capitall Cittie of the heart, out of which the life cannot ſtare, but to the vtter ruine and deſtruction of the whole bodie. For, fear is not onely a perturbation of the ſoule, proceeding from the opinion it hath of ſome euill to come: but it is alſo a contraſt, and cloſing vp of the hart, when the blood and the ſpirits are recalled from the outward partes, to affiſt that place which giueth life and motion to all the rest. In this Chaos and conuſion of humours and ſpirits, when the multiplicitie of faculties (which otherwife require an ordinate diſtincſion in their ſeruice, and by the order of nature, ſhoulde be diſpoſed into ſeverall instruments, and be diſtended throughout the bodie)

body) are thus blended confiſedly together, the conceptions of the mind, which pretently ſile from theſe aduertifeſts, are ſuddenly choaked with the diſorderd mixture of ſo many ſeverall properties, and are ſtifled as it were in the throng, before they can be tranported to our judgement, or examined by reaſon, for want of that ordinate uniformitie of place which naſure requireth in the powers of the mind. And hence proceedeth that amazement and aſtoniſhment, which ſo daunteth the harts of men, when they are taken with this paſſion, that becauſe the ſoule giueth no counſell, the body can afford no motion, but ſtandeth frozen through the extremitie of the perturbation, benummed in ſene, and forſaken of the ſpirits. So we read, that Theophilus the Emperour, in an ouerthrowe which he had giuen him by the Hagerans, was ſtrocken with ſuch an exceilſe feare, that he could not bateke himſelfe to flight (Adeo paucor etiam auxilia formidat) vntill one of his chiefe Commanders ſhaking him by the ſhoulder, as though he were to awake him out of a deep ſleep, threatened him with preſent death, if he would not prevent the ruine of the Empire, by uſing that meaneſs which was onely leſt for his ſafetie.

Again, if in that turbulent conſitory, the ſpirits chance diſtinctly to receive any apprehenſion proceeding from the forging facultie of the ſoule, they carie it pretently to execution, before it be examined by reaſon, and follow the action with ſuch vehemencie, that they leaue no place for better aduice and reaſongement. And this is the cauſe, that oftentimes through extremitie of feare, to avoid one euill, we run headlong into a worse, and find a greater danger in the meaneſs we ſe to avoid a leſſe; because reaſon did not firſt trie the apprehenſion, before it was deliuere to exteſſall Agents. And ſo we find in the batell betwene Germanicus and the Almaines, that two groſſe troopes of ſoldiery were driven into ſuch an exatſie of feare, that taking contrarie courses to avoid one and the ſame danger, they either of them fledde to that place, which the other had quitted: neither could they bee aduifeſd by each others flight, that the places which they fought after, afforded them no remedie.

And, albeit reaſon be cauſed to counſell, whe a parlee is ſummoned of composition, yet it beareth ſo ſmall a ſway in the conſultation, that the will of it ſelfe concludeth to betray vertu to diſhonour; and ſo to purcaſe peace, with the loſſe of the ſoules chiefelie treaure; which ought euer to bee extimated at a higher rate, then any other hapineſſe which can beſide the mind. For among all the ſenſible things of this world, there is no creature that hath ſuch a conuſed feare, or is moſe amaz'd therewith, then man is: neither is there any miſerie greaier, or any bondage more shamefull, ſeruile, or vile, then this, which maketh men very abiects of all other creatures, to redeeme the euill which the danger threatneth: and then doth shame follow after ſo base a part, and aggrauate the burthen of the ſinne with lothſome diſgrace, and penitent diſcontentment; adding oftentimes Aloes to Wormewood, and making the end grieuouser then the beginning. And thus doth danger breed feare, and feare yieldeth to diſhonour, and diſhonour bringeth shame, and shame beeing alwaies mingled with wrath & anger, reuengeth it ſelfe vpon it ſelfe, & bringeth more perill then the firſt danger could threaten.

Whereby it appeareth, that as the affections of the mind are bred one of another: so, on the contrarie part, some are bridled and restrained by others; for, as enuie, hatred, & anger, rise oftentimes of loue, so is ioy lessened with griefe, entie with mercie, and feare with shame.

But, forasmuch as all such perturbations, proceede of ignorance and inconsideratenesse, whereby we think that the euill is greater then indeede it is; let vs consider what disposition of our judgement, belte moderateth the violent heat of these affections. And first, touching the palfages, whereby the soule receiuteth her aduertisements, as they are of diuers natures, the chiefe whereof are the eye and the eare: so are their auisos different in qualitie, and require a feuerall consideration to be rightlie discerned. The intelligence by the eye, is more certaine then that which commeth by the way of hearing; forasmuch as the eie is a witnesse it selfe of every action, whereof it taketh notice; neither is it deceived in her proper obiect: and therefore, the judgement is not much troubled, to determine definitiuely how great or how small the danger is, when the relations carie alwaies that certaintie. And, albeit the eare in like manner bee not deceived in her proper obiect; for it faithfully giueth vp that sense, which found hath deliuernynto it: yet, forasmuch as the fantasie hath greater scope to coine her vaine concepciones, in regard of the absence of the action, it is necessarie, that the discoursing facultie, bee called for an assistant, before the judgement can truly determine: and then it will appearre, that the truth doth not alwaies aunswere the report which is made thereof; inasmuch as diseased spirits, will not stick to dilate or qualifie relations, according to the key wherein they themselves are tuned. And therefore, this first commeth to be confidered of in all such violent commotions, by which of these two sensis the first intelligence was received. But concerning the judgement it selfe, this is most certaine, that the more it is infected with the corruptions of the flesh, the more violent are the affections of the soule. And againe, the purer the judgement is, & the higher it is lifted vp from earthly natures, being no further interessed thererin, then to hold a resolution of well doing; the fewer and lighter are the affections, which trouble and molest it: for, then it better discerneth the truth and falsehood, good or euill that is in things.

To redresse this inconuenience, Cæsar betooke himselfe to the fittest & most proper remedie: which was by the authoritie of his speech, to restore reason to her former dignitie, and by discourse, which feare had interrupted in them, to put downe a surpising passion, which had so troubled the government of the soule; recalling it to the meane of true resolution, which was to moderate audacie with wariness, but not to choake valour with beastly cowardice: for, these Oratoris inducing perswasions, were not the least point of their discipline; considering how they framed the inward habite of the mind (beeing the fountaine and beginning of all motion) to giue life and force to those actions, which the feuerite of outward discipline commanded. For, as lawes and constitutions of men, inforce obedience of the bodie: so reason, and perswasions, must winne the soules consent: according to that saying; *Homines duci volunt, non cogi.*

CHAP. XV.

Cæsar his speech to the Arinie, concerning
this feare. ¶



Cæsar being informed of these things, he called a Councell of warre, admitting all the Cæsarians, of what degrees or orders soever, unto the same: And, beeing thus assembled, he greatly blamed them; First, that any man should be so inquisitive, as to imagine to himselfe, whither, and upon what service they were caried. Concerning Ariouitius, he had in the time of Cæsars Consulshippe, most earnestly sued for the friendship of the people of Rome: and why then should any man misdeeme, that he should so unadvisedly goe back from his dutie? For his owne part, he was verily perwaded, that if Ariouitius once knew his demands, & understood the reasonable offers that he would make him, he would not easily reject his friendship, or the fauour of the people of Rome. But if he were so madde, as to make warre upon them, why should they feare him? or why should they despaire, either of their own prowest, or of Cæsars diligence? For, if it came to that point, the enemie that they were to encounter, had beeene tried what he could doe twice before; first, in the memorie of their fathers, when the Cimbri and Teutoni were vanquished by Marius, at what time the Army merited no lesse honour then the Generall: and now of late againe, in Italie, at the insurrection of the bondmen; who were not a little furthered through the practice and discipline they had learned of the Romanes. Whereby it might be discerned, how good a thing it is to be constant & resolute; inasmuch, as whom for a time they feared without cause, beeing naked and unarm'd, the same men afterwards (although well armed, and Conquerors withall) they nobly overcame. And to be short, there were no other Germanies, then those whom the Heluetians had vanquished in diuers conflicts; and not only in their owne Country, where the Heluetians dwelt themselves, but also even at home at their own doores: and yet the same Heluetians were not able to make their party good against our Armies.

If any man were moued at the flight and ouerthowre of the Galles, upon inquierie he shoulde find, that being wearied with continuall warres (after that Ariouitius had for many monthes together kept himselfe within his Campe, in a boggie and fenny Country) and despairing of any occasion of battell, he suddenly set upon them as they were dispersed, and so overcame them, rather by policie then by force. Which, although it took place against savage and vnskilfull people, yet was not Ariouitius so simple, as to think that he could insnare our Armies with the like subtillties. As for those that fained the cause of their feare, to bee the difficultie of prouision of Corne, and the dangerousnesse of the way, they seemed very arrogant in their conceits, in presuming to direct their Generall, as if he had not knowne what pertained to his dutie. The Sequans and Lingons, had underooke that charge; besides that, Corne was almost ripe every where in the fields: and what the waies were, shoulde shortly be seene.

Where-as it was given out, that the soldiery would not obey his mandates, nor aduance their Standards, he little valued it; for, he was well assured, that if an Army refused to be obedient to their Generall, it was either because he was thought to be unfortunate in his enterprises; or else, for that he was notoriously convicted of Avarice: but the whole course of his life, shewd witness his innocence; and the ouerthrowe of the Heluetians, his happinesse. And therefore, that which he was minded to have put off for a longer time, he would now put in execution out of hand; for, the night following, at the fourth watch, hee would dislodge from thence: that without further delay, he might understand, whether shame, and respect of their dutie, would preuale more with them, then feare or cowardise. And though he wist that no man else would follow him; yet notwithstanding, he would goe with the tenth legion alone, of whom he had no doubt or suspicion, and would take them as a guard to his person. Cæsar had chiefly fauoured this legion, and put much trust in them for their valour.

Vpon the making of this speech, the minds of all men were wonderfully changed; for, it brede in every one a great alacrity and desire to fight: neither did the tenth legion forget to give him thanks by their Tribunes, for the good opinion he had of them; assuring him of their readinesse to set forward to the warre. And then likewise, the rest of the legions made meanes, by the Tribunes of the soldiery and Centurions of the first Orders, to give Cæsar satisfaction; protesting, they neither doubted nor feared, nor gaue any censure of the issue of that warre, but alwaies left it to the wisedome of the Generall.

Their satisfaction being taken, and a view beeing made of the waies by Diniacus (whom of all the Galles, he best trusted) and report being by him made, that in fetching a compasse of fiftie miles, hee might carie his Armie in open and champaigne Countries; in the fourth watch of the night, according to his former saying, he set forward.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

In the speech it selfe, are presented many specialities, both concerning their discipline and Militarie instructions, which deserve examination; amongst which I note, first, the extraordinary number admitted to the Councell; *Omnium ordinum ad concilium adhucit Centurionibus*: Where-as there were vsually no more admitted to their councill of warre, but the Legates, Questor, Tribunes, and the Centurions of the first Orders; which I understand to be the first *Hastate*, the first *Principes*, and the first *Pilum* of euery legion. And this is manifestly prooued out of the first Commentarie, where Cicero was besieged by Ambiorix: in which, amonst other, there were two valiant Centurions, Pufio, and Varenus; betwene whom, there was euery yeare great emulation for place of preferment: *Iam primis ordinibus appropinquabant*, saith Cæsar, that is, they had passed by degrees, through the lower orders of the legion, and were very neare the dignitie of the first cohort; wherein, as in all the rest, there were three maniples, and in euery maniple, two orders.

THE

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

He first motiue which he vseth to recall their exiled judgement, discouered their breach of discipline: for, contrarie to the course of Militarie government, they had presumed not onely to make inquierie, but to giue out, whether, and vpon what seruice they were caried; which in the rigour of Camp-policie, could not passe without due punishment: for, what can more contradict the fortunate successe of an expedition, then to suffer to bee measured with the vulgar conceit: or weighed in the balance of such false judgments: especially, when those weake Censors are to be Actors, and Executioners of the designde: for, then, every man will sue the nature of the action according to his owne humour; although his humour be led with blindnesse, & haue no other direction, then an vnctainte apprehension of profit, or diaduantage.

And in this case, there cannot be a better presidient then Nature hath presribed: for, as naturall Agents, whilst they concur to produce a worke of absolute perfection, neither know what they do, nor can discerne the things they look vpon; but yeld themselves to be guided by a Moderator of infinite knowledge: so ought a multitude to submit their ability to the direction of some wise and prudent Captaine, that beholdeth the action in true honour; and balanceth the losse of many particulars, with the health and safetie of the publique good. For, if every man shoulde prescrib; who shoulde obey? *Tam ne cire quodam militis, quam facere oportet*, saith Otho in Tacitus, vpon the like disorder: and againe, *Parendo patris quam imperia ducum scis fitando, res militares continentur*. Which proueth, that the greatest vertue which is required in a soldier, is obedience; as a thing wherein the force of all discipline consisteth.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

In the reasoun which he vseth to proue their disparity of valour, in regard of the Romans, being superiorre to the Heluetians, that had of rentimes ouerthrowne the Germans; hee strengtheneth the argument with the aduantage of the place: and saith, that the Heluetians had put them to the worst; not onely where the Heluetians dwelt themselves, but euen in their owne Country, and at home at their owne doores: as though an enimie were charged with greater furie in the presence of a mans owne Country and dearest friends, then in a strange & vnknowne land.

This question was handled in the Romaine Senate, by Fabius Maximus, & Scipio, surnamed Africanus, when they sat in councill how to ridde their Country of that st. brile Carthaginian, that for sixteene yeeres space, had fiered like a canker the beaute of Italie, wasted the land, and brought it to desolation, fackt their confederates, or alienated them from their dutie, ouerthrown their Armies, slaine their Consuls, and threatened their imperiall Cittie with ruine and destruction. Fabius, vpon the motion to make warre in Africk,

Whether men haue greater courage in their owne or in a strangers Country.

frick, thought it agreeable to nature, first to defend that which was their owne, before they atteypted other mens possessions: when peace was establisched in Italy, then let war be set on foote in Aftrick; and first let them be without feare themselues, before they went about to terrifie others: for, those forces afforded little hope of victorie in another kingdom, that were not able to free their owne Country from so dangerous an enemy. Alcibiades ouerthrew the Athenian Common-weale with the like counsell: and concerning Hannibal, let them be sure of this, that they should find him a fower enemy in his own Countrey, then in another kingdom.

Scipio, on the other side, caried on with the honour of so glorious an enterprise, wanted neither reasons nor examples to impugne Fabius his authoritie: for, he shewed that Agathocles, the Syracusian king, beeing a long time afflicted with the Punick warre, auerted the Carthaginian from Sicily, by transportring his forces into Aftrick: but how powerfull it was to take away feare, by retorting danger vpon the Oppressor, could there bee a preuentor example then Hannibal? There was great difference in the nature of the action, betweene the spoile and waste of a strangers Country, and to see their owne native Country wasted with sword and destruction: *Plus animi est inferenti periculum, quam propulsanti.* For, he that inuadeth anothers kingdome, easily discouereth both the aduantage which may be taken against the enemy, and the strength wher-upon he resteth. And amongst the variable events of war, many vncpected occasions arise, which preuent victorie to him that is ready to take it; and many strange chances to alter the course of things, that no foresight can discerne what may happen.

With these, and the like remonstrances, this question of no lesse doubt then importance, was handled by two famous & worthy Capitaines, whose minds (as it seemed) were intangled with such particular affections for the present, as might rather draw them to wretf reason to their owne humour, then to determine in sincerite of iudgement, vpon what specialities the truth was grounded, in the contrarieitie of their positions. But, to leaue other commodities or disaduantages, which are annexed vnto either part, I will onely set down some reasons, to proue how valour and courage may either grow or be abated, by the accidents which rise in a warre of that nature. And first, this cannot be denied, the testimonie of an vnsallible truth beeing grounded vpon the propertie of mans nature; that as aduantage bringeth hope of victory, and hope conciueth such spirits as vsually follow, when the thing which is hoped for, is effected; and thereby the courage becommeth hardie and resolute in victorie: so on the other side, disaduantage and danger breed feare, and feare so checketh valour, and controlleth the spirits, that vertue and honour giue place to distrust, and yield vp their interest to such directors, as can afford nothing but disfidence and irresolution.

Neither can it be denied, but he that setteth vp an enemy in a strange countrey, and so preuenteth such attempts as might be made vpon his owne territories, hath that aduantage which giueth life vnto action, and steeleth his enterprise with resolution. For, besides the commoditie of leauing when he list, and proce-

proceeding as farre foorth as hee shall find his meanes able to fortunat his attempts; he knoweth that the strife & controuersie is not for his native Countrey, which he quietly enioyeth, & is referred at all times to entertaine him, howsouer Fortune shall fauour his desaignes: but, for a Strangers kingdom, which his ambition thrlteth after; wherein, forasmuch as the riches and wealth of that State, are laid before them, as the recompence of their labour, besides the honour which is achiueed thereby, euery mans valour soareth at a high pitch, and their courage is increased, without any trouble or disturbance of the other faculties of the mind. But, when a Prince shall be assaulted in his owne kingdome, and in the sight of his subiects haue his land consumed with tuisne and destruction; the danger will so disturbe the powers of the soule, that through the turbulent disorder of the weaker parts, the better faculties will lose their prerogative of aduising how the enemy may bee best resisted; when as euerie man shall appreheend the tueror of the danger, and few or none conceiuie the true meanes to auoide it.

And albeit the presence of such things as are dearest to his soule, as the pietie and respect of aged parents, the tender affection towards wife and children, are sufficient to raise valour to the highest point of resolution; yet the motuies are of such weight, as will rather make them disfident of their owne worth, as vnsufficient to mainraine so great a cause, then hold them in that key which true honour affecteth: forasmuch as the tueror and feare of so great a danger, will preuent a greater meaure of woes to their mind, then the hope of victorie can afford them joy.

Hence therefore groweth the difference, between him that seeketh to mainraine that estate which he hath in possession by force of Armes; and an other, that seeketh to increase his meanes by valour. For, the former is presented with the danger of losing all his estate; which affrighteth and troubleth, hauing no other reward propounded vnto him: and the other looketh vpon the aduantage which hee gaineth by ouercoming; which much increaseth his valour, without any losse or disaduantage, if hee chance to bee put to the worst. And therefore, there is alwaies great odds betweene him that hath already lost his goods, and is by that meanes become desperate, hauing nothing further to lose; and another, that yet keepeh his substance, but is in danger to lose it: for, feare will so dismayne his mind, that he will rather distrust his owne abilitie, then entertaine a resolution of valour.

To proue this, wee neede not seeke other examples, then those imperiall Cities, in whose cause this controuersie was first moued. For, when Hannibal was come into Italie, and had defeated Semprius the Consull at Trebeas, the Romaines were driuen into such an extasie of tueror, that they believed verily, that the enemy was then comming to assault the City; neither had they any hope or aide in themselues, to keep or defend the same. On the other side, Scipio was no sooner landed in Aftrick, but there was such a tumult in Carthage, as though the Cittie had beeene alreadie taken: neither could the opinion of victorie, which Hannibal by a conquering Arme in Italie had confirmed for sixteene yeeres together, preuale in the apprehension of so imminent

next a danger. And then that which Fabius borrowed of Nature to teach the Romans (that first men ought to defend their owne, before they seeke other mens possessions) was carefully followed by the Carthaginians : for, with all speed they sent for Hannibal out of Italy, to be their Champion against young Scipio. If therefore other things bee correspondent (as there are many other particularities concerning the power and strength of either Nation to be considered) I take it much better for a Prince to inuade an enemy in his own country, then to attend him at home in his owne kingdome.

THE FOU'RTH OBSERVATION.

He last circumstance which I note in this speech, was the trust which he reposed in the tenth legion, being in it selfe peraduenture as faultie as any other : wherin he shewed great Art and singular Wsdom. For, he that hath once offended, & is both burdened with the guilt of conscience, and vpbraided with the reproache of men, can hardly be perswaded that his fault can be purged with any satisfaction. And although the punishment be remitted, yet the memorie of the fact will never be blotted out with any vertuous action ; but still remaineth, to cast dishonour vpon the offender, and to accuse him of disloyaltie.

And therefore, it oftentimes happeneth, that an errour beeing once rashlie committed, through despaire of remission, admitteth no true penitencie, but either draweth on more grieuous crimes, confirming that of the Poet, *Scelere scelus lucundum est* ; or maintaineth his errour by wilfull obstinacie : as it is said of the Lion, that beeing found by Hunters in a Cane, will rather die in the place then quit it, for shame that he was found in so base a place of refuge ; and therefore his proprietie is thus expressed, *ingrediendo catus, exēndo protinus*. This did Cæsar wisely prevent, by clearing the tenth legion of that, which he accused the rest of the Armie ; which made them the more earnest to answer his expectation, inasmuch as they were witness to themselues of a common errour : and the other legions, envying at their fortune, resolued to shew as great alacrity in the sequell of the warre, and to deserve more then the judgement of the Emperour had imputed to their fellowes.

CHAP. XVII.

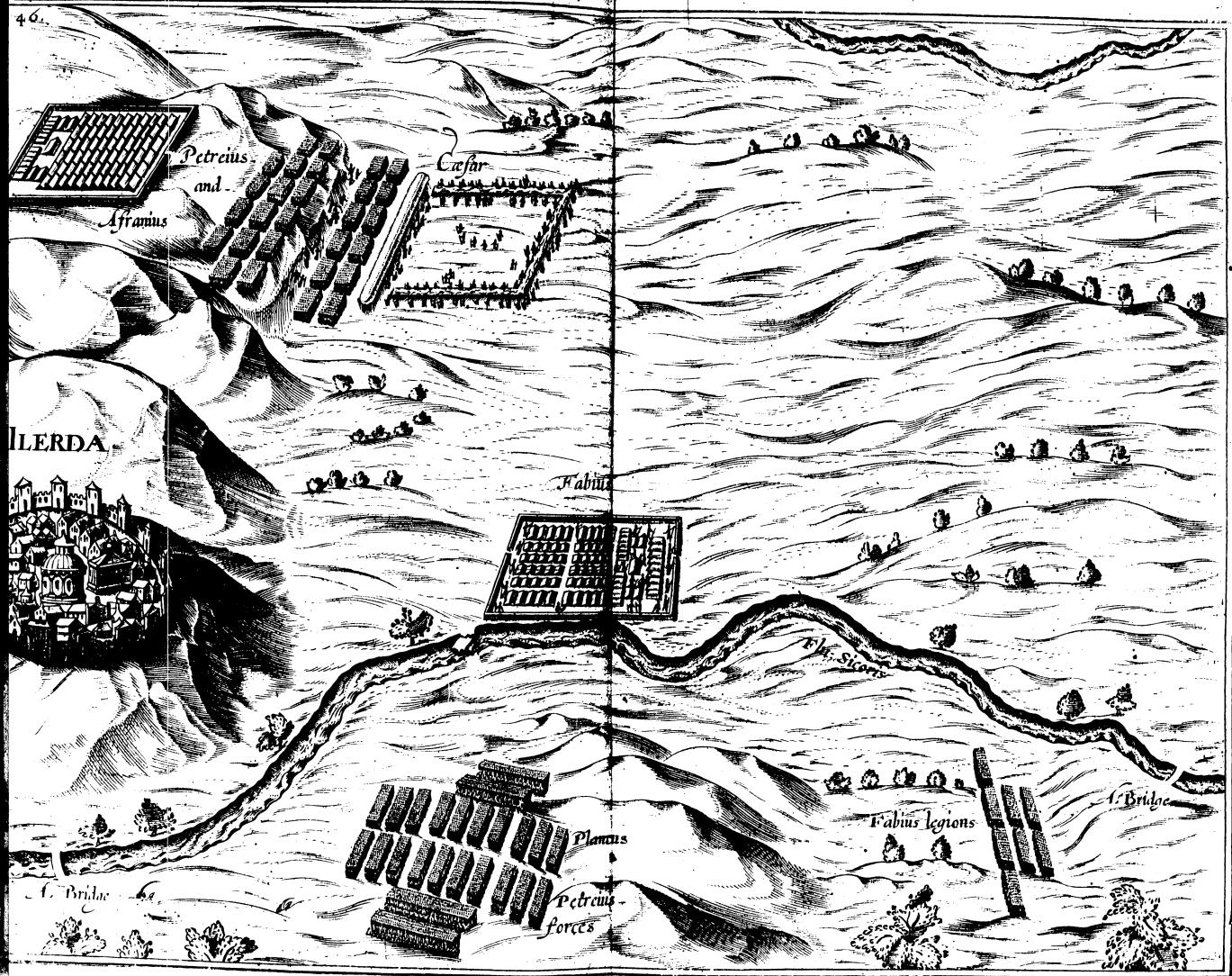
The treatie betweene Cæsar and Ariouistus.

Cæsar.



He seauenth day, as bee continued on his march, his Espialls brought him word, that Ariouistus with all his forces, was within twentie fourre miles of that place : who as soone as he vnderstood of Cæsars comming, sent Embassadours unto him; Declaring that forasmuch as hee was come some-what neerer, and that he might doe it without danger, he was content





tent to admit of a parlee. Caesar refused not the offer ; thinking now to find him reasonable, in that he offered of his owne accord, what he had formerly denied at Caesars request : and thereby was in good hope, that understanding what was required, he would in the end, consider of the many fauours he had received fro the people of Rome, and desist from such wilful courses.

The fift day following was appointed for the Treaty. In the meane time, there passed often Messages reciprocally betweene them. Ariouistus required, that Caesar would not bring any footmen to the parlee, for that hee feared to be circumuerted by treacherie ; and therefore thought fitte, that either partie shoulde come only with their Canarie : otherwise hee would not give meeting.

Caesar, not willing to put off the Treatie for any such cause, nor yet daring to put himselfe in trust to the French horse, thought it most conuenient to leaue the French Riders behind him ; and to set the souldiers of the tenth legion (whom he best trusted) vpon their horses : that if he stood in need, he might haue a faithfully guard of his friends about him. Whereupon, one of the souldiers said prettily, that Caesar had doone more for them then hee had promised : for, hee had said before, he would make the tenth legion as a guard to his person, and now he had inrolled them all for horsemen.

There was a great and open Plaine, and in the midſt thereof a rising Mount, vwhich was almost in the mid-way, betweene both the Campes : and thither, according to the agrement, they came to parlee. The legion which Caesar had brought vwith him on horsebacke, hee placed two hundred paces from the said Mount : and likewise the horsemen of Ariouistus, stood in the same distance. Ariouistus requested, they might talke on horseback, and bring each of them tenne persons to the conference. At their meeting, Caesar beganne his speech vwith a commemoration of the fauours and benefites the Senate had done vnto him ; in that hee was by their authoritie, iinitiated by the name of a King and a Friend : & therupon, had received great gifts. Which fauour fell but vnto a few ; and was by the Romaines giuen only to men of great deserft : Whereas hee, vwithout anie occasion of access vnto them, or other iuft cause on his behalfe, had obtained those honours, through his curtesie, and the bountie of the Senate.

Hee strewed him further, vwhat ancient and reasonable causes of amitie, tied them ſo firme to the Heduans : What Decrees & orders of Senate, had oftentimes been made in their fauour and behoofe : That from all antiquity, the Heduans had held the principalite of Gallia ; and that, long before they were in amitie with the Romaines. The people of Rome had alwaies this custome, not onlie to indeauour that their Allies and Confederates ſhould not lose any thing of their proper ; but also, that they might increafe in dignitie and reputation : and therefore, vwho could indure to ſee that forced from them, which they quietlie poſſeſſed, when they entered league with the Romaines ?

In like manner, he required the performance of ſuch things, which he had formerly giuen in charge to his Embassadors ; that hee ſhould not make vvarre, either vpon the Heduans, or their Associates. That hee ſhould reſtore their houſages : and if hee could not returne any part of the Germanes backe againe ouer the Rhene, yet hee ſhould forbear to bring any more into that Country.

Ariouistus



Ariouitus made little answere to Cæsars demands, but spake much of his owne vertues and valour; That he was come over the Rhene, not out of his owne desire, but at the mediation and intreatie of the Galles; that hee had not left his house and kindred but with great hope of high rewards; the possessions hee had in Gallia, were giuen him by themselves; their hostages were voluntarily delivered onto him; he tooke tribute by the law of Armes, which was such, as Conquerours might lay vpon the vanquished; he made no war vpon the Galles, but the Galles made warre vpon him: All the States of Gallia came to fight against him, and had put themselves into the field; whose forces were in one battell all dispersed and ouerthrowne. If they were desirous to make another triall, he was ready to undertake them: but if they would haue peace, it were an iniury to retract that tribute, which of their owne accord they had paid vntill that time. He expected that the Amittie of the people of Rome, shoud be rather an honor and a safety, then a losse vnto him, and that he had sought it to that end: but if by their meanes, the tribute due vnto him shoud be retraced, hee would as willingly refuse their friendshipe as he had desired it. In that hee had brought so many Germans into Gallia, it was rather for his own defence, then of any purpose to subdue the Country; as might appear, by that he had not come thither but upon intreatie, & set no war on foot but for his own defence. He was seated in Gallia before the Romaines came thither; neiker had the people of Rome before that time carried their Army beyond the bounds of their Province: and therefore he knew not what he meant to intrude himselfe into his possessions. This was his Province of Gallia, as that was ours: and as it was not lawfull for him to commaund in our quarters; so it was not fitting, that they shoud disturb his government.

In that hee alledged, the Heduans were by decree of Senate adopted into the amittie of the people of Rome; he was not so barbarous, or unacquainted with the course of things, as to be ignorant, that in the last warre of the Allobroges, they were ayding and assisting to the Romaines: and in the quarrell the Heduans had with the Sequans, the Romans were in like manner assisting unto them. Whereupon he had good occasion to suspect, that Cæsar, vnder pretence of league & amity, kept his Army in Gallia for his ruine and destruction: and that if hee did not depart and withdraw his Army out of those Countries, hee would no longer take him for a friend, but for an enemy. And if his fortune were to slay him, hee should performe a very acceptable service to many noble & cheefe men of Rome: as he had well understood by Letters and Messengers he had received from them, whose fauour and amity hee shoud purchase, by taking away his life. But if hee would depart, and leaue him the free possession of Gallia, hee would gratifie him with great rewards: and what war soeuer hee desired to be undertaken, shoud be gone through withall, without his perill or charge.

Many things were spoken by Cæsar, to shew why he could not desist from that course; for, neither was it his use, nor the custome of the people of Rome, to forsake their wel-deserving Associates: neither could he thinke that Gallia did rather belong to Ariouitus then the Romans. The Arverns and Rutenes, were in due course of war subdued by Q. Fabius Maximus: who the people of Rome had pardoned, and not reduced to a Province, or made them stipendiaries. And if an-

tiquitie

tiquitie were looked into, the people of Rome had good claime so that Countrey: but, forasmuch as the intention and will of the Senate was, they shoud remaine a free people, they were suffered to be governed by their owne lawes, and left unto themselves, notwithstanding any former conquest by force of Armes.

Whilst these things were treated of in parlee, it was told Cæsar, that Ariouitus horsmen did approach neerer to the Mount, and that accoſting our men, they assaulted them with stones and other weapons: whereupon he brake off, and tooke himſelfe to his Party, commanding them not to cast a weapon at the enemie. For, albeit hee well perceiued, hee might without perill of that elect legion, giue battell to his Caualry; yet he thought fit to refraine, leſt it ſhould be ſaid, he had intrapped them with a parlee, contrary to faith made, and agreement. After it was reported amongſt the vulgar ſouldiours, how arrogantly Ariouitus had carried himſelfe in the treaty; forbidding the Romaines to frequent any part of Gallia, and that their Caualry had assaulted our men, and that therewpon the parlee brake off: the Army was poſſeffed with a greater alacrity and deſire to fight, then before. Two daies after, Ariouitus ſent Meſſengers to Cæſar, ſignifying, that he deſired to treat with him, concerning thoſe things which were left unperfitt. & therwpo willed him to appoint another day of meeting or if he liked not, to ſend ſome vnto him with authority, to conclude of ſuch things as ſhould be ſouid expedient. Cæſar was unwilling to giue any further meeting. & the rather, for that the day before, the Germanes could not be reſtraineſ from violence, & force of Armes: Neither did hee think hee might ſafely expole the perſon of any of his followers, to the inhumanity of ſuch barbarous people; and therefore thought it fitteſt, to ſend vnto him M. Valerius Procius, the ſonne of C. Valerius Caburius, a vertuous yong maſ, & welbred, whose father was made free of Rome by C. Valer. Flacens: which he did, the rather in regard of his ſingular integrity, & his perfeſtneſſ in the French tongue, which Ariouitus through long continuance had learned: & that the Germanes had no cauſe of offence againſt him. And with him he ſent M. Titius, that was familiarly acquainted with Ariouitus; with inſtruction to heare what was ſaid, and to make report thereof to Cæſar. Whom, as ſoone as Ariouitus ſaw come into his Campe, hee cried out in the preſence of his Army; demanding wherfore they came thither? and whether they were not ſent as Spies? And as they were about to make anſweſe, hee curte them off, and commaunded them to be put in irons.

The ſame day he remooued his Campe, and lodged himſelfe under a hill, ſix miles from Cæſar. The next day, he brought his forces along by Cæſars Campe, and incamped himſelfe two miles beyond him, of purpoſe to cut off all ſuch corne and convoies, as ſhould be ſent to the Romaines by the Heduans and Sequans. From that day for ward, by the ſpace of five daies together, Cæſar imbatteſſed his men before his Campe; to the intent, that if Ariouitus had a mind to giue batteſſe, hee might doe it when he would. But Ariouitus all this while, kept his Army within his Campe, and dailie ſent out his horsmen to skirmiſh with the Romaines.

This was the maner of fighting which the Germanes had practiced: there were 6000 horsmen, & as many ſtrong and nimble footmen, whom he horsmen had ſelected

selected out of the whole host, every man one for his safeguard: these they had alwaies at hand wth them in battell, and unto these they resort for succour. If the horsemen were over-charged, these ever slept in to helpe them. If any one were wounded or unhorshed, they came about him, & succoured him. If the matter required either to adventure forward, or to retire speedily back againe, their swiftnesse was such (through continual exercise) that hanging on the horsemen by the one hand, they would runne as fast as the horses.

O B S E R V A T I O N .

MAY it seeme strange vnto the souldiours of our time, that the footmen should be mingled pell mell amongst the horsemen, without hurt and disadvantage to themselves; so vnlikely it is, that they should either succour the horsemen in any danger, or annoy the enemy: and therefore some haue imagined, that these footmen in the encounter, cast themselves into one bodie, and so charging the enemy, afflited the horsemen. But the circumstances of this place, and of others which I will alleage to this purpose, plainly euince that these footmen were mingled indifferentlie amongst the horsemen, to affit every particular man, as his fortune and occasion required: and therefore, the choise of these footmen, was permitted to the horsemen, in whose seruice they were to be imploied; that every man might take his friend, in whom he reposeth greatest confidence. When they were overcharged, these slept in to helpe them; if any man were wounded, or unhorshed, he had his footman ready to affit him: and when they were to goe vpon any speedy seruice, or suddenly to retire vpon aduantage, they staid themselves vpon the mane of the horses, with one hand, & so ran as fast as the horsemen could go. Which seruices, they could not possibly haue performed, without confusione & disorder, if the footmen had not severallie attended vpon the, according to the affectio specified in their particular elec^{tion}.

The principall vse of these footmen of the Germanies, consisted in the aide of their owne horsemen vpon any necessarie, not so much regarding their seruice vpon the enemy, as the affitance of their horsemen. But the Romans had long before practised the same Arte, to a more effectuall purpose; namely, as a principall remedy not onely to resist, but to defeat far greater troopes of horse, then the enemy was able to oppose against them. Whereof the most ancient memorie which historic mentioneth, is recorded by Liuie, in the seconde Punic warre, at the siege of Capua, vnder the regiment of Quintus Fulvius the Consull: where it is said, that in all their conflicts, as the Romaine legions returned with the better; so their caualrie was alwaies put to the wort: & therefore they inuented this meane, to make that good by Arte, which was wanting in force.

Out of the whole army were taken the choiseft young men, both for strength and agilitie, and to them were giuen little round bucklers, and 7 darts apiece in stead of their other weapons; these soldiours practiced to ride behind the horsemen,

men, and speedlie to light from the horses at a watch-word giuen, and so to charge the Enemie on foote. And when by exercise they were made no expert, that the noueltie of the invention no whit affrighted them, the Romaine horsemen went forth to encounter with the enemy, every man carrying his foot fouldier behind him; who at the encounter suddenly alighting, charged vp on the enemy with such a furie, that they followed them in sllaughter to the gates of Capua. And hence, saith Liuie, grew the first institution of the Velites: which euer after that time were inrolld with the legions. The author of this stratagem, is said to be one Q. Nauius, a Centurion, and was honourable rewarded by Fulvius the Consull, for the same.

Salust, in the historie of Iugurtha, saith, that Marius mingled the Velites with the Caualrie of the associates, *or quacunque inuidenter equitatus hostium popularent*. The like practice was vsed by Caesar, as appeareth in the 3 book of the Civil war; sauing that in stead of the Velites, he mingled with his horsemen, 400 of the lustiest of his legionarie soldiours, to resist the caualrie of Pompey, while the rest of his Armie passed ouer the riuer Genulum, after the ouerthrow he had at Dyrrachium: *qui tantum profere*, saith the text; *vt equestris praelio commiso, pellerent omnes, complices interficerent, ipsique incolumes ad agmen se reciperent*. Many other places might bee recited: but these are sufficient to proue, that the greatest Captaines of auncient times, strengthened their caualrie with footmen dispersed amongst them. The Romaine horsemen, saith Polibius, at the first, carried but a weake limber pole, or staffe, & a little round buckler; but afterwards, they vsed the furniture of the Grecians: which Iosephus affirmeth to be a strong launce or staffe, and three or four darts in a quiver, with a buckler, and a long sword by their right side. The vse of their launce was most effectuall when they charged in troope, pouldron to pouldron; and that manner of fight afforded no meane to intermingle foot-men: but when they vsed their darts, every man got what aduantage of ground hee could, as our Carbines for the most part do, & so the foot-men might haue place among them: or otherwise, for so good an aduantage, they would easily make place for the foot-men to serue among them. But, howsoeuer it was, it appeareth by this circumstance, how little the Romaines feared troopes of horse, considering that the best meane to defeatte their horse, was by their foot companies. But to make it more plaine, of many examples I will onely alleage two; the one out of Liuie, to proue that the Romaine horsemen were not comparable for seruice to foot-men: the other out of Hirtius, to shew the same effect against strangers, and Numidian horsemen.

In the Consulships of L. Valerius, and Marcus Horatius, Valerius, hauing fortunatly ouerthrown the Equi and the Volsci, Horatius proceeded with as great courage in the warre against the Sabines; wherein it happened, that in the day of battell, the Sabines refuted two thousand of their men to give a fresh assault vpon the left Cornet of the Romaines, as they were in conflict: vvhich tooke such effect, that the legionarie foote-men of that Cornet were forced to retreat. VVhich the Romaine horsemen (beeing in number six hundred) perceiving, and not being able with their horse to make head against the

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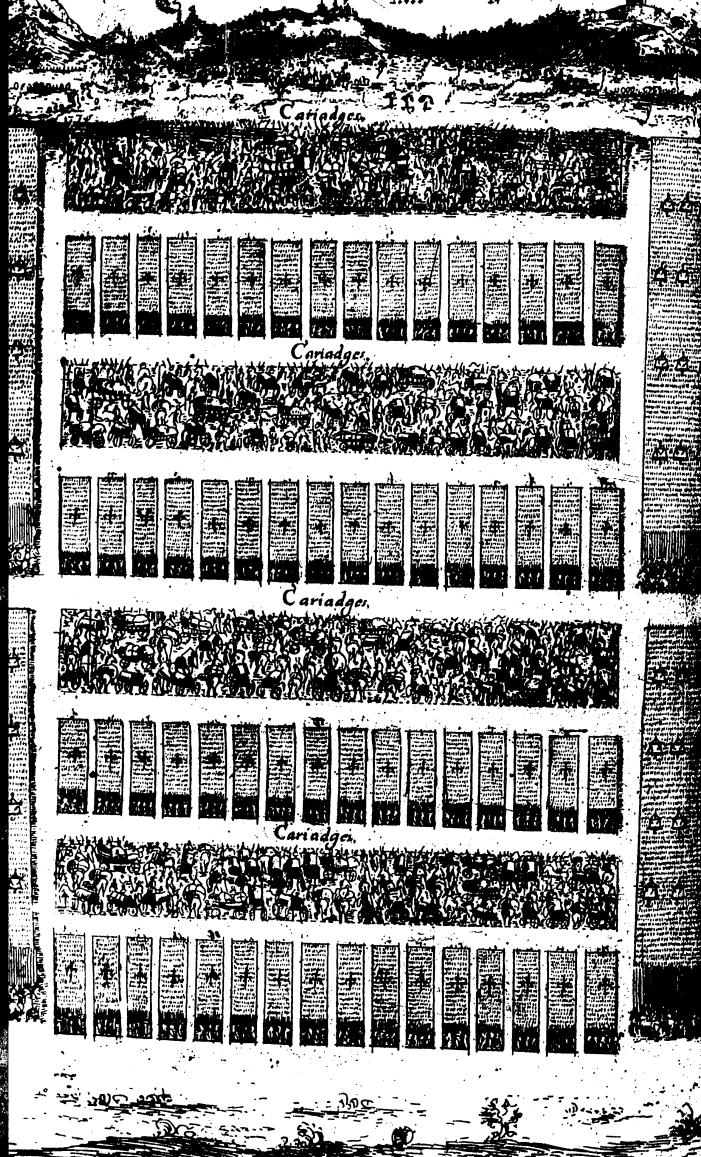
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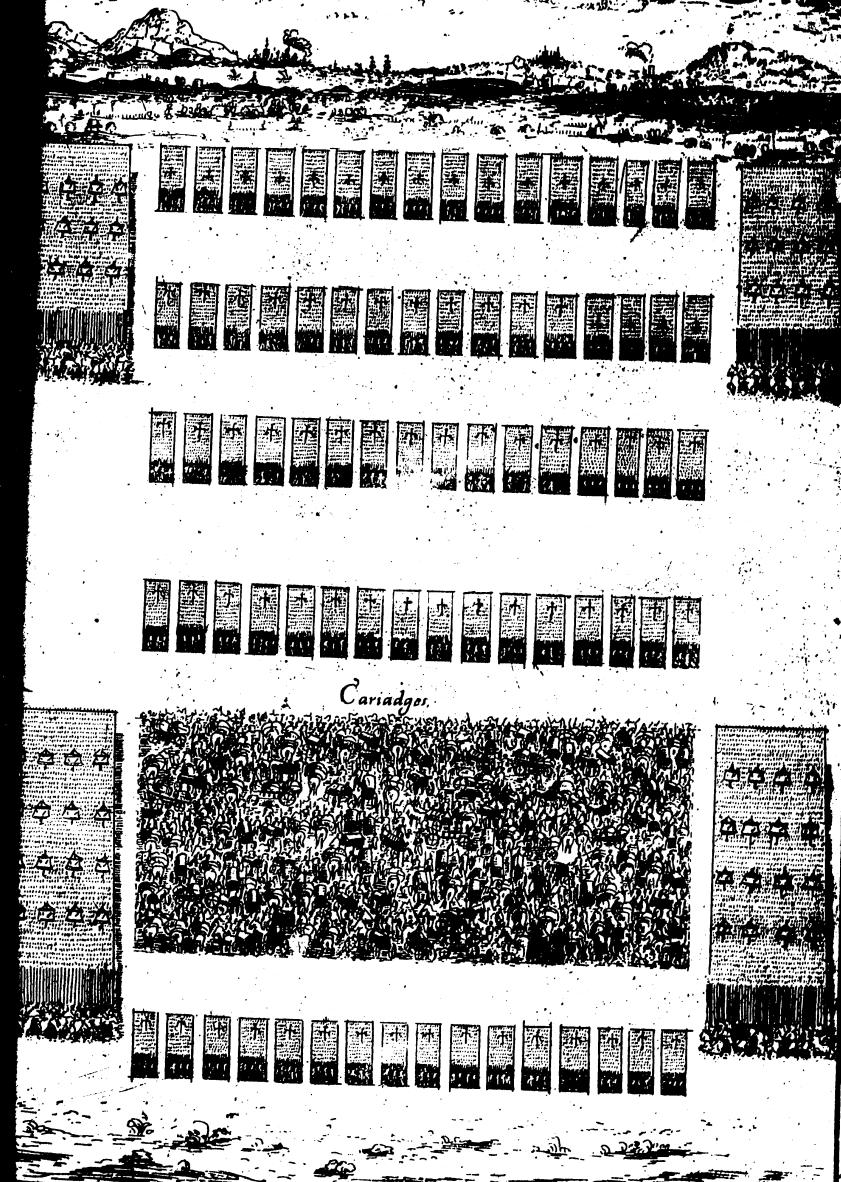
enemy ; they prelynt forooke their horses, and made halte to make good the place on foote ; wherein they caried themselves so valiantly , that in a moment of time they gaue the like aduantage to their footemen , against the Sabines ; and then betooke theselues againe to their horses, to purfue the enemy in chafe as they fled. For the second point ; the Numidians, as Cæsar witnesseth, were the best horsemen that euer he met with , and vfed the same Arte as the Germanes did, mingling among them light-armed footemen. An Ambulcado of these Numidians charging the legions vpon a suddaine, the historie saith, that *primo impetu legionis Equitatus & leuis armatura hostium, nullo negotio, loco pulsus & deicta est de colle.* And, as they fometimes retired , and fometimes charged vpon the reward of the Armie, according to the maner of the Numidian fight ; the historie saith, *Cæsariani interim, non amplius tres aut quatuor milites veterani si se convertissent & pila viribus consorta in Numidas infestos conieccissent, amplius duorum milium ad unum terga vertebant.* So that to free himselfe of this inconuenience, he tooke his horsemen out of the reward, and placed his legions there, *sta vim hostium per legionarium militem comodius suffinebat.* And euer as he marched, he caused 300 souldiers of every legion to be free and without burthen , that they might bee ready vpon all occasions, *Quos in Equitatu Labieni immisit. Tum Labienus, conuersis equis, signorum conspectu perterritus turpissime contendit fugere, multis eius occisis, compluribus vulneratis, milites legionary ad sua se recipiunt signa, atque iter incepunt ire caperunt.* I allage the very words of the history, to take away all suspicion of falfisifying, or wresting any thing to an affected opinion . If any man will looke into the reason of this disparite, he shall find it to be chiefly the worke of the Romaine pile (an vncrefitable weapon) and the terror of horsemen ; especially, when they were cast with the aduantage of the place, & fell so thick, that there was no meanes to auoide them.

But to make it plaine, that any light armed footmen could better make head against a troope of horse, then the Caualrie of their owne partie, although they beare but the same weapons : Let vs consider how nimble and ready they were that fought on foote, either to take an aduantage, or to shunne and auoide anie danger ; casting their darts with farre greater strength and more certaintie, then the horsemen could doe. For, as the force of all the engines of old time, as the *Balista, Catapulta & Tolonenes*, proceedeth from that stabilitie and resting Center, which nature affordeth, as the onely strength and life of the engine : to what force euer a man maketh, must principally proceede from that firme-nesse and stay, which Nature, by the earth, or some other vnmoueable rest , giueth to the body, from whence it keth more or lesse strength , according to the violence which it performeth : as hee that liffeth vp a waight from the ground, by so much treadeth heauier vpon the earth , by how much the thing is heauier then his body. The footmen therefore, hauing a surer stay to counterpoise their forced motion, then the horsemen had, cast their darts with greater violence, and consequently with more certaintie.





March where in euery Legion had his Cariades in



CEASARS march where the Enemy was neerer at hand

CHAP. XVIII.

Cæsar preuenteth Ariouistus of his purpose, by
making two Campes.

Cæsar.



Hen Cæsar perceived that Ariouistus meant nothing lesse then to fight, but kept himselfe within his Camp: least peradventure he should intercept the Sequans, & others of his Associates, as they came with conuoyes of Corne to the Romanes, beyond that place wherein the Germanes abode, about six hundred paſes from their Camp, he chose a ground meet to incamp in: and marching thither in three battells, commaunded two of them to stand ready in Armes, and the third to fortifie the Campe. Ariouistus sent sixteene thousand foote, and all his horse, to interrupt the souldiers, and hinder the intrenchement. Notwithſtanding, Cæsar, as he had before determined, caſed two battells to withstand the enemy, and the third to goe through with the worke: which beeing ended, he left there two legions, & part of the associate forces, and led the other four legions backe againe into the greater Campe.

The next day, Cæsar, according to his custome, brought his whole power out of both his Campes; and marching a little from the greater Campe, hee put his men in array, and profered battell to the enemie: but perceiving that Ariouistus wold not stirre out of his trenches; about noone, hee conuaied his Arme into their ſeverall Campes. Then at length, Ariouistus ſent part of his forces to affault the leſſer Campe. The incounter continued very ſharp on both parts, untiſt the euening; and at ſunneſetting, after many wounds giuen and taken, Ariouistus conuaied his Army againe into their Campe. And as Cæſar made inquiry of the Captiues, what the reaſon was that Ariouistus refiued battell, hee found this to be the cauſe. The Germanes had a custome, that the women ſhould by casting of Lots, and ſouthſaying, declare whether it were for their behoofe to fight or no: and that they found by their Arte, the Germanes could not get the victories, if they fought before the new Moone.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Aſt, we may obſerue what eſpeciall importance, this manner of incamping carried in that abſolute discipline which the Romans obſerved, and by which they conqueſted ſo many Nations: for, beſides the ſaſetie which it affoorded their owne troops, it ſerved for a hold well fenced and manned, or as it were a ſtrong fortifiéd towne in any part of the field, where they ſaw aduantage: and as oft as they thought it expedient, either to fortifie themſelues, or impeach the enemy, by cutting off his paſſages, hindering his attempts, blocking vp his Campe, beſides many other aduantages, all auerring the ſaying of Domitius Corbulo: *dolabra vincendi effe hofit: a thing*

a thing long time neglected, but of late happily renewed, by the Commanders of such forces as serue the States, in the vnted Prouinces of Belgia; whom time and practise of the warres hath taught to enterteine the vse of the spade, & to hold it in as great reputation as any weapons whatsoeuer, which may bee thought worthy executioners of the deeds of Armes.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

N the second place wee may obserue, that there was no Nation so barbarous (for, I understand the Germanes to bee as barbarous, in regard of the motions of religion, as any knowne Nation of that time, beeing in a Climate so neere the North, that it afforded no contemplation at all) that could not make vse in their greatest affaires, of that superstition to which their mind was naturally intrallled; and forre prophees and diuinations, as well to stir vp, as to moderate the irregular motions of a multitude, according as they might best serue to aduantage their proceedings. Neither did Cæsar let slippe the occasion of making vse of this their religion: for, understanding by their prisoners, that their diuinations forbade them to fight before the new Moone, he vised all the meanes he could to prouoke them to battell; that their religious opinion of mischierue, might prejudice their resolution to retorne Conquerors. Which may serue to prouoe, that superstitious people are subiect to many inconueniences, which industry or Fortune may discounter to their ouerthrowe.

It is recorded, that Columbus, beeing Generall of some forces, which Ferdinando king of Castile sent to discouer the West Indies, and suffering great penurie for want of victuals in the Ile of Iamaica: after that hee had obserued how the Ilanders worshipped the Moone, and hauing knowledge of an Eclipse that was shortly after to happen; hee told the inhabitants, that vniuersally they would furnish him with such necessaries as he wanted for the time, the vvrath of their God should quickly appeare towards them, by changing his bright shining face into obscurite and darknesse: which was no sooner happened, but the poore Indians, stroken with a superstitious feare of that which the course of nature required, kept nothing backe that might assist their enemies, to depuluate and ouer-runne their owne Country.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIX.

Cæsar seeketh meanes to give them battell,
and the Germans dispose themselues
thereunto.



He next day, Cæsar left a sufficient Guarizon in each of his Campes; and, forasmuch as the number of his legionarie souldiers was small, in respect of the multitude of the Germanes, hee placed all the Auxiliarie troopes for a shew, before the lesser Camp: and putting his legions in a triple battell, he marched towards the Camp of Ariouistus. And then at length, were the Germanes constrained to bring out their power, setting euerie Tribe and people by themselues, in like distance and order of battell (as, the Harudes, Marcomans, Triboces, Vangiones, Lemetes, Sedusians and Sweuians) and inuironing their vvhole Army with Cartes and cariage, that there might be no hope at all left to save any man by flight. And in these they placed their women, that by their out-stretched hands and teares, mouing pittie, might implore the souldiers, as they descended by course to the battell, not to deliver them into the bondage and thralldome of the Romaines.

Cæsar, assigned to every legion a Legat and a Questor, that every man might haue an eye-witnesse of his valour: and he himselfe, began the battell wth the right Cornet, forasmuch as he perceiued that part of Ariouistus Armie to be the weakest.

Cæsar.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

He Romaines, even from the infancie of their state, were euer zealous admirers of true honour, and alwaies desired to behold with the eye, to what meaure of vertue every man had attained; that the tongue with greater feruencies of spirit, might found out the celebration of *Mæte virtute*; which imported more honour then any wealth that could be heaped vpon them. Neither was this the least part of their wisedome; considering that the most pretious things that are, lose much much of their worth, if they be not suited with other correspondent natures, whose sympathy addeth much more excellencie then is discerned, when they appeare by themselues without such assistance. For, how small is the beautie which Nature hath giuen to the eye-pleasing Diamond, when it is not adorned with an artificiall forme? or what perfection can the forme giue, without a foile to strengthen it? or what good is in either of them, if the light doe not illuminate it? or what auiale all these, where there wanteth an eye to admire it, a iudgement to value it, and an hart to imbrace it? Such a vniouon hath Nature imprinted in the diuerse

stic

sitic of creatures concurring to perfection, and especially in morall actions, in whose cariage there is a far greater exactnesse of correspondencie required to approue them honorable, then was requisite to make the iewel beautifull. And this did Cæsar in all his battells ; amongst the rest, that at Alesia is particularlie noted in this manner. *Quod in conspectu imperatoris res gerebatur, neque recte aut turpiter factum celari poterat, utrosque & laudis cupiditas & timor ignominia ad virtutem excitabat.* And when Lutie would expresse how valiantly an action was caried, hee saith no more but *in conspectu imperatoris res gerebatur* : which is as much to say, that forasmuch as the Romaines were diligent obseruers of euery mans worth, rewarding vertue with honour, and cowardice with reproch ; every man bent his whole indeauour to deserue the good opinion of his Generall, by discharging that dutie which he owed to the Commonwealth, with all loyaltie and faithfulness of spirit.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

THe Romaines had foure formes of the front of their battell: the first was called *Aries recta*, when neither the cornets nor the battell was aduaunced one before another, but were all caried in a right line, and made a straight front ; and this was their most vsuall manner of imbattailing.

The second forme of the front was called *obliqua*, when as one of the cornets was aduanced neerer unto the enemy then the rest, to beginne the battell: and this was commonly as Vegetius noteth, the right cornet: for the right cornet of an Army had great advantage against the left of the enemies, in regard of their vweapons and furniture. But Cæsar did it in this place, because he perceived that the enemy was weakest in that part ; following a maxime of great authoritic, that the weakest part of an enemy, is in the beginning to be charged with the strength of an Armie : for, so fauourable are mens judgements to that which is already happened, that the sequell of euery action, dependeth for the most part vpon the beginning. *Dimidiis facti qui bene cepit habet*, saith a Poet: and not without great reason, so forcible continually is the beginning, and so connexed to the sequell by the nature of a precedent cause, that the end must needs erre from the common course, when it doth not participate of that qualite which was in the beginning. Neither can there be any good end without a good beginning: for, although the beginning be oftentimes disastrous & vnluckie, and the end fortunate and happy, yet before it came to that end, there was a fortunate beginning: for, the bad beginning, was not the beginning of a good, but of an euill end. And therefore, that his men might foresee a happy end in a good beginning, it behoued him with the best of his Army to assault the weakest part of the enemy.

The third forme of the front, is called *Sinuata*, when both the cornets are aduanced forward, and the battell standeth backward off from the enemy, after the fashion of a halfe moone. Scipio vfed it in Spaine, hauing obserued some daies

daies before, that the enemy continually so disposed of the battell, that his best soldiery were alwaies in the midste, and therefore Scipio put all his old soldiery in the cornets, and brought them out first to charge vpon the weakest part of the enemy, that those might decide the controuersie, before the other that were in the midste could come to fight.

The last forme is called *gibbosa*, or *gibbera Aries*; when the battell is aduanced, and the two cornets lag behind. This forme did Haniball vse in the battell of Cannas ; but with this Art, that hee strengthened his two cornets with the best of his soldiery, and placed his weakest in the middest, that the Romaines following the retreit of the battell, which was easily repeld, might bee inclosed on each side with the two cornets.

CHAP. XX.

The Battell betweene Cæsar and Ariouistus.



He signe of the battell being therevpon giuen, our men charged vpon the enemy very fiercely ; and they on the other side, returned so speedy a counterbuffe, that the legions had no time to cast their piles, and in that regard, made haste to betake themselves to their swords : But the Germanes, according to their manner, putting themselves into a Phalanx, receiuied the force of their swords. In the battell, there were many legionary souldiours seene to leape vpon the Phalanx, and to pull vpp with their hands, the targets that couered it, and so to wound and kill those that were underneath : and so the left Cornet of the enemy was overthrownne and put to flight.

Cesar.

Now, while the right Cornet was thus busied, the left Cornet was ouercharged with an unequall multitude of the Germanes : vwhich young Crassus the General of the horse no sooner perceived (hauing more scope and libertie then any of the Commanders that were in the battell) hee sent tertiam Aiciem, the third battell, to reskew and aide their fellowes that were in danger ; by meanes whereof, the fight was renewed, and all the enemy was put to flight, and never looked backe, vntill they came to the Rhene, which was about ffeue miles from the place where they fought. Where, some few of them sauied themselves by swimming: others found some boate, and so escaped. Ariouistus, lighting vpon a little Barkie tied to the shire, recovered the other side, & so sauied himselfe : the rest, were all slaine by the horsemen. Ariouistus had two wifes: one a Sweiian, whom he brought with him from home; and the other, of Noronberge, the sister of King Vocation, sent vnto him by her brother into Gallia, and maried there: both these perished in that fight. His two daughters likewise being there, one was slaine, and the other taken.

As Cæsar pursued the Germane horsemen, it was his chaunce to light vpon Valerius Proculus, as he was drawne up and downe by his Keepers, bound in three chaines: which accident, was as gratefull to him as the victorie it selfe; beeing

OBSERVATIONS UPON CÆSARS

so fortunate to recover his familiar friend, and a man of sort in the Province, whom the barbarous enemy (contrary to the law of Nations) had cast in prison. Neither would Fortune by the losse of him, abate any thing of so great pleasure and contentment: for, he reported, that in his owne presence, they had three several times cast lots, whether he should be burned alive; and still escaped by the fortune of the lots: And M. Titius was found in like manner, and brought unto him. The fame of this battell being carried beyond the Rhene, the Suevians that were come to the banks of Rhene, returned home againe: whom the inhabitants neare vpon that riuer pursued, finding them terrified and distract, and slew a great number of them.

Cæsar, having thus ended two great warres in one Sommer, hee brought his Armie into their wintering Campes, some-what sooner then the time of the yeare required: and leauing Labienus to command them, himselfe returned into the hither Gallia, to keepe Courts and publique Diets.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

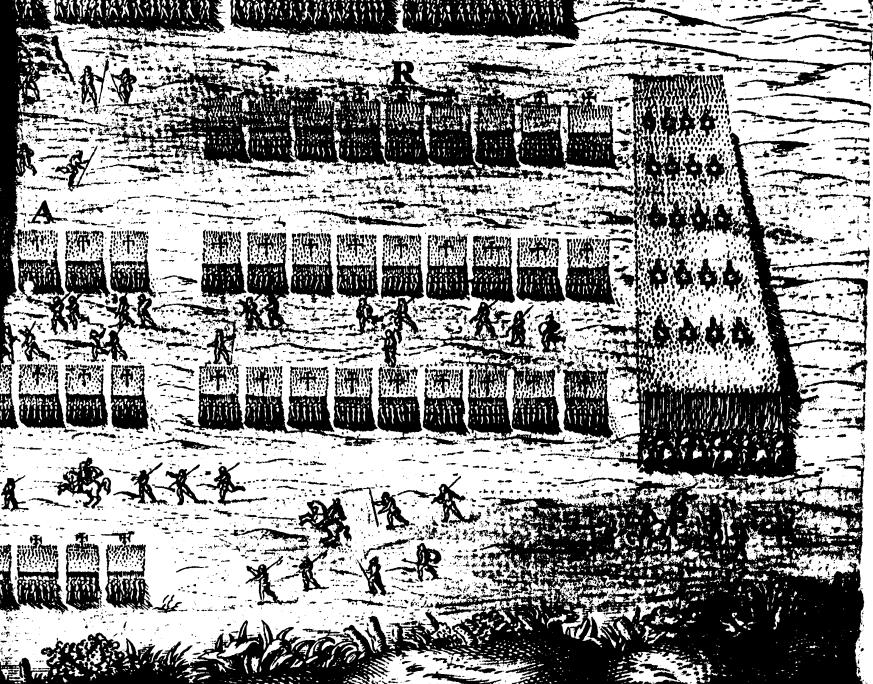
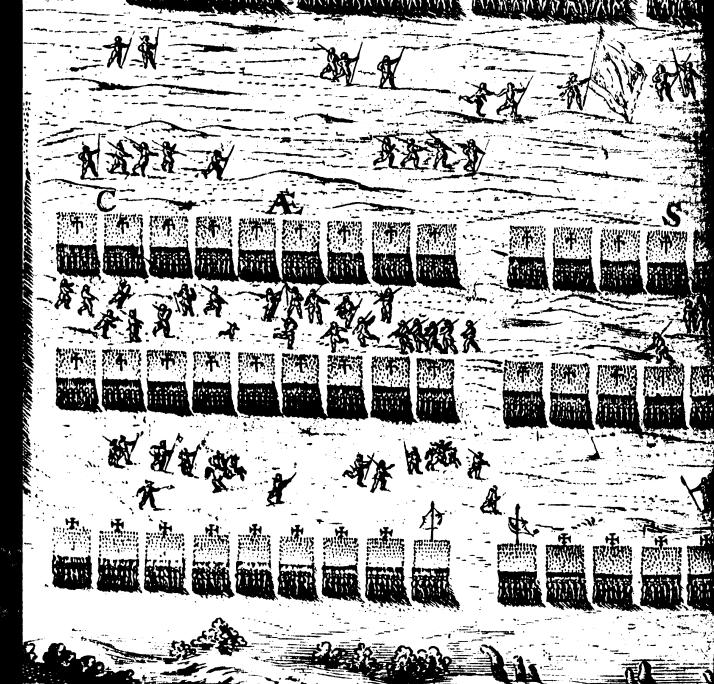
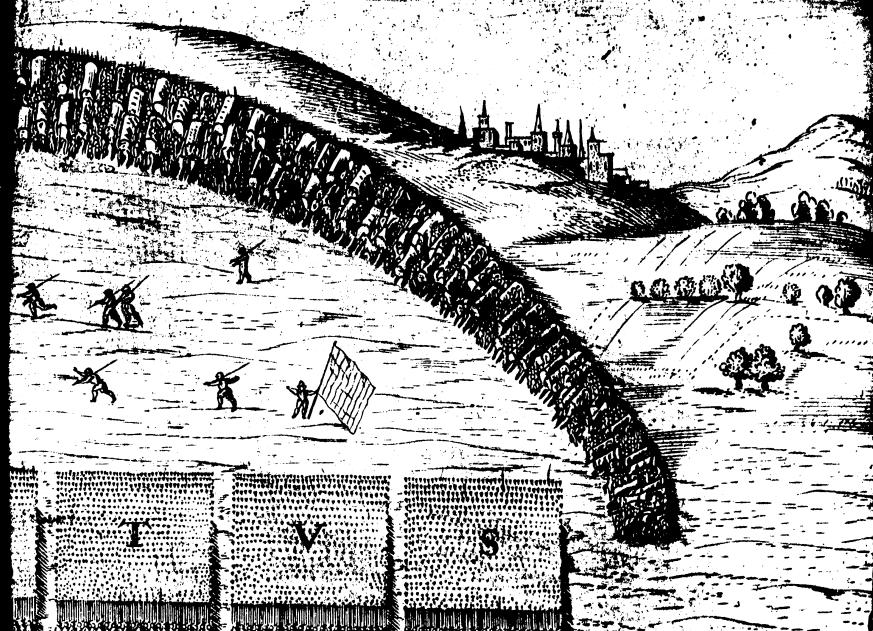


His Phalanx, here mentioned, can hardly be proved to be the right Macedonian Phalanx; but wee are rather to understand it to bee so tearemed, by reasoun of the cloſe and compacte imbattailing, rather then in any other reſpect: and it resembled much a *testudo*, as I ſaid of the Heluetian Phalanx. Secondly, I obſerue, that Cæſar kept the old rule concerning their discipline in fight: for, although the name of *Triaries* be not mentioned in his historie; yet he omitted not the ſubſtance: which was, to haue *primam, ſecundam, & tertiam Aciem*; and that *prima Acies* ſhould beginne the battell, and the ſecond ſhould come fresh and affiſt them: or peraduenture if the enemy were many and ſtrong, the first and ſecond battell were ioyned together, and ſo charged vpon the enemie with greater furie and violence: but at all aduentures, the third battell was euer in *ſuſſidio*, as they tearemed it, to ſuccour any part that ſhould be ouercharged: which was a thing of much conſequence, and of great wiſedome. For, if wee either reſpect the in-couragement of the ſouldiours, or the caſualtie of Fortune, what could bee more added to their discipline in this behalfe, then to haue a ſecond and a third ſuccour, to giue ſtrength to the fainting weakeſſe of their men, and to re-ſtrengthen the diſaduantage which any accident ſhould caſt vpon them? or if their v.our were equallly ballanced, and victorie stood doublifull which of the two p.rities ſhould honour, theſe alwaies ſtept in, beeing fresh, againſt wearie & ouer-laboured ſpirits, and ſo drew victorie in deſpit of caſualtie, vnto themſelues.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

Concerning vſe of lottes, it ſhall not be amiffe to looke into the na-ture of them; beeing in former times ſo general, that there was no Nation, ciuill or barbarous, but were directed in their greatest af-faires, by the ſentence of lots. As wee may not reſule for an un-doubted





doubted truth, that which Salomon saith in the 16 of Proverbs; The lotes are cast into the lap, but the direction thereof belongeth to the Lord: through the knowledge whereof, Iosua was directed to take Achan, the Mariner Ionas, & the Apostles to consecrate Matthias; So, whether the heathen and barbarous people, whose blindnes in the way of truth, could direct them no further then to senselesse superstition, & put them in mind of a dutie which they owed; but could not tell them what it was, nor how to be performed: whether thefe, I say, were perwaded that there was any supernaturall power in their lotteries, which directed the action to the decree of destinie, & as the Gods would haue it, it remaineth doubtfull.

Aristotle, the wifel of the heathen, concerning things naturall, nameth that euen casual, or proceeding from Fortune, of which the reaſon of man could assigne no caufe, or (as he ſaith) which hath no caufe. So that what oþer haþen in any action, beſides the intent of the agent and workman, was tearmēd an effect of Fortune, or chance of hab-nab: For, all other effects, which depended vpon a certainie and definite caufe, were neceſſarily produced; and therefore could not be cauall, or ſubiect to the inconfiancie of chance. And because many and fundry ſuch chances daily haþen, which like *terre filij* had no Father, and could not be warranted as lawfull children, either to nature, or to reaſon, by the appearance of an efficient caufe, they reduced them all to the power of Fortune; as the principall efficient and oueraigne Motor, of all ſuch unexpected events: that is, they made nothing elſe the Gouernesse, and direc-tor of many things. Which afterward grew to ſuch credit amongſt men, that it ſurpaſſed in dignity all naturall cauſes, and was deified with celeſtial honour, as the Poet ſaith: *Nos te facimus Fortuna deam cæloque locamus*. By the prouidence of this blind Goddess, which held her Deitie by the tenure of mens ignorance, were all cauall actions directed, and especially lots; the euent whereof, depended onely vpon her pleaſur and decree: neither could their di-rection be assigned to any other power; for, then their nature had been altered from chance to certainie, and the euent could not haue beeene called *Sors*, but muſt haue beene reputed in the order of neceſſarie effects, whereof diſcoure of man ſhould acknowledge a certaine foregoing caufe. Wherby we ſee vpon how weake an axletree, the greateſt motions of the godleſſe world were turned, ha-ving irregularitie and uncertaintie, for the *intelligencie*, that governed their re-volutions. All heerein all forteſt of men (althoſh in diuers respects) reſted as well contented, as if an Oracle had ſpoken vnto them, and reuealed the my-ſteries of fatal destinie.

Rome directed the maine course of her gouernment, by the fortune of this ſtroke destinie: For, althoſh their Consuls & Tribunes were elected by the people, who pleafed their owne fancie with the free choice of their Commanders, and ſuted their obedience with a well liking authoritie: yet the publique authoritie, which each Consull was ſeverally to manage, was ſhared out by lots. And if an enemy were entered into their confines, to depopulate and waste their territories, the lots assigned this Consull for the gouernment of the City; and the other to comandaund the legions, and to manage the war.

If forces were to be sent into divers Provinces, & against severall enemies, neither the Senate nor the people could give to either Confus his taske: but their peculiar charges were authorized by lottes. If any extraordinary action were to be done in the Cittie, as the dedication of a Temple, the sanctifying of the Capitoll after a pollution, *Sors omnia verat*, did all in all. And yet (notwithstanding the weake foundation of this practise in their Theologie and deepest diuinity) we may not thinke but these skilfull Architecutors of that absolute government, wherein vertue joyned with true wisedome, to make an vnexampled patterne: we may not thinke, I say, but they foresaw the manifold danger, which in the course of common actions could no otherway be prevented, but by the vse of lots. For, when things are equally leueled between divers obiects, and runne with indifferencie to equall stations, there must be some controlling power, to draw the current towards one Coast, and to appropriate it vnto one chanell, that the order of Nature bee not inuerterd, nor a well establisched government disturbed: So the state of Rome, casting many things with equal charge vpon her two soueraine Magistrates, which could not be performed but by one of them; what better meane could there be inuented, to interest the one in that office, and to discharge the other, then to appoint an Arbitre, whose decree exceeded humane reason? Of which, it could not bee said why it was so, but that it was so: for, if the wisedome of the Senate had been called to counsell, or the voices of the people calculated to determine of the matter; it might easilly haue burst out into ciuill discord, considering the often contentions betwene the Senate and the people, the factions of Clients, and the constant mutabilitie of euerie mans priuate affections necessarily inclining vnto one, although their worth were equal, & by true reason indiscernable; which might haue made the one proud of that which peraduenture he had not, and cast the other lower then would haue well becemeid his vertues: and therefore to cut off these, with many other inconueniences, they inuented lots; vwhich without either reason or will, might decide such contiouerries.

By this it appeareth, how little the ancient Law-makers respected the ground and reaon of an ordinance, so the commoditie were great, and the vse important to the good of the State: for, as they saw the thing it selfe to be casual, so they saw that casuall things are sometimes more necessarie, then demonstratiue conclusions: neither ought the nature, and speculative consideration of Lawes and Statutes, belong to the common people: but the execution and obedience thereof, maketh the Common-weale flourish. And thus endeth the first Commentarie of Cæsar his warre in Gallia.

THE

THE SECOND COMMENTARIE OF THE WARS IN GALLIA.

THE ARGVMENT.

Somlike as when a heauy body lieth vpon the skirt of a larger continued quantitie, although it couer but a smal parcell of the whole surface; yet the other quarters are burthened & kept vnder with a proportionable measure of that waight; and through the vnion and continuation which bindeth all the parts into one Totality, seele the same suppression which hath really seised but vpon their fellow part: In like maner the Belgæ, inhabiting the furthest skirt of that triple Continent, seemed to repine at that heauy burthen, which the Romane Empire had laid vpō the Prouince, the Hedui, & other States of that kingdome. And least it might in time be further remoued, and laide direckly vpon their shoulders, they thought it expedient whil'st they felt it but by participation, to gather their severall forces into one head, and try whether they could free their neighbour Nations from so greeuous a yoke; or at the least keep it from comming any nearer vnto themselues. And this is the Argument of this second booke; which diuideth it selfe into two parts: the first containing the warres betwenee Cæsar and all the States of Belgia vnit togither; the second recording the battailes which he made with some of the States thereof in particular, as time and occasion gaue him meane to effect it.

CHAP. I.

Cæsar hasteth to his Armie, marcheth towards the
Confines of the Belgæ, and taketh in the men of Rheimes.

SEEING HE report of this confederacie beeing brought unto Cæsar, in whiche he wintered beyond the Alpes, as well by Letters from Labienus, as by the common hearefay of the world: he leuied two new legions in Lumbardie, and sent them by Q. Pedius into Gallia: and assoone as there was any forrage in the fieldes, he himselfe came to the Army. At his arriuall, understanding the Sebones and the rest of the

Cæsar.

the Galles that bordered upon the Belgæ (to whome hee gaue in charge to learne what was done amongst them) that there was nothing in Belgia but mustering of soldiers, and gathering their forces into one head: he thought it not safe to make any further delay, but haing made prouision of corne, hee drew out his Armie from their wintering campes, and within fifteene daies he came to the borders of the Belgæ. A soone as he was come thither, which was much sooner then was looked for; the men of Rheimes being the vtemost of the Belgæ, next adioyning to the Celte, thought it best to entertaine a peaceable resolution, and sent lecius & Antebrigius, two of the chiefe me of their State, vnto Cæsar, to submit theselues and all that they had, to the mercy of the Romane Empire; affirming that they were innocent both of the counsell of the Belgæ, and of their conspiracie against the Romanes. For profe whereof they were ready to give hostages, to receive them into their townes, & to furnish them with corne or what other thing they stood in need of. That the rest of the Belgæ were all in Armes, and the Germanis on the other side of the Rhene had promised to send them succor: yea their madnes was so great, that they theselues were not able to hold backe the Suetones from that attempt, being their brethren & kinmen in blood, and vsing the same laves and customes as they did, haing both one magistrate and one forme of government; but they would needs support the same quarrell which the rest of the Belgæ had undertaken.

O B S E R V A T I O N.

IMIGHT heere take occasion to speake somewhat of a particular reuolt in a generall cause; and howe a confederate State may in regard of their owne safetie foriske a common quarell, or whatouer theyv-
niersfull socitie hath enacted prejudicall to their common weale; but that I onely intend to discouer warlike practisles, leauing these questions of lawe and policie to men of greater judgement and better experiance. Onely I obserue in the behalfe of the Romaine government, that such cities as yeelded to the Empire, and became tributarie to their treaurie (howsoeuer they were otherwise combined by confederacie) seldom or never repented them of their facte, in regard of the noble patronage which they found in that State, and of the due respect obserued towards them.

CHAP. II.

The power of the Belgæ, and their preparation for this warre.

Cæsar.

Cæsar inquiring of the Embassadours which came from Rheimes what the States were that had taken Armes, and what they were able to doe in matter of Warre: found the Belgæ to be defensed frō the Germanes; who passing ouer the Rhene, time of out mind, drove away the Galles and seated theselues in their possessions: and that these only of all the Galles kept the Cimbri & Teutoni frō entering into their

their country: and in that regard they chalenged to theselues great authoritie, and vaunted much in their feats of Armes. Concerning their number, they had these aduertisements; the Bellouaci exceeded at the Belgæ in prouesse, authority, and number of men, and promised 60000. men: and in that regard they demanded the administration of the whole warre. The ^b Suetones inhabiting a large and fertile countrey, and haing 12 walled townes, promised to set out 50000. The ^c Nervi as many; the ^d Attribati 15000. the ^e Ambiani 10000. the Vello-
cassii, and ^f Veromandui as many; the ^g Morini 25000. the Menapij 7000. the Cale 10000. the Catuaci 19000. the ^h Eburonis, Condrusones, and others 40000. Cæsar encouraging the me of Rheimes to persist in their faithfullnes to the Romane Empire, proouounded unto them great offers and liberall promises of recompence, and commaunded all their senate to come before him, and bring with them their Noble mens Sonnes to be giuen vp for hostages: which they diligently performed by a day appointed. And haing received two espeiall aduertisements from the men of Rheimes, the one concerning the multitude of the enemie; and the other touching the singular opinion which was generally held of their manhood he prouided for the first by persuading Duitiatus the Heduian, that it much imported the whole course of those busynesses, to keepe a under the powre of the enemie; and to withhold their forces from making a head, that so he might avoid the danger of encountering so great a power at one instant. Which might easily be brought to passe, if the Heduian would enter with a strong power into the Marches of the Bellouaci, and sacke their Territories with sword and confusion: which Duitiatus promised to performe, and to that purpose he speedily returned into his country. Vpon the second aduertisement, whiche presented vnto him the great valour and manhood of his enemies, hee resolued not to bee too hasty in giuing them battell, but first to proue by skirmishing with his horsemen what his enemie by their prouesse could doe, and what his owne men durst doe.

O B S E R V A T I O N.

IHIS rule of making triall of the worth of an enemy, hath alwaies been obserued by prudent & graue commanders, as the surest principle wheron the true judgement of the enemie may be grounded. For, if the doctrine of the old Philosophers, which teacheth that the worde *non putabat* was never heard out of a wise mans mouth, haue any place in the course of humane actions; it ought especially to be regarded in managing thele maine points, v hereon the State of Kingdomes and Empires dependeth. For, vylefle we be persuaded that blind Chance directeth the course of this world with an vncertaine confusion, and that no foresight can sway the ballance of our hap in o either part of our fortunes; I see no reason why we should not by al meanes indeuor to ground our knowledge vpon true causes, and leuel our proceedings to that certainty whiche riseth frō the things theselues. And this is the rather to be vrged, inasmuch as our leaders are oftentimes deceived whē they look no further then to match an enemie with equalitie of number, referring their valour to bee tried in the battell; not considering that the eye of it selfe cannot discerne

^a The country about Beau-
sois.

^b The country about Soissons.

^c The people about Turnai.

^d Aras.

^e Amiens.

^f Vermandois.

^g Ternene.

^h Liege.

29000.

in all.

differne the difference betweene two champions of like prelence and outward cariage, vnes it see their strength compared together and weighed as it were in the scale of trial: which Cæsar omitted not diligently to obserue, before he wold aduenture the hazard of battell. For, besides his owne satisfaction, it gaue great encouragement to his men, when they saw them selues able to countermatch an enemie, & knew their task to be subiect to their strength: Neither did hee obserue it onely at this instant, but throughout the whole course of his actions; for we finde that he never encountered any enemie, but with sufficient power, either in number or in valour, to make head against them: which equalitie of strength, being first laid as a sure foundation, he vied his owne industrie and skill, and the discipline wherein his men were trained, as aduantages to ouerway his aduersarie: and so drew victorie maugre fortune vnto himselfe, and feldome failed in any of his battells.

CHAP. III.

Cæsar passeth his Armie ouer the riuier * Axona, leaving Titurius Sabinus incamped on the other side with sixe cohorts.



SSOONE as Cæsar understood, as well by his discouerers, as from the men of Rheimes, that all the power of Belgæ was assembled together into one place, and was now making towards him no great distance off, he made all the haste he could to passe his Armie ouer the Riuier Axona, which diuidid the men of Rheimes from the other Belgæ. Whereby he brought to passe, that no enemy could come on the backe of him to work any disaduantage: and that corne might be brought unto him from Rheimes, and other cities without danger. And further, that hee might command the passage which he found on the riuier, with a strong garrison of men, and caused Titurius Sabinus a Legate, to incampe himselfe on the other side of the riuier with sixe cohorts, commanding him to fortifie his campe with a rampier of 12 foote in altitude, and a trench of 18 foote in breadth.

O B S E R V A T I O N .

SIF it be demaunded, why Cæsar did passe his Armie ouer the riuier, leaving it on his backe, and did not rather attend the enemy on the other side, and so take the aduantage of hindring him, if hee should attempt to passe ouer: I will set downe the reasons in the sequell of this warre, as the occurrences shal fall out to make them more evident. In the meane time, let vs enter into the particularitie of these sixe cohortes, that we may the better judge of such troupes which were imploied in the seruices of this warre: but that wee may the better conjecture what number of soldiars

there sixe cohortes did containe; it seemeth expedient, a little to discouer of the companies and regiments, which the Romans vied in their Armies.

And first we are to understand, that the greatest and chiefeſt regiment in a Roman Armie, was rearmed by the name of Legio: as Varro saith, *quod leguntur milites in delectu: or as Plutarch speaketh, quod lecti ex omnibus effent milites;* so that it taketh the name Legio, of the choife & ſelecting of the ſoldiers. Romulus is ſaid to be the firſt author & founder of theſe legions, making every legion to containe 3000. ſoldiers: but shortly after they were augmented, as Festus recordeth, vnto 4000: and afterward againe from 4000, to 4200. And that number was the common rate of a legion vntil Hannibal came into Italy, and then it was augmented to 5000: but that proportion continued onely for that time. And againe, whē Scipio went into Africke, the legions were increased to 6200 footmen, and 300 horse. And shortly after the Macedonian warre, the legions that continued in Macedonie to keepe the Province from rebellion, conſiſted of 6000 footmen and 300 horse. Out of Cæſar it cannot be gaſte red, that a legion in his time did exceede the number of 5000 men, but often times it was ſhort of that number, for he himſelfe ſaith that in this warre in Gallia his ſoldiers were ſo wasted, that he had ſcarce 7000 men in two legions. And if we examine that place out of the 3. of the ciuill warre, where he ſaith, that in Pompei his Armie were 110 cohortes, which amooued to the number of 55000 men: and being maniſt as well by theſe number of cohortes, as by the testimony of diuers authors that Pompei his Armie conſiſted of 11 legions; if we deuid 55000 into 11. parts, we ſhall find a legion to conſiſt of 5000 men. Which number or thereabout, being generally knowne to be the viual rate of a legion, the Romans alwaies expreſſed the ſtrength of their Armie by the number of legions that were therein: as in this warre it is ſaid, that Cæſar had eight legions: which by this account might arife to 40000 men, beſides associates, & ſuch as neceſſarily attended the Armie. Further, we are to understand, that euer legion had his peculiar name, by which it was knowne and diſtinguished from the reſt: & that it tooke either from their order of muſter, or inrolement; as that legion, which was firſt inroled, was called the firſt legion; and that which was ſecond in the choice, the ſecond legion; and ſo conſequently of the reſt; and ſo we reade in this historie, the ſeventh, the eighth, the ninth, the tenth, the eleuenth and twelfth legion: or otherwife from the place of their warfare, and ſo we read of legiones Germanica, Panonica, Britannica, and ſuch others: and ſome time of their Generall, as Auguſta, Clādia, Viſelliana legiones, and ſo forth. Or to conclude, from ſome accident of qualitie, as Rapax, Viſtrix, Fulminifera & ſuch like. And thus much of the name and number of a legion: which I muſt neceſſarily diſtinguifh into diuers kindest of ſoldiers, according to the firſt iſtitution of the old Romans, and the continual obſeruation thereof vnto the decay of the Empire, before I come to the deſcription of the leſſer parts wherof a legion was compouned.

Firstt therefore we are to understand, that after the Consuls had made a generall choife and ſworne the ſouldiers, the Tribunes chose out the youngſt and pooreſt of all the reſt, and called them by the name of Velites. Their place

A legion
whiſt it was.
Lib. 4.
De vita Re-
muli.

Liv. lib. 22.

Tacitus 3.
hift.

Velites.

in regard of the other soldiers was both base & dishonorable: not only because they fought a far off, and were lightly armed; but also in regard they were commonly exposed to the enemy, as our forlorn hopes are. Having chosen out a competent number for this kinde, they proceeded to the choise of them which they called Hastati, a degree aboue the Velites, both in age and wealth, and arm'd them by the name of Hastati; forasmuch as at their first institution they fought with a kind of Javelin, which the Romanes called Hasta: but before Polybius his time they vied Piles; notwithstanding their ancient name continued vnto the later time of the Empire. The thid choise which they made, was of the strongest and lustiest bodied men, who for the prime of their age were called Principes: the rest that remain'd were named Triarii, as Varro saith; *Quod tertio ordine extremis subsidio deponitur*: These were alwaies the eldorst and best experienced men, and were placed in the third diuision of the battell, as the last helpe and refuge in all extremities. Polybius saith, that in his time the Velites, Hastati, and Principes, did consist of 1200 men a pecece; and the Triarii never exceeded the number of 600. although the generall number of a legio were augmented: wherof Lypsius alledged these reasons; First because the Triarii consisted of the best of the soldiers, and so might counteruaine a greater number in good worth and valour. Secondly, it seldom came to buckle with the enemy, but when the controuersie grew very doubtful. Lastly, wee may well conjecture that the voluntaries and extraordinary followers, ranged themselves amongst these Triaries, & so made the third battell equal to either of the former: but howsoeuer, they never exceeded the number of 600. And by this it appeareth, that in Polybius his time the common rate of a legion was 4200.

In this diuision of their men, consisted the ground of that well ordered discipline; for, in that they distinguished them according to their yeres and ability, they reduced their whole strength into severall classes; and so disposed of these different parts, that in the general composition of their whole body, euerie part might be fitted with place & office, according as his worth was answerable to the same: and so they made not only a number in grosse, but a number distinct by parts and properties; that from every accident which met with any part of the Army, the judgment might determine how much or how little it imported the whole bodie: besides the great vse which they made of this distinction in their degrees of honour and preferment; a matter of no small consequence, in the excellencie of their government.

The soldierns, at their inrolement beeing thus diuided according to their yeres and abilities, they then reduced them into smaller companies, to make them fitter for command and fight: and so they diuided the Hastati, Principes, and Triarii, each of them into 10 companies, making of those three sorts of soldiours 30 small regiments, which they called Manipuli: And againe, they subdivid every maniple into two equal parts, and called them Ordo, which was the least company in a legion; and according to the rate set down by Polybius, contained 60 soldiours. In euerie Ordo there was a Centurion, or Captaine, and a Lieutenant, whom they named Optio or Tergiductor. The maniples of the Triarii were much lesser then the maniples of either the Hastati or the Principes;

cipes; for as much as their whole band consisted but of 600. men. The Velites were put into no such companies, but were equally distributed amongst the other Maniples; and therefore the Hastati, Principes, and Triarii were called *sub-signani milites*, to make a difference between them & the Velites, which were not diuided into bands; and so consequently had no ensigne of their own, but were distributed amongst the other companies: so that every Maniple had 40. Velites attending vpon it. And now I come to the description of a cohort, which the history heere mentioneth.

The worde *Cohors* in latine doth signify that part of ground which is commonly inclosed before the gate of a houle; which from the same word wee call a court: and Varro giueth this reason of the metaphor. As in a farme house, saith he, many out-buildings ioyned together make one inclosure; so a cohort consisteth of severall maniples ioyned together in one body. This cohort consisted of three maniples; for euerie legion had ten cohorts, which must necessarily comprehend those thirty maniples: but these three maniples were not al of one and the same kind of soldiers, as three maniples of the Hastati, 3 of the Principes, and 3 of the Triarii, as Patricius in his Paralleli feirmeth to affirme; for so there would haue remained an odde maniple in euerie kind, that could not haue beeene brought into any cohort: But a cohort contained a maniple of the Hastati, a maniple of the Principes, and a maniple of the Triarii; and so all the 30. maniples were included into 10. cohorts; and euerie cohort was as a little legion: forasmuch as it consisted of all those sorts of soldiours that were in a legion. So that making a legion to containe 5000. men; a cohort had 500. and so these 6. cohorts; which he incamped on the other side of the riuer, vnder the command of Titurius Sabinius, contained 3000. soldiers: but if you make a legion to consist but of 4200 which was the more vsuall rate, there were 2520 soldiours in these sixe cohorts.

By this therefore it may appeare, that a legion consisted of fourre sorts of soldiours, which were reduced into ten cohorts, and euerie cohort contained 3. maniples; and every maniple 2 orders: and every order had his Centurion marching in the head of the troupe; and every Centurion had his optionem, or Lieutenant, that stood in the taile of the troupe.

When a legion stood ranged in battell ready to confront the enemy, the least body or squadron that it contained was a maniple; wherein the two orders were ioyned together, making ioynly ten in front, and twelve in file: and so euerie fife files had their Centurion in front, & Lieutenant in the reward, to direct them in all aduentures. In the time of the Emperours, their battalions consisted of a cohort, and never exceeded that number how great soeuer the Armie were.

Polybius distinguishing a maniple into two centuries or orders, saith, that the Centurion first chosen by the Tribunes, commanded the right order, which was that order which stood on the right hand, knowne by the name of *Primus ordo*; and the Centurion elected in the second course, commanded the left order; and in the absence of either of them, hee that was present of them two, commanded the whole maniple. And so we finde that the Centurion of the first

Cohors.
Lib. 3. de re
militari.

A legion ran-
ge in battell,

The first or-
der.

first place was called *Prior Centurio*: in which sense Cæsar is to be understood, where he saith that all the Centurions of the first cohort were slain, *Præter principem priorem*. From whence we gather two specialities: first, the priority between the Centurions of the same Maniple: for, a cohort consisting of 3 Maniples, whereof the first Maniple were Triarii, the second Principes, and the third Hastati; and every Maniple containing two orders; and every order a Centurion: he saith, that all the Centurions of this cohort were slain; sauing the first or upper Centurion of the Principes. The second thing which I observe, is the title of the first cohort: for these 10. cohortes, whereof a Legion consisted, were distinguished by degrees of worthines; and that which was held the worthiest in the censure of the Electors, tooke the prioritie both of place and name, and was called the first cohort: the next, the second cohort; and so consequently vnto the tenth and last.

Neither did the Legions want their degrees of preheminence, both in im-battailing and in incamping, according either to the senioritie of their inblement, or the fauor of their Generall, or their owne vertue: And so we reade that in these wars in Gallia, the tenth Legion had the first place in Cæsars Armie. And thus much concerning the diuisions, and severall companies of a Legion, and the degrees of honour which they held in the same.

Vpon this description it shal not be amisse, briefly to lay open the most apparent commodities depending vpon this discipline; the excellencie whereof more plainly appeareth, being compared to that order, which Nature hath obserued in the frame of her worthiest creatures: for it is evident, that such workes of Nature come nearest to perfect & excellency, whose materiall subfurface is most particularly distinguished into parts, and hath every part indued with that propertie, which best agreeth to his peculiar seruice. For, being thus furnished with diversitie of instruments, and these directed with fitting abilities; the creature must needs expresse many admirable effectes, and discouer the worth of an excellent nature: whereas those other bodies, that are but slenderly laboured, and finde lesse fauour in Natures forge, being as abortives, or barbauloy compoed, wanting the diversitie both of parts and faculties; are no way capable of such excellent vies, nor fit for such distinct seruices, as the former that are directed with so many properties, & inabled with the power of so wel distinguished faculties. Which better workes of Nature the Romans imitated in the Architecture of their Army, diuiding it into such necessary & seruicable parts, as were best fitting alues & imployments: as first Legions, and legions into cohorts, and cohorts into maniples, and maniples into centuries or orders, and these into files; wherein every man knew his place, and kept the same without ex:change or confusion: and thus the vniuersall multitude was by order disposed into parts, vntill it came vnto a vnitie. For it cannot be denied, but that these centuries were in themselves so sensiblie distinguished, that every souldiour carried in his minde the particular Mappe of his whole centurie: for in imbattailing, every centurie was disposed into 5. files, containing twelve in a file; whereof the leaders were alwaies certaine, and neuer changed but by death or some other speciall occasion: and euerie leader

leader knew his follower, and euerie second knew the third man, and so consequently vnto the last.

Vpon these particularities it plainly appeareth, how easie a matter it was, to reduce their troupes into any order of a march or a battell, to make the front the flanke, or flanke front, when they were broken and disrankt to rallie them into any forme, when euer man knew both his owne and his fellowes station. If any companies were to be imployed vpon sudden seruice, the generall Idea of the Armie being so deeply imprinted in the mind of the commanders, would not suffer them to erre in taking out such convenient troupes, both for number and qualitie, as might best agree with the safetie of the Armie, or nature of the action. At all occasions and opportunities, these principles of advantage offered themselves, as ready meanes, to put in execution any designe, or strategem whatsoeuer: the project was no sooner resolued of, but euerie man could readily point out the companies that were fit to execute the intention. And which is more important, in regard of the life and spirit of every such part, their sodalitie was sweetned, or rather strengthened with the mutuall acquaintance, and friendshipe one of another; the captaine marching alwaies in the head of the troupe, the ensigne in the middest, and the lieutenant in the rereward, and every man accompanied with his neighbour and his friend: which bred a true and vnfained courage, both in regard of themselues, and of their followers. Besides these specialities, the places of title and dignity depending vpon this order, were no small meanes to cut off all matter of ciuill discorde, and intestine dissencion: for, here every man knew his place in the File, and euerie File knew his place in the Centurie, and euerie Centurie in the Maniple, and euerie Maniple in the Cohort, and euerie Cohort in the Legion, and euerie Legion in the Armie; and so euerie souldier had his place, according to his vertue; and euerie place gaue honour to the man, according as their discipline had determined thereof.

The want of this discipline hath dishonoured the martiell government of this age, with bloudshed and mutthers; whereof France is too true a witnes, as well in regard of the French themselues, as of our English forces that haue beene lent thither to appease their tumults: for, through defect of this order, which allotteth to every man his due place, the controuersie grew betwene Sir William Drurie & Sir John Bowrowes; the issue wherof is too well known to the world: wherein as our commanders in France haue beene negligent, so I may not forget to giue due commendation to the care which is had of this point amogst the English troupes, in the seruice of the States in the vniited prouinces; where they are very curious in appointing euerie man his place in the File, and euerie File in the troupe, and find much benefit therby, besides the honour of reuiuing the Roman discipline.

To conclude this point, I will onely touch in a word the benefite, which the Romans found in their small battallions, & the disadvantage, which we haue in making great squadrons. And first it cannot be denied, but that such troupes stand best appointed for disposition & array of battell, which standing strong to receiue a shooke, bring most men to fight with the enemy: for, the principal things

the third and fourth rankes did more incline themselves, and so consequentlie vnto the last ranke, which kneeled on the ground: and so they made a bude resembling halfe the side of an house, which they called Testudo. Vnto this squadron so strongly combined together, came two souldiers running lone fiftie foot off, and threatening each other with their weapons, ran nimly vp the side of the roofe; & sometimes making as though they would defend it against an enemy, that would haue entred vpon it; sometimes againe incountering each other in the midle of it, leaped vp and downe as steadily as if they had been vp on firme ground. And which is more strange, the front of a Testudo being applied to the side of a wal, there ascended many armed men vpon the laid Testudo, and fought in an equal height with other souldiers, that stood vpon the said wal to defend it. The disimilitude in the composition was this, that the souldiers that were in front, and in the sides of the square, caried not their Targets over their heads, as the other did; and covered their bodies with them: & so no weapons either cast from the wall, or otherwise throwne against it, could any waie hurt them; and whatsoeuer waight fell vpon the Testudo, it quickly glyded downe by the declivity of the roofe, without any hurt or annoy aunce at all.

Thus far Livie goeth; neither doe I know what to say further of it: the chiefe vte thereof was in a surprise or suddaine attempt against a towne, before the townes men were throughly prepared to defend the same. This inuention serued them to approach the wal with safetie, and so either to undermine it, or to clime vp: and to that end they oftentimes erected one Testudo vpon another. Tacitus saith, that the souldiers climed vpon the wall, *super iteratam testudinem*, by one Testudo made vpon another; and this was the ancient forme and vte of a Testudo in a suddaine assault or surprise.

Book. 49. Dio Casius, in the actes of Antonie, saith, that beeing galled with the Parthian Archers, he commanded his whole Armie to put it selfe into a Testudo: which was so strange a sight to the Parthians, that they thought the Romanes hadde sunke downe for wearines and faintnes; and so forsaking their horse, drewe their swordes to haue made execution: and then the Romanes, at a watch worde giuen, rose againe with such a furie, that they put them all to sworde and flight. Dio deseribeth the saide Testudo after this manner: They placed, saith hee, their baggage, their light armed men and their horsemen, in the middest; and those heauie armed footemen that caried long gutter-tilled Targettes, were in the vtmost circles next vnto the Enemy: The reste (which bare large Ouall Targettes) were thronged together throughout the whole troupe; and so couered with their Targets both themselues and their fellowes, that there was nothing discerned by the Enemy vpon them.

Further, wee oftentimes reade, that the Romanes cast themselves into a Testudo, to breake through an Enemy, or to route and disfranke a troupe. And this vte the Romanes had of a Testudo in field seruices, and only by the benefit of their Target. It was called a Testudo, in regard of the strength, for that it couered

couered and sheltred, as a shell couereth a fish. And let this suffice concerning a Testudo.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

SHouldly, we may obserue, how carefully Cæsar prouideth for the safetie of such succours as he sent vnto Bibrax: for, hee commadeth the same messengers to direct them that came from the towne, as the best & safest guides fit that journey; least peraduenture through ignorance of the way, they might fall into inconueniences or dangers. A matter of no small consequence in managing a war; but deserueth an extraordinary importunitie, to perwade the necessarie of this diligence: for, a Generall, that hath perfectlie discouered the nature of the country, through which he is to march, & knoweth the true distances of places, the qualitie of the waies, the compendiousnes of turnings, the nature of the hills, & the course of the riuers, hath all these particularites, as maine advantages, to giue meanees of so many severall attempts vpon an enemy. And in this point, Hanibal had a singular dexterite, and excelled all the Commanders of his time, in making vte of the way, by which he was to passe. But, he that leadeth an Army, by an vndeclared and vndiscovered way, and marcheth blindfold vpon vncertaine aduentures, is subiect to as many casualties and disadvantages, as the other hath opportunity of good fortune. Let every man therefore perswade himselfe, that good Discouerers are as the eyes of an Armie, and serue for lights in the darknesse of ignorance, to direct the resolutions of good prouidence, and make the path of safety so manifest, that we need not stumble vpon casualties. Cæsar, in his journey to Ariorius, vied the help of Diuiciacus the Heduian, in who among all the Galles, he reposed greatest confidence, to discouer the way, and acquaint him with the passages: and before he would undertake his voyage vnto ^{*} Britanie, hee well enformed himselfe by Marchants and traualiers, of the quantitie of the Iland, the qualitie of the people, their vse of war, and the opportunitie of their haunes. Neither was he satisfied with their relations, but he sent Caius Volusenus in a shipp of war, to see what he could further discouer, concerning these points. Sutorius addeth moreouer, that he never caried his Army, *per insidiosam itinera*, vndeles he had first well discouered the places.

Concerning the order, which skilfull Leaders haue obserued in discoueries, we are to knowe that this point consisteth of two partes: the one, in vnderstanding the perfect description of the country; and the seconde, in obseruing the motions of the enemy. Touching the first, wee find as well by this as other histories, that the Romans vied the inhabitants of the country for Guides, as best acquainted with their native places, that they might not err in so important a matter; prouideth alwaies, that their owne scoutes were euer abroad to vnderstand what they could of themselves, that they might not altogether relie vpon a strangers direction. The motions of the Enemy were obserued by the horsemen: and these for the most part were Veterani, well experienced in the matter.

H.

The order
which is to be
obserued in
discouery.

^{*} Now Eng-
land.

of

hee fortified with bulwarkes, and placed therin store of engines: and leaning
hū Campe the two legions which he had last inrold in Lombardie, that they
might be ready to be drawne forth when there shoulde need any succour, he imba-
tailed his other sixe legions in the front of the hill, before his Campe. The Belge
also bringing forth their power, confroneted the Romans in order of battell. Then
lay betwene both the Armies a small Marish: ouer which the enemie expellte
that Cæsar shoulde haue passed; and Cæsar on the other side, attened to see if the
Belge woulde come ouer, that his men might haue charged them in that trou-
blesome passage. In the meane time the Caualry on both sides encountered betwene
the two battells, and after long expectation on either side, neither party aduen-
ting to passe ouer; Cæsar hauing got the better in the skirmis betwene the hos-
men, thought it sufficient for that time, both for the encouraging of his ownem-
& the conteling of so great an Army; and therefore hee conuainde all his men
gaine into their Campe. From that place the enemy immediatly tooke his way to
the Riuere Axona, which lay behind the Romans Campe: and there finding foord,
they attempted to passe ouer part of their forces, to the end they might ester tak
the fortresse which Q. Titurius kept, or to breake downe the bridge, or to spoile
the territories of the State of Rheiems: & cut off the Romans from provision of
corne. Cæsar, hauing aduertisement thereof from Titurius, transported ouer the
riuer by the bridge all his horsemen and light armed Numidians, with his Slin-
gers and Archers, and marched with them himselfe. The conflict was hot in that
place: the Romans charging their enemies as they were troublid in the water, slew
a great number of them; the rest like desperate persons, aduenturing to pass ouer
upon the dead carcases of their fellowes, were beaten backe by force of weapon,
and the horsemen incompasse such as had first got ouer the water, and slew ev-
man of them.

When the Belge perceiued them selues frustrated of their hopes, of winning bi-
brax, of passing the Riuere, and of drawing the Romans into places of disaduan-
tage, and that their owne prouisions began to faille them: they called a counsell of
warre, where in they resolued, that it was best for the State in generall, and for
very man in particular, to breake up their Camp, & to retorne home unto their
owne houses: and in whose confines or territories souer, the Romans shoulde first
from all parts, and there to give them battell; to the ende they might rather
& haue their own houesold prouision alwaies at hand to maintaine them. And
this therather was concluded, for as much as they had intelligence, that Diuilius
tonacis who in that regard, made haste homward to defend their country.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

FIRST we may obserue the Art, which he vsed to counteraialle the
strength of so great a multitude, by choosing out so conuenient a
place, which was no broader in fronte wchould suffice the front of
his battell; and hauing both the sides of the hill so steepe, that the
enemie

enemie could not ascend nor clime vp, but to their owne ouerthow; he made
the back part of the hill strong by Art, & so placed his souldiers as it were in the
gate of a fortresse, where they might either issue out, or retire at their pleasure.
Wherby it appeareth, how much he preferred securite and safetie before the
vaine opinion of foole-hardy resolution; which sauoureth of Barbarisme rather
then of true wisedome: for he euer thought it great gaine, to loose nothing and
the day brought alwaies good fortune, that deluerced vp the Army safe into the
euening; atteding, vntill aduantage had laid sure principles of victory: and yet
Cæsar was never thought a coward.

And now it appeareth, what vse hee made by passing his Armie ouer the ri-
uer, and attending the enemie on the further side, rather then on the side of the
state of Rheiems: for, by that meanes he brought to passe, that whatsoeuer the
enemie shoulde attempt in any part or quarter of the land, his forces were rea-
dy to trouble their proceedings; as it happened in their attempt of Bibrax:
and yet notwithstanding, hee lost not the opportunitie of making slaughter
of them, as they passed ouer the riuer. For, by the benefit of the bridge which
he had fortified, he transported what forces hee woulde, to make head against
them, as they passed ouer; and so hee tooke what aduantage either side of the
riuer could affoord him.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



nd heere the Reader may not marvel, if when the hils are in
labor, they bring forth but a mouse; for how soone is the cō-
rage of this huge Army abated: or what did it attempt wort-
thy such a multitudine or answerable to the report which was
bruted of their valour? but being hastily caried together by
the violence of passion, were as quickly dispersed vppon
the sight of an enemie: which is no strange effect of a sud-
daine humour. For, as in Nature all violent motions are of short continuance,
& the durabilitie, or lasting qualite of all actions, proceedeth from a slow and
temperate progression; so the resolutions of the minde that are caried with an
unteinperate violence, and fauour so much of heat and passion, do vanish away
even with the smoake therof, & bring forth nothing but leasurable repentance:
and therefore it were no ill counsell for men of such natures, to qualifie their
hastie resolutions, with a misstrutfull lingering; that when their judgement is
well informed of the cause, they may proceed to a speedie execution.

But that which most bewraieh their indiscreet intemperāce, in the hore pur-
suit of this enterprise, is, that before they had scarce scene the enemie, or hadde
opportunity to contest him in open field, their vistual began to faille them:
for, their minds were so caried away with the conceit of warre, that they had no
leisure to prouide such necessaries, as are the strength and sinewe of the warre.
It was sufficient for euery particular man, to be knowne for a souldier in so ho-
norabile an action, referring other matters to the care of the State. The States
in

in like manner thought it enough to furnish out fortie or fiftie thousand men a piece, to discharge their oath, and to save their hostages, committing other qualities to the general care of the confederacie: which, being directed by as vnskillfull governors, never looked further then the present multitude; which seemed sufficient to overthrow the Romaine Empire. And thus each man relied vpon an others care, and satisfied himselfe with the present garbe; so many men of all sorts and qualities, so many helmets and plumed crests, such strife and emulation, what stafe shou'd seeme in greatest forwardnes; were moties sufficient to induce euery man to go, without further inquiry, how they should goe. And herein the care of a General ought especially to bee seeme, considering the weakenesse of particular iudgements, that hauing the liues of so many men depending altogether vpon his prouidence, and engaged in the defence of their state & country: he do not fail in these maine points of discipline, which are the pillars of all warlike desigues. To conclude this point, let vs learne by their eirour, so to carrie a matter (especially of that consequnce) that we make it not much worse by ill handling it, then it was before we first tooke it to our charge; as it heire happened to the Belgæ. For their tumultuous armes forced to no other end, then to giue Cæsar iult occasion to make warre vpon them, with such assurance of victorie, that he made small account of that which was to follow, in regard of that which had already happened: considering that he shou'd not in all likelhood, meeke with the like strength againe, in the continuall of that warre. And this was not only *grauis bellum facessit, or tradere*, as it often falleth out in the course of a long continued warre; but to draw a dangerous warre vpon their heads, that otherwise might haue liued in peace.

CHAP. VI.

The Belgæ brake vp their Campe; and as they returne home, are chased and slaughtered by the Romaines.


HIS generall resolution beeing entertained by the consent of the whole Councell of warre; they departed out of their Campe with a great noise and tumult, without any order (as it seemed) or government, euerie man pressing to bee foremost on his iourney; in such a turbulent manner, that they seemed all to run away. Whereof Cæsar hauing notice by his spies, and mistrusting some practise, not as yet perceiving the reason of their departure, he kept his Army within his Campe. In the dawning of the day, upon certaine intelligence of their departure, he sent first his horsemen to stay the rereward, commaunding Labienus to follow after with three legions: these ouertaking the Belgæ, and chasing them many miles, slew a great number of them. And while the rereward staid, and valiantly received the charge of the Romaines, the vanguard beeing out of danger, and under no government, assoone

as they heard the alarum behind them, brake out of their ranks, & betook themselves to flight; so the Romaines slew them as long as the sunne gaue them light to pursue them: and then sounding a retreat, they returned to their Campe.

OBSERVATION.


T hath beene an old rule amongst souldiers, that A great and negligent errour committed by an enemy, is to be suspected as a pretence of trecherie. Wee reade of Fulvius a Legate in the Romaine Army, lying in Tuscanie, the Consul being gone to Rome to perforne some publike dutie; the Tuscans tooke occasion by his absence to trie whether they could draw the Romaines into any inconuenience; and placing an ambuscado neere vnto their campe, sent certaine souldiers, attired like shepheards, with droues of cattell to passe in view of the Romaine Army: who handled the matter so, that they came euento the rampier of the campe. Whereat the Legate wondring as at a thing void of reason, kept himselfe quiet vntill he had discouered their trecherie, and to make frustrate their intent: In like manner Cæsar not perswaded that men shou'd bee so heedles, to carry a retreat in that disorderly and tumultuous manner, would not discampe his men to take the opportunity of that aduantage, vntill hee had found that to be true, which in all reason was vnlikely. And thus 29000. Belgæ were chased and slaughtered by three legions of the Romaines, for want of gouernment and order in their departure.

CHAP. VII.

Cæsar followeth after the Belgæ into the Country of the Sueffones; and there besiegeth *Nouiodunum.


HE next day after their departure, before they could recover themselves of their feare and flight; or had time to put themselves againe in breath: Cæsar, as it were continuing still the chace and victorie, ledde his Army into the country of the *Sueffones, the next borderers unto the men of Rheimes: and after a long iourney came unto Nouiodunum a towne of good importance, which hee attempted to take by surprise, as hee passed along by it. For, hee understande, that it was altogether vnfurished of defensio[n]e provision, hauing no forces within to defende it: but in regard of the breadth of the ditch and height of the wall, hee was for that time disappoинted of his purpose; and therefore hauing fortified his campe, hee began to make preparation for a siege. The night following, the whole multitude of the Sueffones, that had escaped by flight, were received into the towne: howbeit when the vines, & were with great expedition brought unto the wall, the mount raised, & the turrets built; the Gaules being amazed at the highnes of the workes, such as they had neuer

*Noyon.

Cæsar.

*Sueffones.

neuer seene nor heard of before, and the speede which was made in the dispatch thereof, sent ambassadours to Cæsar, to treate of giveng up the towne, and by the mediation of the men of Rheimes obtained their suete.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

TEN this relation, we may obserue the industrious art, which the Romans vsed in assauilling, and taking holdes and townes; wherein we find three sorts of engines described, Vinea, Agger, and Turres.

Vinea is thus described by Vigetius: a little strong-built house or houel, made of light wood, that it might be remoued with greatest easie; the roofof was supported with diuers pillars of a foote square, whereof the formost were 8. foot high, and the hindmost 6. and betweene euerie one of these pillars, there was 5 foot distance: it was alwaies made with a double roofof; the first or lower roofof was of thick plankes, and the vpper roofof of hurdles; to breake the force of a waight without further shaking or disioyning the building: the sides were likewise walled with hurdles, the better to defend the souldiers that were vnder it: the whole length was about 16 foote, and the breadth 7: the vpper roofof was commonly couerted with greene or raw hides, to keepe it from burning. Many of these houels were ioyned together in ranke, when they went about to vndermine a wal: the higher end was put next vnto the wal, that all the waights which were thrown vpon it might easily tumble down, without any great hurt to the engine: the fourre sides and groundfis, had in every corner a wheele, & by them they were driven to any place as occasion serued: the chiefe vse of them was to couer and defend the souldiers, as they vndermined or ouerthrew a wal. This engine was called Vinea, which signifieth a Vine, for it sheltered such as were vnder the roofof thereof, as a Vine couereth the place where it groweth.

Agger, which we call a mount, is described in diuers histories to be a hill or elevation made of earth & other substance, which by little and little was raised forward, vntil it approached neare vnto the place, against which it was built; that vpon this mount they might erect fortresses and turrets, and to fight with an aduantage of height. The matter of this mount, was earth and stones, fagots, and timber. Iosephus saith, that at the siege of Ierusalem, the Romans cut downe all the trees within 11 mile compass, for matter and stufte to make a mount. The sides of this Agger were of Timber, to keepe in the loose matter; the forepart which was towards the place of seruice, was open without any timber work: for on that part they stil raised it & brought it neerer the wals. That which was built at Massilia was 80 foot high, and that at Auaricum 80. foote high and 30. foot broad. Iosephus and Eusebippus wrte, that there was a fortresse in Iudea, 300. cubites high: which Sulla purposing to win by assault, raised a mount 200. cubites high; and vpon it he built a castell of stone 50. cubites high, and 50. cubites broad; and vpon the said castell hee erected a turret of 60 cubites in height, & so took the fortresse. The Romans oftentimes raised these mountis in the mouth of a hauen, and commonly to ouer-toppe a towne, that so they might fight, with

Amongst

Amongst other engines, in vse amongst the Romans, their moueable Turrets were verie famous: for, they were built in some safe place out of danger; & with wheels put vnder them, were driven to the walle of the towne. These turrets were of two sorts, either great or little: the lesser sort are described, by Vitruius, to be sixie cubites high, and the square side seauenteene cubites: the breadth at the top, was a fift part of the breadth at the base; and so they stood sure without any danger of falling. The corner pillars, were at the base nine inches square, and 6 inches at the top: there were commonly 10 stories in these little turrets, and windowes in euerie storie. The greater sort of towers were 120 cubites high, and the square side was 24 cubites: the breadth at the top was a fift part of the base; and in every one of these, were commonly 200 stories. There was not one & the same distance kept between the stories; for the lowest commonlie was 7 cubites, and 12 inches high: the highest storie 5 cubites, and the rest 4 cubites, and a third. In euerie one of these stories, were souldiers and engines, ladders and casting bridges, by which they got vpon the wall and entered the towne. The forepart of these turrets were couered with yron, and wet courteries, to save them from fire. The souldiers that remooued the tower to and fro, were alwaies within the square thereof, and so they stood out of danger. The new water-worke by Broken-wharfe in London, much resembleth one of these towers.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

 Pon the building of these mightie engines, it was no maruell if the Suefones submitted themselves to such powerfull industrie. For, whatsoeuer is strange and vnuisuall, doth much affright the spirits of an enemie, and breed a motion of distrust and diffidencie, when as they find theselues ignorant of such warlike practices: for, noueltie alwaies breedeth wonder; in as much as the true reasons and causes beeing vnuowne, we apprehend it, as diuers from the vsuall course of things, and so stand gazing at the strangenesse thereof: and wonder, as it addeth worth to the noueltie; so it inferreth diffidencie, and so consequently feare, the viter enemie of martiall valour.

CHAP. VIII.

Cæsar carieth his Armie to the Territories of the Bellouaci, Ambiani and the Neruij.

 *A E S A R, taking for pledges the chiefe of their Cittie, upon the deliuerie of all their Armes, received the Suefones to mercy: and from thence led his Army against the Bellouaci; who, hauing conuained both theselues and their goods into the towne, called Bratissantium, and understanding that Cæsar was come within fife mile of the place, all the elder sort came forth to meeke him, signifying their submision,*

Cæsar.

The Bellouaci taken to mercie.

OBSERVATIONS UPON CÆSARS

The *Amber*
is *running*
downwards.

The *Moor*
& *Silvans*
Monuments.

ion, by their lamentable demeanour. For these, Duitiatus became a mediator, who, after the Belge had broken up their camp, had dismissed his Heduanes and was returned to Cæsar. The Hedui, saith he, haue alwaies found in the ouaies, a faythfull and friendly disposition to their State: and if they had not been betraied by their nobilitie (who made them belieue, that the Hedui were ought in bondage by the Romaines, & suffered all villanie & despight at their hands) they had never withdrawne them selues from the Hedui, nor consented to spire against the Romaines. The authors of this counsell, perceiving into what misery they had brought their country, were fled into Britanie: wherfore, only the Bellouaci, but the Hedui also in their behalfe, besought him to use his mency towards them. Cæsar, in regard of the Hedui and Duitiatus, promised receiue them to mercy; but forasmuch as the State was very great and populous, he daudmented six hundred hostages: which, beeing deliuered, and their armour brought out of the towne, he marched from thence into the coast of the Amanni: who, without further lingering, gaue both themselues & all that they had to his power. Vpon these bordered the Nervii; of whom Cæsar found this much inquirie, that there was no recourse of Marchants unto them, neither did they fer any wine, or what thing else might tend to riot, to bee brought into their entry: for, they were perswaded, that by such things their courage was much atted, and their vertue weakened. Further, he learned, that these Nervii were a Savage people, and of great valour; often accusing the rest of the Belge, for yielding their necks to the Romaine yoke, openly affirming, that they would neither send Embassadours, nor take peace upon any condition.

Cæsar, having marched 2 daries journey in their country, hee understood that the riuer [†]Sabis was not past ten miles from his camp; and that on the further side of this riuer, all the Nervii were assembled together, and there attended the coming of the Romaine: With them were ioyned the Atrebati, and Veromanii, whom they had perswaded to abide the same fortune of war with them. Besides, they expected a power from the Aduatuci: the women, and such as were unmeet for the field, they bestowed in a place unaccesible for any Armie, by reason of fens and bogs, and marshes. Vpon this intelligence, Cæsar sent his discouerers and Centurions before, to chuse out a fit place to incamp in.

Now, where as many of the surrendred Belge, and other Galles, were continually in the Romaine Army, certaine of these (as it was afterward known by the captives) obseruing the order [¶] by which the Romaines used in marching, came by night to the Nervii, and told them, that between every legion went a great sorte of carriages; and that it was no matter of difficultie, as soone as the first legion was come into the camp, & the other legions yet a great way off, to set vpon them upon a suddaine, before they were disburdened of their carriages, and so to overthrow them: vwhich legion beeing cut off, and their stuffe taken, the rest would haue small courage to stand against them. It much furthered this aduise, that, forasmuch as the Nervii were not able to make any power of horse, that they might the better resist the euaily of their borderers, whensoeuer they made any rode into their marches: their maner was to cut yong trees halfe asunder, and bowing the tops down to the ground, plashed the boughes in breadth, and with thornes and briers planted between them, they made them so thick, that it was

COMMENTARIES, LIB. II.

83

impossible to see through them, so hard it was to enter or passe through them; so that, when by this occasion, the passage of the Romaine Army must needs be hindred, the Nervii thought the foresaid counsell not to be negleched.

The place which the Romaines chose to encamp in, was a hill of like lenell from the top to the bottome, at the foot whereof ran the riuer Sabis: & with the like lenell, on the other side, yose another hill directly against this, so the quantity of 200 pases; the bottom whereof was plaine and open, and the upper part so thick with wood, that it could not easily be looked into. Within these woods the Nervians kept themselves close; and in the open ground, by the riuer side, were onely scene a few troupes of horse, and the riuer in that place, was about three foote deepe.

Cæsar, sending his horsemens before, followed after with all his power; but the maner of his march differed fro the report which was brought to the Nervii: for, inasmuch as the enemy was at hand, Cæsar (as his custome was) led six legions alwaies in a readines, without burthen or cariage of any thing, but their Armes: after them he placed the impediments of the vhole Army. And the two legions which were last inrolld, were a rereward to the Army, & guarded the stiffe.

O B S E R V A T I O N .

 His trecherous practice of the surrendred Belge, hath fortunatly discovered the maner of Cæsars march, as well in safe passages, as in dangerous and suspected places: which is a point of no small consequence in martiall discipline, being subiect to so many inconueniences, & capable of the greatest art that may be shewed in managing a war. Concerning the discreet cariage of a march, by this circumstance it may be gathered, that Cæsar principally respected safety: and secondly conuenientie. If the place afforded a securte passage, and gaue no suspicion of hostilitie, he was content in regard of conuenientie, to suffer every legion to haue the ouerfift of their particular carriages, & to insert them among the troupes, that euery man might haue at hand such necessaries as were requisite, either for their priuate or publicke discipline. But if he were in danger of any suddaine attempt, or stood in hazard to be impeached by an enemy, he then omitted conuenient disposition, in regard of particular use, as disadvantageous to their safety; & caried his legions in that readines, that if they chanced to be ingaged by an enemy, they might without any alteration of their march, or incumbrance of their carriages receiue the charge, in that forme of bartell, as was best approued by their militarie rules, and the ancient practice of their fortunatue progenitors.

The old Romans obserued likewise the same respects: for, in unsafe & suspected places, they caried their troupes *agmine quadrato*, which as Littie seemeth to note, was free fro all cariage & impediments, which might hinder them in any suddaine alarum. Neither doth that of [¶]Hirtius any way contradict this interpretation, where he saith, that Cæsar disposed his troupes against the Bellouaci, that 3 legions marched in front, and after them came all the carriages, to which the 10 legions serued as a rereward; & so they marched, *pene agmine quadrato*.

[†]Seneca in like maner noteith the safety of *agmine quadrato*, where he saith, that where an enemy is expected, wee ought to march *agmine quadrato*, ready to fight.

The maner of
the Romaine
march.

The two re-
spects, which
Cæsar had in
orderinge a
march.

¹ Safety.

² Conuenientie

Agmen qua-
dratum.

[¶] Lib. 8. de
bel. Gall.

60. Epistle.

OBSERVATIONS UPON CÆSARS

LIB. 6.

Agustus

LIB. 5. *Caesar's
Battell.*

The eye shew
may becom
of right to our
moderne wars

Mr. The most materiall consequence of these places alledged, is, that as oft as they suspected any onset or charge, their order in a march little or nothing differed from their vsuall maner of imbattailing; and therefore it was called *agmen quadratum*, or a square march, inasmuch as it kept the same disposition of parts, were obserued in *quadrata Arie*. For that triple forme of imbattailing which the Romans generally obserued in their fightes, hauing respect to the distances between each battell, contained almost an equall dimension of front and file: & it made *Aiem quadratum*; and when it marched, *Agmen quadratum*. Polybius expresseth the same in effect, as often as the place required circumvention; but altereth it somewhat in regard of the carriages: for, he saith, that in time of danger, especially where the country was plaine and champaigne, and gane space and free scope to elcere themselves, vpon any accident, the Romans marched in a triple battell, of equall distance one behind another, euery battell having his severall carriages in front. And if they were by chance attacked by an enemy, they turned themselues according to the oportunity of the place, either the right or left hand: and so placing their carriages on the one side of their Arme, they stood imbattailed, ready to receiue the charge.

The contrary forme of marching, where the place afforded more securitie, and gaue scope to conuenience, they named *agmen longum*; when almost euery manier or order, had their severall carriages attending vpon them, and strove to keep that way which they found most easie, both for themselues, & their imbediments. At which order of march, as it was more commodious then the former, in regard of particularity, it was vnsafe and dangerous, where the Enemy was expected: and therefore Cæsar much blamed Sabinus and Corra, for marching, wher they were deluded by Ambiorix, *longi smo agmine*; as though they had receiued their aduertisements from a friend, & not from an enemy.

And albeit our moderne wars are far different, in qualitie, from them of ancient times; yet in this point of discipline, they cannot haue a more perfect direction, then that which the Romaines obserued, as the two poles of their motions, Safety and Conuenience: whereof the first dependeth chiefly vpon the prouident disposition of the Leaders; and the other will easily follow on, as the commoditie of every particular shall giue occasion.

Concerning safety in place of danger, what better course can be taken then that maner of imbattailing, which shall be thought most conuenient, if an enemy were present to confront them: for, a well ordered march, must either carie the perfect forme of a battell, or containe the distinckt principles and elements therof, that with little alteration it may receiue that perfection of strenght, which the fittest disposition can affoord it. First therefore, a prudent and circumspect Leader, that desirereth to frame a strong and orderly march, is diligentlie to obserue the nature and vse of each weapon in his Army, how they may be placed for greatest vse and aduantage, both in respect of their different and concurring qualities, as also in regard of the place wherein they are managed: and this knowledge will consequentlie inferre the best and exactest disposition of imbattailing, as the said forces are capable of; which, if it may be obserued in a march, is no way to be altered. But, if this exactnes of imbattailing will not ad-

mit

COMMENTARIES, LIB. II.

85.

mit convenient carriage of such necessarie adiuncts, as pertain to an Army; the inconuenience is to be releeued, with as little alteration from that rule, as in a wary judgement shall be found expedient: that albeit the forme bee somewhat changed; yet the principles and ground wherein their strength and safety consisteth, may still be retained.

Neither can anie man well descend to more particular precepts in this point: he may exemplifie the practices of manie great and experienced commanders; what sort of weapon marched in front, and what in the reteward, in what part of the Arme the Munition marched, and where the rest of the carriage was bestowed, according as their severall judgements thought most expedient, in the particular nature of their occurrences. But the issue of all wil fall out thus; that he that obserued this rule before prescribed, did seldom miscarrie through an vnsafe march. Let a good Martiall well know their proper use in that diversity of weapons in his Army; how they are seruicable or disaduantageous, in this or that place, against such or such an Enemy: and he will speedily order his battell, dispose of his march, and bestowe his carriages, as shall best fall out both for his safety, and conuenienty.

Cæsars custome was, to send his Caualrie and light armed footmen, before the body of his Arme, both to discouer and impeach an Enemie; for these troupes were nimble in motion and fit for such seruices: but if the danger were greater in the reteward then in the front, the horsemen marched in the tayle of the Arme, and gaue securitie where there was most cause of feare. But if it happened that they were found vnsit to make good the seruice in that place, as oftentimes it fell out, and especially in Africa against the Numidians: hee then remoued them, as he best found it conuenient, and brought his legionarie soldiers, which were the fineswes and strenght of his forces, and marched continually in the bulke of the Arme, to make good that which his horsemen could not perform. And thus he altered the antique prescription, and vnsimilitie of custome, according as he found himselfe best able to disaduantage an Enemie, or make way to victorie.

CHAP. IX.

The Romans begin to fortifie their campe: but are interrupted by the *Neruij*. Cæsar maketh haste to prepare his forces to battell.

Cæsar.



He Roman horsemen, with the slingers and archers, passed ouer the riuer, and incountred the Cavalry of the Enemy: who at first retired backe to their companies in the wood, & from thence fallied out againe vpon them: but the Romans durst not pursue them further then the plaine and open ground: in the meane time the sixe legions that were in front, having

I

OBSERVATIONS UPON CÆSARS

ir work measured out unto them, began to fortifie their camp. But as soon as Neruij perceived their former carriages to be come in sight, which was the appointed among them to give the charge, they stood imbattoiled with the thicket, so they rushed out with all their forces, and assaulted the Roman forces; which being easily beaten backe, the Neruij ranne downe to the river, th such an incredible swiftnesse, that they seemed at the same instant of time to in the woods at the river, & charging the legions on the other side: For with the same violence, having passed the river, they ran up the hill to the Roman Camp, where the soldiery were busied in their intrenchment. Cæsar had all parts to be at one instant: the flagge to be hung out, by which they gaue the soldiery to take Arms, the battell to be proclaimed by sound of trumpet, the soldiers to be recalled from their worke, and such as were gone far off to get turf & other for the rampier, to be sent for; the battell to be ordered, his men to be incouraged, and the signe of battell to be giuen: the most of which were cut off by shortnesse of time, and the sudden assault of the Enemie.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

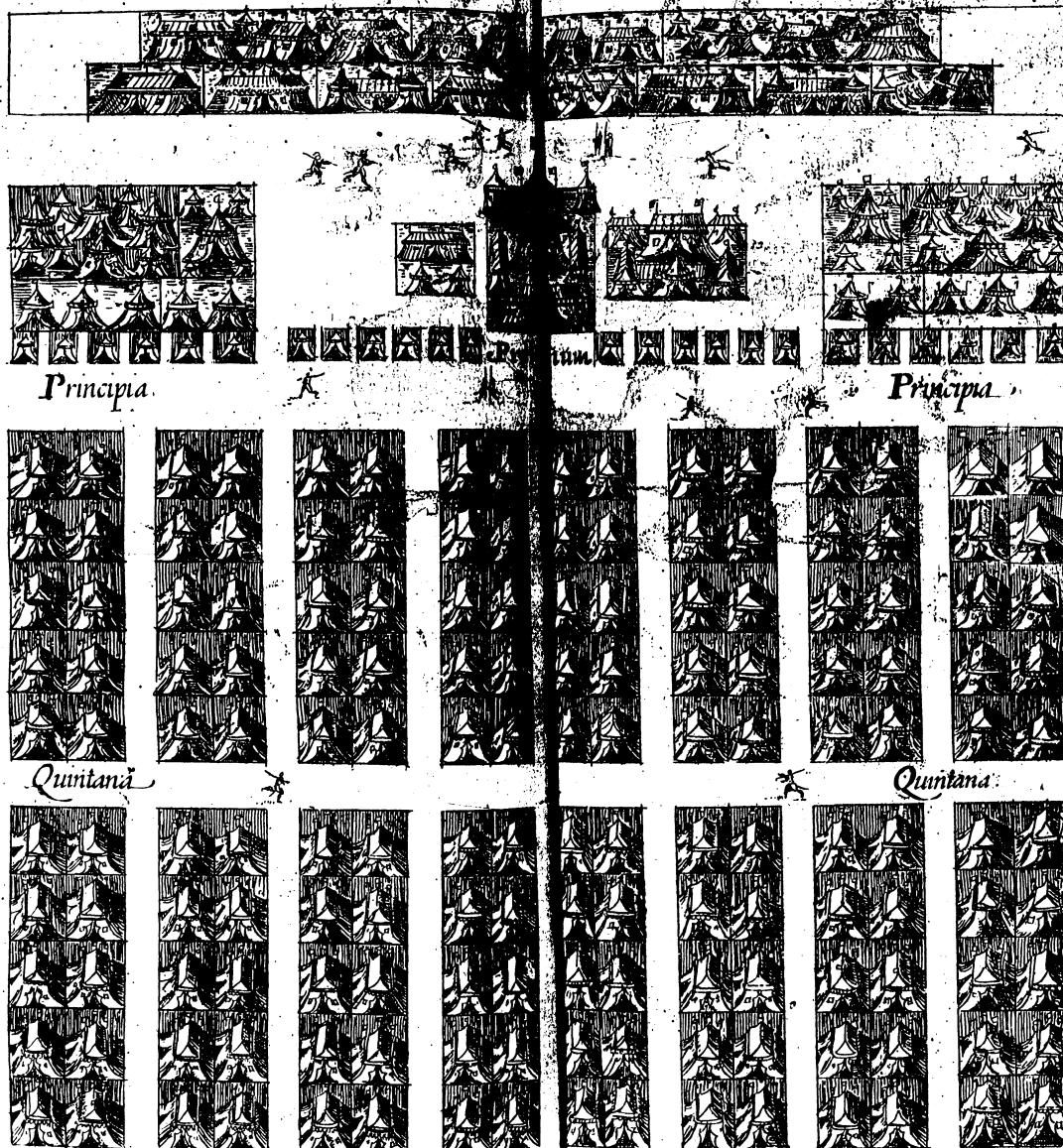
The Romans excelled all other nations in many good customes; so especially in their camp-discipline, they strove to be singular: for it seemed rather an Academic, or a Cittie of civil government, then a camp of soldiers; so careful were they both for the safety, & skillful experience of their men at Armes. For, touching the first, they never suffered their soldiery to lodge one night without a camp; wherein they were inclosed with ditch and rampier, as in a walled towne: neither was it any new invention or late found out custom in their State, but in vse amongst the auncient Romans, and in the time of their kings; their manner of incamping was included within these circumstances.

The Centurions were made chiefe of the place. The General of their Army was called *Prætor*: in this place where the *Prætorium* was to be erected, they stuck vp a white ensign, and from it they measured every way 100. foot, & so they made a square containing 200. foot in euerie side; the Area, or content whereof, was almost an acre of ground: the forme of the *Prætorium* was round & high, being as eminent among the other tents, as a Temple is amongst the priuate buildings of a Cittie: and therfore Iosephus compareth it to a Church. In this *Prætorium* was their Tribunal or chair of the estate, and the place of diuination, which they called *Angurale*, with other appendices of maiestie and authority.

The Generals tent being thus placed, they considered which side of the



THE ROMAN CAMP



Principia

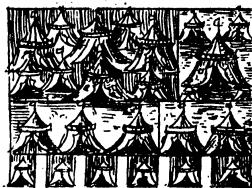
Principia

Quintanä

Quintana

Porta Damani

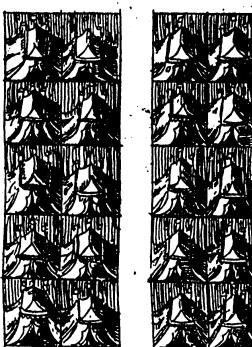
THE ROMAN CAMP



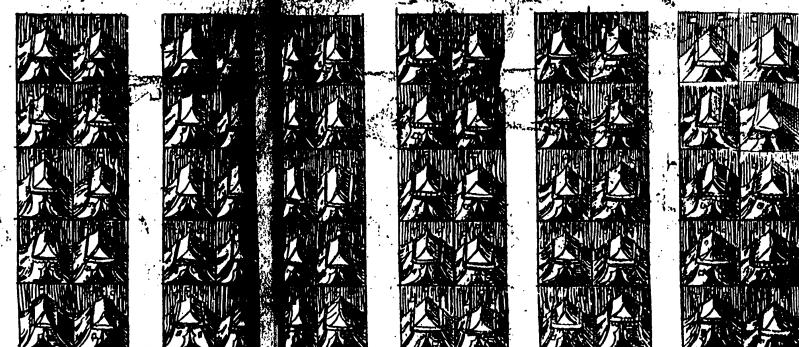
Principia



Principia



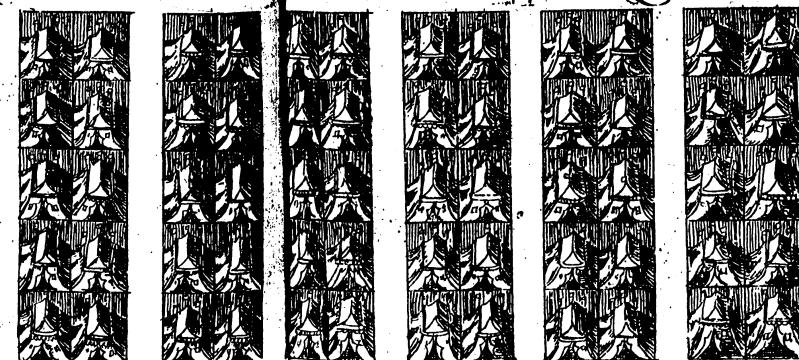
Quintana



Quintana



Porta Decimana



pavilion laie most commodious for forrage and water, and on that side they lodged the legions, every legion diuided one from another by a streete or lane of 50. foot in breadth; and according to the degree of honour, that every legion had in the Armie, so were they lodged in the camp, either in the midst which was counted most honorable, or towards the sides, which was of meane reputation. And againe, according to the place of every cohort in his legion, so was it lodged neerer the pavilion of the Emperour, towrdes the heart of the camp; and so consequently every maniple tooke place in the cohort, distinguisning their preheminence, by lodging them either toward the middle or to the outsideward; according as they distinguished the place of their legions: there went a streete of fiftie in breadth ouerthwart the middest of all the legions, which was called Quintana; for that it diuided the fist cohort of every legion from the sixt.

Quintana.

Betweene the tents of the first maniples in euerie legion and the *Prætorium*, here went a wae of 100. foote in breadth throughout the whole camp, which was called *Principia*; in this place the Tribunes sate to heare matters of justice; the souldiers exercized themselues at their weapons, and the leaders and chiefe commanders frequented it as a publick place of meeting; and it was held for a reverent and sacred place, and so kept with a correspondent decency. On either side the Emperours pavilion, in a direct line to make even & straight the upper side of the *Principia*, the Tribunes had their Tents pitched, euerie Tribune confronting the head of the legion wherof hee was Tribune: above them, towards the head of the camp, were the Legates and Treasurer: the upper part of the camp was strengthened with some select cohorts and troupes of horse, according to the number of legions that were in the Armie.

Principia.

Polybius decribing the manner of incamping, which the Romans vied in histime, when as they had commonly but two legions in their Armie, with as manie affiacutes, placeth the *Abelcti* and *extraordinary*, which were select bandes & companies, in the vpper part of the camp; and the associates on the outside of the legions.

The tentes of the Tribunes.

The ditch and the rampier, that compassed the whole camp about, was 200 foote distant from any tent: whereof Polybius giueth these reasons; first, that the souldiers marching into the camp in battell array, might there dissolute themselves into maniples, centuries and decuries, without tumult or confusion: for, order was the thing which they principally respected, as the life and strength of their martiall body. And again, if occasion were offered to fallie ouer upon an Enemie, they might very conueniently in that spacious roome, put themselves into companies and troupes: and if they were assaulted in the night, the dardes and fire works, which the Enemie should cast into their camp, would little indammage them, by reason of the distance betwenee the rampier and the tents.

The space betwenee the tents and the rampier.

Their tentes were all of skins and hides, held vp with props, and fastened with ropes: there were 11. souldiers, as Vegetius saith, in euerie tent, and that societie was called *Contubernium*, of whom the chiefeſt was named *Decanus*, or *Caput Contubernij*.

Contubernium

The ditch and the rampire were made by the legions, every maniple having his part measured out, and every Centurion overseeing his Centurie; the approbation of the whole work belonged to the Tribunes. Their manner of intrenching was this: the soldiers being girt with their swords & daggers, digged the ditch about the camp, which was alwaies 8. foot in breadth at the least, and as much in depth, casting the earth thereof inward; but if the enemy were not far off, the ditch was alwaies 11. or 15. or 18. foot in latitude, & altitude; according to the discretion of the General: but what scantling soever was kept, the ditch was made *directis lateribus*, that is, as broad in the bottom as at the top. The rampier from the brim of the ditch, was three foote in height, and sometimes four, made after the manner of a wall, with green turves cut all to one measure, halfe a foot in thicknesse, a foot in breadth, and a foote and a halfe in length. But if the place, wherein they were incamped, would afford no such turves, they then strengthened the loose earth, which was cast out of the ditch, with boughes & fagots, that it might be strong and well fastened. The rampier, they properly called *agger*: the outside whereof, which hung ouer the ditch, they vied to ticke with thicke and sharp stakes, fastened deep in the mound, that they might be firm; and these for the most part were forked stakes: which made the rampier very strong, and not to be assaulted but with great difficulty. Varto saith, that the front of the rampier thus stuck with stakes, was called *vallum, a varicando*, for that no man could stride or get ouer it.

The campe had four gates: the first was called *prætoria porta*, which was alwaies behind the Emperours tent: and this gate did vitally looke either toward the east, or to the Enemie, or that waie that the Army was to march. The gate on the other side of the camp opposit to this, was called *Porta Decumana à decimis cohortibus*; for the tenth or last Cohort of every legion, was lodged to contiont this gate: by this gate the soldiers went out to fetch their wood, their water, and their forrage, and this waie their offendours were carried to execution. The other two gates were called *Porta principales*, forasmuch as they stood opposite to either end of that so much respected place, which they called *principia*, only distinguished by these titles, *laeva principia*, and *dextra*: all these gates were shut with doores, & in standing Camps fortified with Turrets, vpon which were planted Engins of defence, as *Balistæ*, *Catapultæ*, *Tolenones* and such like.

The Romaines had their summer Camps, which they termed *Aestina*, and their winter Camps, which they called *Hiberna*, or *Hibernacula*: their summer campes were in like manner differenced, according to the time, which they continued in them. For, if they remained in a place but a night or two, they called them *Castræ* or *Mansones*; but if they continued in them any long time, they called them *Aestinas* or *Sedes*: And these were more absolute, as well in regard of their tents, as of their fortification, then the former, wherin they staid but one night. The other which they called *Hiberna*, had great labor & cost bestowed vpon them, that they might the better defend them from the winter fealon. Of these we read, that the tents were either thatched with straw, or roofed with boards, & that they had their armory, hospital, & other publike houles.

These

These camps haue bin the beginning of many famous towns, especially when they continued long in a place, as ofte times they did, vpon the bankes of Euphrates, Danow, and the Rhene. The order which they alwaies obserued in laying out their Campe, was so vniforme, and well knowne to the Romanes, that when the Centurions had limited out euerie part, and marked it with different ensignes and colours, the Souldiers entered into it, as into a knowne and familiar Citie: wherein every societie or small contubernie, knewe the place of his lodging: and which is more, euerie particular man could assigne the proper station of euerie company, throughout the whole Armie.

The vse and commoditie of this incamping, I briefly touched in my first booke: But if I were worthy any waie to commend the excellencie thereof to our moderne Souldier, or able by perswasion to restablish the vse of incamping in our warres; I woulde spare no paines to achieve so great a good, and vaine more in the conquest of negligence, than if my selfe had compassed a new found out meanes: and yet reason would deeme it a matter of small difficultie, to gaine a point of such worth, in the opinion of our men, especially when my discourse shall present securitie to our forces, and honour to our leaders, maiestie to our Armies, & terror to our enemies, wonderment to strangers, and victorie to our nation. But sloth hath luchi interest in this age, that it commendeth vaine glory and foole-hardinesse, contempt of vertue, and derision of good discipline, to repugne the desigues of honour, and so far to ouermaster reason, that it suffereth not further harmes to beare witness against error, nor correct the ill arrachementes of ill directions: and therefore ceasing to vrge this point any further, I will leaue it to the carefull respect of the wife.

The commodity of this incamping.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



The fury of the Enemie, and their sodain assault, so disturbed the ceremonies which the Romane discipline obserued, to make the Souldiers truely apprehend the waight and importance of that action, which might cast vpon their state either loueraignty or bondage; that they were all for the most part omitted; notwithstanding they are here noted vnder these titles; the first was *vescillum proponendū, quod erat insigne cum ad Arma concurri oportere*: for when the General had determined to fight, he caused a skarlet coate or red flag to be hung out vpon the top of his tent, that by it the Souldiers might be warred, to prepare themselues for the battell; and this was the first warning they had: which by a silent aspect presented blood and execution to their eyes, as the onely meanes to worke out their owne safety, and purchase eternal honour. The second was *Signum tuba dandum*: this warning was a noyse of manie trumpets, which they termed by the name of *clasicum a calando*, which signifieth calling: for after the eye was filled with species suitable to the matter intended, they then hasted to possesse the care, and by the sence of hearing to stir vp warlike motions, & fill them with resolute thoughts, that no diffident or base conceites might take hold of their mindes. The third

The ceremonies which they vse in their preparation to bat-
telle.

milites cohortandi: for it was thought convenient to confirme this valor, th motiues of realon, which is the strength and perfection of all such morti-
s. The vle and benefit wherof I somewhat enlarged in the Heluetian wars and
uld affoord much more labour to demonstrate the commodity of this part,
my speech might carrie credit in the opinion of our souldiers, or bee thought
orthic regard to men so much additected to their owne fashions. The last was
gnm dandum; which, as some think, was nothing but a word, by which they
ight distinguish & know themselves from their enemies. Hirtius in the war
Afrike saith, that Cæsar gave the word *Feliciti*; Brutus and Cassius gave
iberte; others haue gien *Virtus*, *Deus nobiscum*, *Triumphus Imperatoris*, &
uch like words, as might be ominous to a good successe. Besides these particu-
larietys, the manner of their deliuerie gaue a great grace to the mater. And
hat was distinguisched by times, and cues: whereof Cæsar now complaineth;
hat all these were to be done at one instant of time: for without all controuersie,
there is no matter of such consequence in it selfe, but may be much graced
with ceremonies & complements, which like officers or attendants adde much
respect and maiestie to the action; which otherwise being but barely pre-
ted, appeareth far meanner and of leſſe regarde.

CHAP. X.

The battell betweene Cæsar and the
Neruij.

AThese difficulties, two things were a help to the Romans; the one was the knowledge & experieice of the soldiers: for by reason of their practice in former battels, they could as wel prescribe unto themselves what was to be done, as any other commander could teach them. The other was, that notwithstanding Cæsar gad gien commandment to every Legion, not to leaue the worke or forsake the legions, untill the fortifications were perfited; yet when they sawe extremitie of danger, they attended no countermand from Cæsar: but ordered all things as it seemed best to their owne discretion. Cæsar hauing commanded such things as he thought necessary, ranne hastyly to incourage his souldiers, and by fortune came to the tenth legion; where he vſed no further speech, then that they shoulde remember their ancient valour, and valiantly withstand the brunt of their enemies. And for as much as the enemie was no further off, then a weapon might be cast to encounter them, hee gaue them the signe of battell: and hastening from thence to another quarter, he found them already closed and at the encounter. For the time was so ſhort & the enemy ſo violent, that they wanted leiuſe to put on their head pieces, or to uncake their targets: & what part they lighted into from their work, or what enigne they firſt met withall; there they fialed; leaſt in ſeeking out their owne

owne companies, they ſhould loſe that time as was to be ſpent in fighting. The Armys being imbattailed rather according to the nature of the place, the declivity of the hill, & the breuitie of time, then according to the rules of art; as the legions in countrey the Enemie in diuers places at once, the perfect view of the battell being hindred by thofe thicke hedges before ſpoken of, there could no ſuccors be placed any where; neither could any man ſee what was needfull to be done: & therefore in ſo great uncertainty of things, there happened diuers caſualties of fortune.

The oſſiders of the 9. & 10. legion, as they ſtood in the left part of the Army, casting their piles, with the aduantage of the hil, did drine the Atrebarg, breathleſſ with riuning & wounded in the incouter, down into the riuier; & as they paſſed over the water, ſlew many of them with their ſwords: Neither did they ſtik to follow after them ouer the riuier, & aduerture into a place of diſadvantage, where the battell being renued againe by the Enemy, they put them to flight the ſecond time. In like manner two other legions, the 11. & the 8. hauing put the Veromadui fro the upper ground, fought with them upon the banks of the riuier; and ſo the front & the left part of the camp was well neere left naked. For in the right cornet were the 12. & the 7. legions, where as all the Neruij, under the conduet of Boduognatus, were heaped together; & ſom of them began to assault the legions on the open ſide, & other ſom to poſſeſſ themſelues of the higheft part of the camp

At the ſame time the Roman horſemen, & the light armed footmen that were intermingled among them, & were at firſt al put to flight by the Enemy, as they were entering into the camp, met with their enemis in the face, & ſo were driven to ſic out another wate. In like manner, the pages & ſouldiers boies, that fro the Decumane port & top of the hill, had ſeen the tenth legion follow their enemis in purſuit ouer the riuier, and were gone out to gather pillage, when they looked behind them, and ſaw the enemy in their camp; betook them to their heels as fast as they could. Which accident ſo terrified the horſemen of the Treniri (who for their proweſe were reputed ſingular amoungſt the Galls, and were ſent thither by their State, to aid the Romanes) firſt when they perceiued the Roman camp to be poſſeſſed, by a great multitude of the Enemy, the legions to be overcharged & almoſt intolde about, the horſemen, ſingers, and Numidians to be diſperſed and fled, that without anie further expectation they took their wae homeward, & reported to their State, that the Romans were utterly ouerthrown.

Cæſar departing from the tenth legion, to the right cornet, found his men exceedingly overcharged, the enigneſ crowded together into one place, & the ſoldiers of the 12. legion ſo thick thronged on a heap, that they hindred one another; all the Centuriors of the fourth cohort being ſlain, thi enigne bearer kild and the enigne taken, and the Centuriors of the other cohorts either ſlain, or ſore wounded; amoungſt who Pub. Sextus Baculus, the Prinipile of that legion, a valiant man, ſo grievously wounded, that he could ſcarce ſtand upon his feet; thererell not very forward, but many of the hindmoſt turning taile & forſaking the field; the Enemy on the other ſide, giuing no reſpite in front, although he fought againſt the hil, nor yet ſparing the open ſide, and the matter brought to a narrow iſſue, without any means or ſuccor, to relieue thi: he took a target from one of the hindmoſt ſoldiers

OBSERVATIONS UPON CÆSARS

(for he himself was come thither without one) & pressing to the front of the battell, called the Centurions by name, and incouraging the rest, commannded the ensignes to be aduaunced toward the enemie, and the Maniples to bee intarged, that they might with greater facilitie and readinesse use their swards.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

 His Publius Sextus Baculus was the chiefest Centurion of the 12. legion, beeing the first Centurion of that Maniple of the Triarij, that was of the first Cohort in that legion; for that place was the greatest dignitie that could happen to a Centurion; and therefore he was called by the name of *Centurio primipili*, or simply *Primipilus*, and sometimes *Primopilus*, or *Primus Centurio*. By him were commonly published, the mandates and edictes of the Emperour, and Tribunes: and therefore the rest of the Centurions, at all times had an eie vnto him; and the rather for that the eagle, which was the peculiar ensigne of every legion, was committed to his charge and carried in his Maniple: Neither was this dignitie, without speciall commoditie, as may be gathered out of diuers authours. We read further, that it was no disparagement for a Tribune, after his Tribunalarie was expired, to be a Primipilus in a legion; notwithstanding, there was a lawe made, I know not vpon what occasion, that no Tribune should afterward be Primipile. But let this suffice concerning the office and title of P. S. Baculus.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

 And heere I may not omit to give the Target anie honour I may: and therefore I will take occasion to describe it in Cæsars hand, as in the place of greatest dignitie, and much honouring the excellency therof. Polybius maketh the Target to containe two foot and an halfe in breadth, ouerthwart the conuex surface thereof; and the length foure foot, of what form or fashion soeuer they were of: for the Romans had two sorts of Targets amongst their legionarie; the first carried the proportion of that figure, which the Geometricians call Oval, a figure of an vnequal latitude, broadest in the midle, and narrow at both the ends like vnto an egge, described in *Plano*: the other sort was of an equal latitude, and resembled the fashion of a gutter-tile; and thereupon was called *Scutum imbricatum*. The matter whereof a target was made, was a double board, one fastened vpon another, with lime and Buls glewe; and couered with an Oxe hide, or som other stiffe leather; the vpper and lower part of the target were bound about with a plate of iron, to keepe it from cleaving; and in the middest there was a boſle of iron or brasse, which they called *Imbo*. Romulus brought them in first among the Romanes, taking the vse of them 40. from the Sabines. The wood whereof they were made, was for the most part either fallow, alder or ffigree: whereof Plinie giueh this reason, for as much

COMMENTARIES, LIB. II.

as these trees are colde and waterish, and therefore any blow or thrift that was made vpon the wood, was presently contracted and shut vp againe. But for as much as the Target was of such reputation amongst the Roman Armes, and challenged such intereſt in the greatest of their Empire, let vs enter a little into the conſideration of the vſe and commoditie thereof; which cannot be better understood, then by that conference, which Polybius hath made betwene the weapons of the Romans and the Macedonians: and therefore I haue thought it good to inser it in theſe diſcourses. And thus it followeth.

Of the difference of the Roman and Macedonian W E A P O N S.

 Promised in my ſixt booke that I would make a comparison, betwene the weapons of the Romans, and Macedonians. And that I woulde likewife write of the diſposition of either of their Armies; how they do differ one from another: and in what regard, the one, or the other, were either inferior, or ſuperior: which promife I will now with diligence endeouour to perform. And for as much as the Armies of the Macedonians haue given ſo good teſtimonies of themſelues by their actions, by ouercoming the Armies as well of thofe of Afia, as of Greece; and that the battailes of the Romans haue conqueſted, as well thofe of Africa, as all the eſterne countries of Europe: It ſhall not be amifle, but very profitabile, to ſearch out the diſference of either; especially ſeeing that theſe our times haue not once, but many times ſene triall, both of their battailes & forces; that knowing the reaſon why the Romans do ouercome, and in their battailes, carry away the better, wee doe not as vaine men weare wont to do, attribute the ſame to fortune, and eſteem them without reaſon happy victors; but rather looking into the true cauſes, we giue theiſe their due praifes, according to the direſtion of reaſon, and ſound iudgement. Concerning the battailes between Hanniball and the Romans; and concerning the Romans their loſſes, there is no need that I ſpeak much. For their loſſes are neither to bee imputed to the defect of their Armes, or diſposition of their Armies; but to the dextrie and induſtrie of Hanniball: but wee haue entreated thereof when wee made mention of the battailes themſelues; and the end iſelfe of that warre, doth eſpecially conſirme this our opinion: for when they had gotten a Captaine equall with Hanniball, even conſequencie withall his victories vaniſhed. And hee had no ſooner ouercome the Romans, but by and by, reiecting his owne weapons, he trayned his Armie to their weapons: and lo taking them vp in the beginning, hee continued them vnto the end.

And Pyrrhus in his war againſt the Romans, diuidie both their weapons and order, and made as it were a medlie both of the cohort, and phalanx: but notwithstanding, it ferued him not to get the victory, but alwaies the euent by ſome meaneſ or other, made the ſame doubtful: concerning whom it were not vnfit, that

that I should say something, least in being altogether silent, it might seeme to prejudice this mine opinion. But notwithstanding I wil hasten to my purposed comparison.

Now touching the phalanx, if it haue the disposition, and forces proper to it, nothing is able to oppose it selfe against it, or to sustaine the violence thereof; as may easily by many documents be approued. For when an armed man doth stand firme in the space of three foote in so thicke an arraie of battell, and the length of their pikes being according to the first basis, or scanding sixteene foote; but according to the true and right conueniency of them, 14. cubits, out of which are taken fourt allowed for the space betwene the left hand, which supporteth the same, and the butt end thereof, whiles hee stands in a readinesse to attend the encounter: being thus ordered, I saie, it is manifest that the length of tenne cubites dooth extend it selfe before the bodie of euerie armed man, where with both his hands he doth aduance it ready to charge the Enemy. By which meanes it followeth, that some of the pikes doe not onely extend themselues before the second, third, and fourth ranke, but some before the formost, if the phalanx haue his proper and due thickenesse, according to his naturall disposition, both on the sides and behinde: as Homer maketh mention when he saith, that one target doth enclose and fortifie another; one head-piece is ioined to another, that they may stand united and close together.

These circumstances being rightly and truly set downe, it must follow, that the pikes of euerie former ranke in the phalanx, doe extend themselues two cubites before each other, which proportion of difference they haue betwene themselues; by which may evidently be seene the assault, and impression of the whole phalanx, what it is, and what force it hath, consisting of 16. ranks in depth, or thickenesse; the excesse of which number of ranks above fife. For as much as they cannot commodiously couch their pikes, without the disturbance of the former, the points of them not being long enough to enlarge themselues beyond the form of ranks, they grow vterly unprofitable, & cannot man by man, make any impression, or assault: but ferue only, by laying their pikes vpon the shoulders of thole which stand before them, to sustaine and hold vp the swaies and giuing backe of the former ranques, which stand before them to this end, that the front may stand firme and sure: and with the thickenesse of their pike, they doe repell all those darts, which passing ouer the heads of thole that stand before, would annoy those ranques which are more backward.

And farther by mouing forward, with the force of their bodies, they doe to pressse vpon the former, that they doe make a most violent impression. For it is impossible that the formost ranques should giue backe.

This therefore being the general and particular disposition of the phalanx: we must now speake on the contrarie part, touching the properties & differences, as well of the Arms, as of the whole disposition of the Roman battell. For euery Roman soldier for himselfe, and his weapon, is allowed three foot to stand in, and in the encounter, are moued man, by man, euery one couering himselfe with his target; and mutually mouing whensoeuer there is occasion offered.

But

But those which vse their swords, do fight in a more thin and distinct order; so that it is manifest, that they haue three foot more allowed them to stand in both from shoulder to shoulder, and from backe to belly, that they may vse their weapons with the better commodity. And hence it commeth to palls, that one Roman soldier taketh vp as much ground, as two of those which are to encounter him of the Macedonian Phalanx: so that one Roman is as it were to oppose himselfe against ten pikes, which pikes the saide one soldier can neyther by any asylgy come to offend, or elte at handy blowes otherwise annoy: And those which are behinde him, are not only vnable to repell their force, but also with conueniency to vse their owne weapons. Whereby it may easily be gathered, that it is impossible, that any battaile being assaulted, by the front of a phalanx, should be able to sustaine the violence thereof, if it haue his due and proper composition.

Wherthen is the cause that the Romans doe ouercome, and that those that doe vse the phalanx are voyde of the hope of victory? Even from hence, that the Roman Armies haue infinite commodities, both of places, and of times, to fight in. But the phalanx hath only one time, one place, and one kinde, where-to it may profitably apply it selfe: so that if it were of necessarie, that their enemy shoulde encounter them at that instant, especially with their whole forces, it were questionlesse not only, not without danger, but in all probability likelie, that the phalanx shoulde euer carry away the better. But if that may bee auoide, which is easily done: shall not that disposition then, be vterly unprofitable, and free from all terror? And it is farther evident, that the phalanx must necessarily haue plaine and champion places, without any hinderances, or impediments; as ditches, vneuen places, vallies, little hills and riuers: for all these may hinder and disioine it. And it is almost impossible to haue a Plain of the capa city of 20. stadia, much lesse more, where there shall bee found none of these impediments. But suppose there bee found such places, as are proper for the phalanx: If the Enemy refuse to come vnto them, and in the meantime, spoile, and sack the Cities, and country round about; what commodity, or profit shall arise by any Army so ordered? for if it remaine in such places, as hath been before spoken of; it can neither relieu their friends, nor preferue themselues. For the conuoies which they expect from their friends, are easily cut off by the Enemy, whiles they remain in those open places.

And if it happen at any time, that they leaue them vpon any enterprise, they are then exposed to the Enemy. But suppose, that the Roman Army should find the phalanx in such places, yet would it not aduenture it self in grofs at one instant; but would by little and little retire it selfe: as doth plainly appear by their vissuall practice. For there must not be a conjecture of thefethings by my words only, but especially by that which they do. For they doe not so equally frame their battell, that they doe assault the Enemy altogether, making as it were but one front: but part make a stand, and part charge the Enemy, that if at any time the Palanx doe pressse them, that come to assault them and bee repelled; the force of their order is dissolued. For whether they pursue those that retire, or fly from those that doo assault them, these doe disioine themselues

OBSERVATIONS UPON CÆSARS

hemselues from part of their Army ; by which meane there is a gap opened to their Enemies, standing and attending their opportunity : so that now they neede not anie more to charge them in the front, where the force of the phalanx consisteth ; but to assault where the breach is made, both behinde, and vpon the sides. But if at any time the Romane Army may keepe his due proprietie, and disposition, the phalanx by the disaduantage of the place, being not able to do the like; doth it not then manifestly demonstrat the difference to be great betweene the goodness of their disposition, and the disposition of the phalanx ?

To this may be added the necessities imposed vpon an Army, which is, to march through places of all natures, to encamp themselues, to possesse places of aduantage, to besiege, & to be besieged ; and also contrary to expectation sometimes to come in view of the Enemie. For, all these occasions necessarily accompany an Army; and oftentimes are the especiall causes of victory, to which the Macedonian phalanx is no way fit, or conuenient : forasmuch, as neither in their generall order, nor in their particular disposition, without a conuenient place, they are able to effect any thing of moment: but the Roman Army is apt for al thele purposes. For, euerie souldiour amongst them, being once armed and ready to fight, refuseth no place, time nor occasion; keeping alwaies the same order, whether he fight together with the whole body of the Army, or particullary by himselfe, man, to man.

And hence it happeneth, that as the commodity of their disposition is aduantageous : so the end doth answere the expectation.

These things I thought to speak of at large, because manie of the Grecians are of an opinion, that the Macedonians are not to be overcome. And againe, many wondered, how the Macedonian phalanx should be put to the worke by the Roman Army, considering the nature of their weapons.

Thus farre goeth Polybius, in comparing the weapons and imbattailing of the Romans, with the vse of Arms amongst the Macedonians : wherein we see the Pike truly and exactly ordered, according as the wise Grecians could best proportion it with that forme of battell, which might give most aduantage to the vse thereof : so that if our squadrons of Pikes jumpe not with the perfect manner of a phalanx, (as wee see they doe not) they fall so much short of that strength, which the wisedome of the Grecians and the experiance of other nations, imputed vnto it. But suppose we could allowe it that disposition, in the course of our warres, which the nature of the weapon doth require; yet forasmuch as by the authority of Polybius, the sayd manner of imbattailing is tyed to such dangerous circumstances of one time, one place, and one kind of fight : I hold it not so profitable a weapon, as the practice of our times doth seem to make it, especially in woddy countries, such as Ireland is; where the vse is cut off by luch inconueniences, as are noted to hinder the managing thereof. And doubtles, if our commanders did but consider of the incongruity of the Pike and Ireland, they would not proportion so great a number of them in euery companie, as there is ; for, commonly halfe the companie are Pikes, which is as much to saie in the practice of our wars, that halfe the Army hath neither

offensiu





Warfellies



offensive nor defensive weapons, but onely against a troupe of horfe. For, they sildome or never come to the push of pike, with the foote companies, where they may charge and offend the enemie: and for defence, if the enemie thinkē it not safe to buckle with them at hand, but makēth more aduantage, to play vpon them afarre off with shotte; it affordeth small safety to shake a long pike at them, and stand faire in the meane time, to entartaine a volley of shot, with the body of their battalion. As I make no question, but the pike in some seruices is profitable, as behind a rampier, or at a breach; so I assure my self, there are weapons, if they were put to triall, that would counteruaile the pike, euen in those seruices, wherein it is thought most profitable.

Concerning the Target, we see it take the hand, in the judgement of Polybius, of all other weapons whatsoeuer, as well in regard of the diuers and sundry sorts of imbatteiling, as the qualitic of the place wherefoeuer: for, their vse was as effectuall in small bodies and centurie, as in grosse troupes and great companies; in thicke and spacious imbatteiling, as in thick thronged Testudines.

Neither could the nature of the place make the vnseruiceable; for, whether it were plaine or couert, leuell or vnequall, narrow or large, if there were anie commodity to fight, the target was as necessarie to defend, as the sword to offend: besides the conueniencie, which accompanieth the target in any necessarie imposed vpon an Armie, whether it be to march through places of all natures, to make a fast march, or a spec dy retraite, to incamp themselves, to possest places of aduantage, to besiege and to be besieged, as Polybius saith, with many other occasions which necessarilie accompanie an Armie. The vse of this weapon hath been to much neglected in these later ages, but may be hap-pily renued againe in our Nation, if the industry of such as haue laboured to present it vnto these times, in the best fashon, shall find any fauour in the opinion of our Commanders. Concerning which Target, I must needs say this much, that the light target will proue the target of seruice, whensoeuer they shall happen to be put in execution: for, those which are made proose, are so heauie and vniwieldie (although it be somewhat qualifid with such helps as are annexed to the vse thereof) that they overcharge a man, with an vnsupportable burthen, and hinder his agilitie and execution in fight, with a waight disproportionable to his strength. For, our offensive weapons, as namely, the Hargebusiers, and Musketiers, are stronger in the offensive part, then any armes of defence, which may be made manageable & fit for seruice. Neither did the Romans regard the proose of their target further, then was thought fit for the ready vse of them in time of battaile, as it appeareth in manie places, both in the Ciuill wvars, and in these Commentaries: for, a Romaine Pile hath oftentimes darted through the Target, and the bodie of the man that bare it, and fastened the both to the ground: which is more then a Musket can well do; for the bullet commonly resteth in the bodie. And although it may be said, that this was not common, but rather the effect of an extraordinary arme; yet it serueth to proue, that their targets were not proose to their offensive weapons, whē they were well deliuert, & with good direction. For, I make no doubt, but in their bat-

batailes there were oftentimes some hinderances, which would not suffer so violent an effect, as this which I speake off: for, in a voley of shott, we must not thinke, that all the bulletts flie with the same force, & fall with the like hurt; but as Armes of good proose, will hardly hold out some of them; so slender Armes, and of no proose, will make good resistance against others. And, to conclude, in a bateall or incouerter at hand, a man shall meet with more occasions, fusing the nature and commoditiis of this light Target, then such as wil aduantage the heauie Target of proose, or counteruaile the surplus of waight, which it carrieth with it.

Some men will vrge, that there is vse of this Target of proose, in some places and in some seruices: which I deny not to those, that desire to be securid from the extremitie of peril. But this falleth out in some places, & in some particuler seruices; and hindereth not, but that the vniversall benefit of this weapon consisteth in the multitude of light Targetiers, who are to manage the most important accions of a warre.

This much I am further to note, concerning the sword of the Targetiers, that according to the practice of the Romaines, it must alwaies hang on the right side; for, carrying the Target vpon the left arme, it cannot bee that the sword should hang on the left side, but with great trouble and annoiance. And if any man say, that if it hang on the right side, it must be very shott; otherwise, it will never be readily drawne out: I say, that the sword of the Targetiers, in regard of the vse of that weapon, ought to be of a very short scantling, when as the Targetier is to commaund the point of his sword within the compasse of his Target, as such as looke into the true vse of this weapon, will easily discouer. But let this suffice, concerning the vse of the Pike and the Target.

CHAP. XI.

The Battell continueth, and in the end Cæsar ouercommeth.

AT the presence of their Generall, the souldiers conceiued some better hopes; and gathering strength and courage againe, when as every man besirred himselfe in the sight of the Emperor, the brunt of the enemy was a little staid. Cæsar, perceiving likewife the seuenth legion, which stood next unto him, to be sore ouerlaid by the enemy, commandid the Tribunes by little and little, to ioyne the two legions together, and so by ioyning back to back, to make two contrary fronts; & being thus secured one by another from feare of beeing circumvented, they began to make resistance with greater courage. In the meane time, the two legions that were in the rewarde to guard the carriages, hearing of the battell, doubled their pace, and were desirid by the enemy vpon the toppe of the hill. And Titus Labienus, hauing won the Campe of the Neruij, and beholding from the higher ground

ground what was done on the other side of the riuer, sent the temble legion to help their fellowes: who, understanding by the horsemen and Lackies that fledde, in what case the matter stood, and in what danger the Campe, the legions, and the Generall was, made all the hast they possibly could. At whose comming, there happened such an alteration and change of things, that even such as were sunke downe, through extreame griefe of their wounds, or leaned vpon their Targets, beganne againe to fight afresh; and the Pages and the boies, perceiving the enemy amazid, ranne vpon them unarmed, not fearing their weapons.

The horsemen also, striuing with extraordinary valour, to wipe away the dis-honour of their former flight, thrust themselves in all places before the legionary souldiers. Howbeit, the Enemy in the vtmost perill of their lines, shewid such manhood, that as fast as the formost of th̄ were ouerthronne, the next in place besirid their carcasses, and fought vpon their bodies: and these beeing likewise ouerthronne, and their bodies heaped one vpon another, they that remained, possid themselves of that Mount of dead carcasses, as a place of aduantage, and from thence threw their weapons, and intercepting the piles, returned them againe to the Romans.

By which it may be gathered, that there was great reason to deeme them men of haughtie courage, that durst passe ouer so broad a Riuier, climbe up such high rocks, & aduenture to fight in a place of such inequality. The battell being thus ended, and the Nation and name of the Neruij beeing well neere swalowed vp with destruction, the elder sort, with the women and children, that before the battell, were conuaied into Islands and Bogs; when they heard thereof, sent Embassadours to Cæsar, and yielded them selues to his mercy; and in laying open the misery of their State, affirmed, that of six hundred Senatours, they had now left but three; and of sixtie thousand fighting men, there was scarce five hundred that were able to beare Armes. Cæsar, that his clemencie might appear to a distressed people, preserved them with great care, granting unto them the free posseſſion of their townes and country, & straightly commanding their borderers, not to offer them any wrong or iniurie at all.

OBSEERVATION.



And thus endeth the relation of that great and dangerous battel, which Ramus complaineth of as a confusid narration: much differing from the direct & methodical file, of his other Commentaries. But if that rule hold good, which learned Rhetoricians haue obserued in their Oratory; that An vnprefect thing, ought not to be told in a perfect maner: then by Ramus leauie, if any such confusid do appeare, it both fauoureth of eloquence, & well suteth the turbulent cariage of the action, wherein order and skill gaue place to Fortune, & prouidence was lwallowed vp with peradventure. For, that which Hirutius saith of the ouerthrow hee gaue to Phatnaces, may as well be said of this; that he got the victorie, plurimū adiuante deorum benignitate, qui cū omnibus bellī casibus intersunt, sum precipiū yis quibus nihil ratione potuit administrari.

For, lo it fell out in this battell, and the danger proceeded from the same cause, that brought him to that push in the battell with Pharnaces: for, he well understood that the Neruij attended his comming on the other side the riuver Sabia: Neither was hee ignorant how to fortifie his Campe in the face of an enemie, without feare or danger, as we haue seene in his warre with Ariouistus; when hee marched to the place where hee purpoled to incampe him selfe with three battells, and caused two of them to stand ready in Armes to receiue any charge, which the Enemy shold offer to giue, that the third battell in the meane time might fortifie the Campe. Which course would easly haue frustrated this stratagem of the Neruij, and made the hazard lesse dangerous: but hee little expected any such resolution, so contrarie to the rules of Militarie discipline, that an enemie shold not stick to passe ouer so broad a riuver, to clime vp such steep and high Rocks, to aduenture battell in a place so disadvantageous, and to hazard their fortune vpon such inequalities. And therefore, hee little mistrusted a such vnlikely attempt, wherein the enemy had plotted his own ouerthrow, if the legions had beeene ready to receiue them.

Which may teach a Generall, that which Cæsar had not yet learned, that a Leader cannot be too secure in his most assured courses, nor too carefull in his best aduised directions; considering that the greatest meaneas may easly be preuented, and the safest course weakened with an vnrespected circumstance: so powerfull are weake occurrents in the maine course of the waigtest actions; and so infinite are the waies, whereby either wisedome or fortune may work. Neither did this warne him, to prouide for that which an enemy might doe, how vnlikele souer it might seeme vnto him: as appeareth by that accident in the battell with Pharnaces. Whiche practice, of attempting a thing against reason and the arte of warre, hath found good successe in our modene warries, as appeareth by the French histories: notwithstanding, it is to be handled sparingly, as no way fauouring of circumspect and good direction, forasmuch as *Temeritas non semper felix*, as Fabius the great answered Scipio.

The chiefest helps which the Romaines found, were first the aduantage of the place; where of I speake in the Heluetian warre. Seconde, the experience, which the souldiours had got in the former batailles, which much directed them in this turbulent assault; wherin they caried them selues, as men acquainted with such casuallies: lastly, the valour and vndanted judgement of the Generall, which ouerwaied the perill of the battaille, and brought it to so fortunate an end. Wherin we may obserue, that as in a temperate course, when the issue of the battaille rested vpon his directions, hee wholly intended wariness and circumspe^ction: so in the hazard and perill of good hap, hee confronted extremitie of danger with extremitie of valour, and ouer-topt furie, vwith a higher resolution.

CHAP. XII.

The Aduatichi betake them selues to a strong hold, and are taken by Cæsar.

HE * Aduatichi before mentioned, comming with all their power to aide the Neruij, and understanding by the way, of their ouerthrowe, returned home againe; and forsaking them selues and their wealth into one strong and well fortifie town, which was compassed about with mighty rocks and steeppe downefalls, sauing in one place of two hundred foote in breadth; vwhere there was an entry by a gentle and easie ascent: which passage they had fortifie, vwith a double wall of a large altitude, and had placed mighty great stones & sharp beames vpon the walles, ready for an assault. This people descended from the Cimbri and Teutoni; who, in their journey into Italie, had left such carriages on this side of the Rhene, as they could not conueniently take along with them, in the custodie of the forces: who, after the death of their fellowes, beeing many yeres disquieted by their neighbours, sometimes invading other States, and sometimes defending them selues, at length procured a peace, and chose this place to settle them selues in.

At the first comming of the Romaine Armie, they sallied out of the towne, & made many light skirmishes with them: but after that Cæsar had drawn a ramper about the towne, of twelve foote in height, fifteene miles in compass, & had fortifie it with Castles very thick about the towne, they kept them selues within the wall. And, as they beheld the Vines framed, the Mount raised, & a towre in building afur off, at first they beganne to laugh at it; and with scoffing speeches from the wall, began to aske, with what hands, & with what strength, especially by men of that stature (for the Romaines were but little men in respect of the Galles) a towre of that hage masse waight shold be brought vnto the walles? But, when they saw it remooued, and approaching neere vnto the towne (as men astonisched at the strange and unaccustomed sight therof) they sent Embassadors to Cæsar, to intreat a peace, with this message: They believed that the Romaines did not make war, without the speciall assistance of the Gods, that could vwith such facility transport engines of that height, and bring the to encounter at hand, against the strongest part of their towne: and therefore, they submitted both them selues, & all that they had, to Cæsars mercy; desiring one thing of his meer clemencie, that hee vwould not take away their Armes; forasmuch as all their neighbours were enemies vnto them, and enued at their valour; neither were they able to defend them selues, if they shold deliver up their Armour: so that they had rather suffer any inconuenience by the people of Rome, then to be butcherly murthured by them, whom in former time they had held subiect to their commaund.

Cæsar.
* Either Do-
way or Boile-
duke, in Bra-
bant.

To this, Cæsar answered; that he would save the Cittie rather of his owne flame, then for any desert of theirs, so that they yielded before the Ram touched the wall: but no condition of remedy shoulde be accepted, without present deliverie of their Armes; for, he wold doe by them as he had done by the Neruji, and give commaundement to their neighbours, that they shoulde offer no wrong to such, as had commended their safety to the people of Rome. This answere being returned to the Cittie, they seemed contented to doe what soever he commaunded them: and thereupon, casting a great part of their Armour over the wall, into the ditch, insomuch as they fild it almost to the toppe of the rampier; and yet (as afterward was knowne) concealing the third part, they set open the gates, & for that day earied themselves peaceably. Towards night, Cæsar commaunded the gates to be shut, and the souldiours to be drawne out of the towne. But the Aduatici, having consulted together before (forasmuch as they believed, that upon their submission, the Romaines wold either set no watch at all, or at the least, keepe it verie carelelie) partly with such Armour as they had retained, and partly with targets, made of barke, or wrought of wicker, which upon the sudden they had couered over with Leather, about the third watch, where the ascent to our fortifications was easiest, they issued sudainely out of the towne with all their power: but signification thereof being giuen by fires, as Cæsar had commaunded, the Romaines basid speedily to that place. The Enemy fought verie desperately, as men in the last hope of their welfare, encountering the Romaines in a place of disadvantage: at length, with the slaughter of fourte thousand, therewer were driven backe into the towne. The next day, when Cæsar came to breake open the gates, and found no man at defence, he sent in the souldiers, and sold all the people and spoile of the towne: the number of persons in the towne, amounted to fiftie three thousand bondslues.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

AND the surprise, attempted by the Belgæ vpon Bibraet, I set down the manner, which both the Galles and the Romaines vied in their sudaine surprising of a towne: whereof if they failed (the place importing any advantage in the course of war) they then prepared for the siege, in that manner, as Cæsar hath described in this place. They inuironed the towne about with a ditch and a rampier, and fortified the said rampier, with many Castles and Fortresses, erected in a conuenient distance one from another; and so they kept the towne from any forraine succour or relieve: & withall, secured themselves from fallies, or other stratagems, which the towne men might practise against them. And this manner of siege was called *circumvallatio*; the particular description whereof, I referre vnto the historie of Alecia, where I will handle it, according to the particulars there set downe by Cæsar.

THE

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



He Ram, which Cæsar heire mentioneth, was of greatest note amongst all the Romaine Engines, and held that place which the Canon hath in our warres. Vitruvius doth attribute the invention thereof to the Carthaginians, who at the taking of Cadiz, wanting a fit instrument to raze and ouerthrowe a Castle, they tooke a long beame or timber tree, and bearing it vpon their armes and shoulders, with the one end thereof, they first brake downe the vppermost ranke of stones: and so descending by degrees, they ouerthrew the whole towre. The Romaines had two sorts of Rams; the one was rude and plaine; the other, artificiall & compound: the first, is that which the Carthaginians vied at Cadiz, and is purtrated in the column of Traian at Rome.

The compound Ramme is thus described by Iosephus: A Ramme, saith he, is a myghtie great beame, like vnto the mast of a ship, and is strengthened at one end, with a head of iron, fashioned like vnto a Ramme, and thereof it tooke the name. This Ram is hanged by the middest with roapes vnto another beame, which lieth crosle a couple of pillars: and hanging thus equally balanced, it is by force of men thrust toward, and recoiled backward; and to becateth vpon the wall with his iron head: neither is there any towre so strong, or wall so broade, that is able to stand before it.

The length of this Ram was of a large scantling; for, Plutarch affirmeth, that Anthonie in the Parthian war, had a Ramme foure score foote long. And Vitruvius saith, that the length of a Ramme was vphysall one hundred and sixe, and sometimes one hundred and twentie; and this length gaue great strength and force to the engine. It was managed at one time with a whole Centurie or order of souldiers: and their forces being spent, they were seconded with another Centurie; and so the ramme plaid continually vpon the wall, without intermission. Iosephus saith, that Titus, at the siege of Ierusalem, had a ramme for every legion: it was of entimes couered with a Vine, that the men that managed it might bee in more safetie. It appeareth by this place, that if a towne had continued out vntill the ramme had touched the wall, they could not presume of any acceptation of rendry; forasmuch as by their obstinacie, they had brought in perill the lives of their enemies, and were subdued by force of Armes, which affordeth such mercie as the Victor pleaseth.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.



He Aduatici, as it seemeth, were not ignorant of the small securite which one State can giue vnto another, that commendeth their safetie to be protected by it: for, as Architas the Pythagorian faith, A bodie, a familie, and an Armie, are then well gouerned, vwhen they containe within themselves the causes of their safetie; So wee must not looke for anie securite in a State, when their safetie dependeth vpon a forraine protection.

Aries, or the Ramme.

Cales.

Aries simplex.

Aries compo-
sitea.

protection. For, the old saying is, that *Neque murs, neque amicus quisquam proteget, quem propriis armis non texere*. Although in this case the matter was well qualified, by the maiestie of the Romaine Empire, and the late victories in the continent of Gallia; whereof the Hedui with their associates, were very gainfull witnesses: but amongst kingdoms, that are better futed with equalitie of strength and authoritie, there is small hope of faerie to be looked for, vnsle the happy government of both doe mutually depend vpon the faerie of either Nation. For, that which Polybius obserued in Antigonus, king of Macedonia, taketh place for the most part amongst all Princes; that Kings by nature esteeme no man, either as a friend or an enemy, but as the calculation of profit shall find them answerable to their projects. And contrariwise, it cutteth off many occasions of practices and attempts, when it is knowne that a State is of it selfe able and ready to resist the deßignes of forraine enemies, according to that of Manlius: *Ostendite modo bellum, pacem habebitis: videant vos paratos ad vim, ius ipsi remittent.*

THE FOVRTH OBSERVATION.

 He manner of signifying any motion or attempt by fire, was of grete vicle in the night season, where the fortification was of so large an extension: for, fire in the night doth appeare far greater then indeede it is; forasmuch as that part of the aire, which is next vnto the fire, as it is illuminated with the light thereto, in a reasonable distance, cannot be discerned from the fire it selfe, and so it seemeth much greater then it is in substance. And contrariwise, in the day time it sheweth lesse then it is; for, the cleare brightness of the aire, doth much obscure that light, which proceedeth from a more grosse and materiall body: and therefore their custome was to vle fire in the night, and smoake in the day, suting the transparent middle with contrarie qualitie; so that it might more manifestly appearre to the beholder.

THE FIFT OBSERVATION.

 And albeit after the victorie, the Romans inflicted divers degrees of punishment, according to the malice which they found in an enemy; yet as Flauius Lucanus saith in Liuie, there was no Nation more exorable, nor readier to shew mercie, then the Romans were. The punishments which we find them to haue vfed towards a conquered Nation were these; either they punished them by death, or sold them for bondslaves, *sub corona*, or dismissed them *sub iugum*; or merced them, in taking away their territories; or made them tributarie States.

Of the first we find a manifest example, in the third of these Commentaries; where Caesar hauing ouerthrowne the Veneti by sea, in as much as they had retained his Embaffadours by force, contrarie to the law of Nations, hee putte the Senate to the sword, and sold the rest *sub corona*.

Festus

Festus saith, that an enemy was said to be sold *sub corona*, inasmuch as the captiues stood crowned in the Market-place, where they were sette out to sale: as Cato saith, in his booke *Dere militari, vt populus sua opera potius ob rem bene gestam coronatus, supplicaturet; quam r. male gesta coronatus veneat.* And Gellius affirmeth the samething, but addeth also another reaon, forasmuch as the souldiers that kept them while they were in selling, incircled them round about, to keep them together; and this round-about-standing, was called *corona*. Festus saith, that oftentimes they vſed a speare; and therefore they were said to be sold *sub hasta*: forasmuch as amongst the Greeks, by the speare or pike, was signified the power of Armes, and maiestie of Empires.

Whenthey dismissed them *sub iugum*, their order was to erect three trees like a pair of gallowes, vnder which they caused all the captiues to passe, as a signe of bondage: for, they had so conquered them by force of Armes, that they layd vpon their neck the yoke of thralldome.

Liuie saith, that Quintius the Dictator, dismissed the *Aequos sub iugum*; & this *iugum* was mad: of three speares, whereof two were stuck vpright in the ground, and the third was tied ouerthwart them. The souldiers that passed *sub iugum*, were vngirt, and their weapons taken from them, as Festus saith.

Sometimes againe, they rooke away their lands and territories, and either sold it for mony, & brought it into the Treasure, or diuided the land amongst the Romaine people, or let it out to farme rent: of all which, Liuie hath many pregnant examples.

CHAP. XIIII.

Craffus taketh-in all the maritimate Citties that lie to the Ocean: the legions are caried into their vvintering Campes.

  **H**E same time Pub. Crassus, whom he had sent with one legion to the maritimate Cities that lay to the Ocean, adverſified him, that all those States had yielded themselves to the people of Rome. The warres beeing thus ended, and all Gallia being settled in peace, there went such a fame of this warre among other barbarous people, that from Nations beyond the Rhene there came Embaffadours to Caesar, offering both hostages and obedience to whatsoeuer he commannded them. But Caesar willed them to repaire unto him againe in the beginning of the next Sommer, forasmuch as he then hasted into Lumbardie, after hee had placed his legions in their wintering Campes. For these things, vpon the sight of Caſars Letters, a generall supplication was proclaimed in Rome for fifteene daies together: which honour before that time had happened to no man. And thus endeth the second Commentarie.

Cesar.

Of this supplicatio I will speake in the latter end of the 4. booke.

OBSER-

OBSERVATIONS UPON THE THIRD BOOKE OF CAESAR HIS COMMENTARIES.

THE ARGUMENT.

His Commentarie beginneth with an Accident, which happened in the latter ende of the former Sommer; wherein the Belgæ had so leane a haruest: and then it proceedeth to the warre betweene Cæsar and the Veneti; Crassus and the Aquitani; Titurius Sabinus and the Curiosolitæ; and Titus Labienus, with the Treuiri.

CHAP. I.

Sergius Galba, beeing sent to cleere the passage of the Alpes, was besieged by the Seduni and Veragri.

CÆSAR, taking his journey into Italie, sent Sergius Galba with the twelfth legion, and part of the horsemen unto the Nantuates, Veragri & Seduni: whose territories are exteded from the riuier Rhone, and the lake Lemanus, unto the tops of the highest Alpes. The end of this voyage waschifflie to cleere the Alpes of thieues & robbers, that liued by the spoile of Passengers, that trauailed betweene Italie and Gallia. Galba, hauing order if he found it expedient, to winter in those parts, after some fortunate encounters, and the taking of some Castles and holds, he concluded a peace, and resolued to place two cohorts of his legion amongst the Nantuates; and himselfe winter with the other cohorts, in a towne of the Veragri, named Octodurus. This towne beeing sited in a narrow valley, and incircled about with mighty high hill, was diuided by a riuier into two parts; whereof he gaue one part to the Galles, and the other he chose for his wintering Campe, and fortified it about with a ditch & a rampier. After he had spent many daies of wintering, and gauen order, that corn should be brought thither for prouision; he had intelligence upon a sudden, that the Galles in the night time, had all left that part of the towne that was allotted unto them; and that the hills which hung ouer the valley, wherein the towne stood, were possest with great multitudes of the Seduni, and Veragri. The reasons of this suddaine commotion, were chiefly the paucitie of the Romane forces.

forces, not making a compleat legion; forasmuch as two cohorts wintered amongst the Nantuates: besides many particulars, that were wanting upon necessary occasions. And to make them more contemptible in regard of themselves, the place affoorded such aduantage, that they were persuaded by reason of the steep declivity of the hill, that the Romaines would not indure the brunt of the first assault: besides this, it grieved them exceedingly to haue their children taken from them, under the title of hostages; and the Alpes, whiche Nature had exempted from habitation, and placed as bounds betwecn two large kingdome, to be sei-sed upon by the Romaine legions, and united to their Preuince.

Vpon these aduertisements, Galba, not hauing as yet finished the fortification of his Campe, nor made prouision of Corne and forrage for the winter season, in that he little feared any motion of warre, being secured of their amitie, and obedience, both by hostages and rendry: he presently called a Councell of warre, to determine what course was best to be taken. In which Councell, the mindes of many were so amazed, with the terror of so vnexpected a danger, when they beheld the hills pestered with armed soldiers, the passages taken and intercepted by the Enemy, & no hope left of any succour or relief, that they could thinke of no other way for their safetie, then leauing behind them their baggage & impediments, to fallie out of their Campe, and so to saue themselves by the same way they came thither: notwithstanding, the greater part concluded, to referre that resolution to the last push; and in the meane time, to attend the fortune of the event, and defend the Campe.

OBSERVATION.

W^Hich aduise, although at this time forted to small effect; yet it better suited the valour of the Romaines, and sauoured more of tempered magnanimitie, then that former hazard, which argued the weakenesse of their minds, by their ouer-hastie and too forward resolution. For, as it importeth greater danger, and discouered a more desperate spirit, to break through the thickest troopes of their enemies, and so by strong hand to saue themselves by the helpe of some other fortune; so it manifested a greater apprehension of ferroure, and a stronger impression of feare, which can afford nothing but desperate remedies: for, desperate and inconsiderate rashnes, riseth sooner of feare, then of any other passion of the mind. But such as beheld the danger with a lesse troubled eye, and qualified the terror of death with the life of their spirit, referring extremitie of helpe to extremitie of peril, and in the meane time attened what chances of aduantage might happen vnto them, vpon any enterprize the enemy should attempt; they I say, so gaue greater scope to Fortune, & enlarged the bounds of changing accidents.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

The enemy setteth vpon the wintering Camp:
Galba ouerthroweth them.

HE Councell beeing dismissed, they had scarce time to put in execution such things, as were agreed upon for their defence: but the enemy, at a watch-word giuen, assallied the Campe on all sides, with stones and darts, & other casting weapons. The Romans, at first, when their strength was fresh, valiantly resisted the brunt of the charge; neither did they spend in vaine any weapon which they cast from the rampier; but what soever of their Camp seemed to be in greatest danger, & want of help, thither they came with succour and relieve; but herein they were ouer-matched: for, the enemy being spent and wearied with fight, whensoeuer any of them gave place and forsooke the battell, there were alwaies fresh combatants to supply it. But the Romans, by reason of their small number, had no such helpe: for, their extremitie in that point was such, that no man was permitted neither to wearinesse nor wounds, to forsake his station, or abandon his charge. And, hauing thus fought continually the space of six hours, when both strength and weapons wanted, the enemy persyting with greater furie to fill the ditch, and break downe the rampire, and their hopes relying vpon the last expetation, P. Sex. Baculus, the Primipile of that legion, whom we said to bee so sore wounded in the Nerian battell, and Caius Volusenus, Tribune of the souldiers, a man of singular courage and wisdome, ran speedily to Galba and told him, that the only way of safety was to breake out upon the enemy, and to try the last refuge in that extremitie. Whereupon, they called the Centurions, and by them aduised the souldiers to forace awhile from fighting, and onely to receive such weapons as were cast into the Campe; and so to rest themselves a little & recover their strength: and then at a watch-word, to sallie out of their Campe, and lay their safetie upon their vertue. Which the souldiers executed with such alacritie and courage of spirit, that breaking out at all the gates of the Campe, they gave no li- sure to the enemy to consider what was done, nor to satisfie his judgement touching so unexpected a noueltie. And thus Fortune beeing suddenly changed, they flew more then the third part of thirtie thousand, and put the rest to flight, not suffering them to stay vpon the hils neere about them.

O B S E R V A T I O N.

WHICH strange alteration, liuely describeth the force of noueltie, & the effectuall power of vncpected aduentures: for, in the first course of their proceeding, vwherein the Romaines defended the Campe, & the Galles charged it by assault, the victory held constant with the Galles, & threatened death & mortallity to the Romans.

COMMENTARIES, LIB. III.

109.

mans. Neither had they any meanes to recover hope of better successe, but by trying another way; which so much the more amazed the Gals, in that they had vehemently apprehended an opinion of victory, by a set fight, continuing the space of 6. houres, without any likelihood of contrariety, or alteration. Which practice, of frustrating a deßigne intended, by an indirect and contrary answer, feruèd the Romans oftentimes to great aduantage; as besides this preßent example, in this Commentary we shal afterward read, how Titurius Sabinius deßeated the Vnellos, with the same stratagem; and ouerthrew them by eruption & falling out, when they expected nothing but a defensive resistance from the rampier. From whence a Commander may learn, to avoide two contrarie inconuenienties, according as the qualitie of the war shall offer occasion: first (if other things be answerable, which a iudicious eye wil easily discouer) that a fally made out at diuers ports of the hold, wil much mitigate the heat of a charge, and controle the fury of an Enemy. And on the other side, he that besiegeth any place, what aduantage soever he hath of the defendant, may much better assest him selfe of good fortune, if he appoint certain troupes in readines to receive the charge of any eruption, that the rest that are busily employed in the assault may prouide to answere it, without disorder or confusion. Which order, if the Gals had taken, they had not in likelihood so often been deceived.

CHAP. III.

Galba returneth into the Prouince: the Unelli giue occasion of a newe warre.



HE Enemy being thus defeated, Galba was unwilling to trie fortune any further; and ther rather for that he wanted both corn & forrage: and therfore hauing burned the towne, the next day he returned towards the Prouince, and without let or resistance brought the legion safe into the Rantuates; and from thence to the * Allobrogia, and there be wintered.

After these things were dispatched: Cesar supposing for many reasons, that al Gallia was now in peace, and that there was no further feare of any new war, the Belga being ouerthrown, the Germans thrust out, and the Seduni amongst the Alps subdue & vanquished; in the beginning of the winter, as he went into Illyricum, hauing a great desire to see those nations: there grew a sudden tumult and dissencion in Gallia vpon this occasion. Pub. Crassus wintering with the seuenth legion in Aniou neare unto the Ocean, and finding scarcitie of corn in those parts, he sent out the Prefects of the horfemen, and Tribunes, into the next cities to demaund corn, and other prouisions for his legion: of whom Titus Terrasidius was sent unto the * Venelli, Marcus Trebius to the * Curiosilite, Q. Velanius, & Titus Silius to the * Veneti. These Veneti were of greatest authoritie amongst all the maritimae nations in that coast, by reason of their great store of ship-ping,

Cesar.

*Sauoiens.

*Le Perche
Cornouaille.
in Bretaine.
Vannes.

ping, with which they did traffike in Britanie, and exceeded all their neighbour States in skil and experience of sea-faring matters: having the most part of such, as used those seas, tributaries to their State: These Veneti first adventured to retaine Silius & Velanius, hoping therby to recover their hostages which they had given to Crassus. The finitmate Cities induced by their authority & example, for the same reason, laide hold upon Trebius & Teradius; and sending speedly ambassages one unto another, coniured by their princes and chiefeſt magiſtrates, to approue their fact by common conſent, and to attend all the ſame evenes of fortune; ſoliciting alſo other cities and ſtates, rather to maintaine that libertie, which they had received of their Anceſtors, then to indure the ſeruile bondaſe of a ſtranger.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

He circumſtance in this history, which noteſ the ſudden breaking out of warres, when the courſe of things made promife of peace: ſheweth firſt, what ſmall aſſurance our reaſon hath of her diſcoure in calculating the natuſtue of After-chances; which ſo ſeldome anſwer the judgement we giue upon their beginnings, that when we ſpeak of ſharpneſſe, we find nothing but miſerie: and contrariwise, it goeth often well with that part, which our Art hath condeſerneſ to ill fortune. And therefore I do not maruell, if when almoſt all nations are at odds, and in our beſt conſeſts, threaten deſtructiōne to another, there happen a ſudden motion of peace: or if peace be in ſpeech, ſoothing the world with pleaſing tranquillitie, & through the uncertaintie of our weake probabilities, promife much reſt after many troublous: there follow greater wars in the end, then the former time can truly ſpeak of. Which being wel underſtood, may bumble the ſpirits of our haughty politiſtis, that think to comprehend the conſeſtions of future times, under the preuiledge of their weake proiects, and predeſtinate ſucceding ages, according to the courſe of the preuent motion: when an accident ſo little thought of, ſhall break the maieſtame ſtreame of our judgement, and falſifie the Oracles which our underſtanding hath utered. And it may leare them withall, how muſt it impoſteth a wiſe commander, to preuent an euill that may croſſe his deſigne, (how ulikely ſouer it be to happen) by handling it in ſuſh maner, as though it were neceſſarily to confron the fame. For then a thing is well done, when it hath in it ſelfe both the cauſes of his being; and the diſcreet meaſes to reſiſt the repugnancie of a contrary nature: and ſo hap what will, it hath great poſſiſtiblity to continue the fame.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

His practice of the Veneti may inſtruct a circumſpeſt Prince in caſe of this naſture, to haue a more watchfull ey ouer that Province or city, which ſhall be found moſt potent and mighty amoungſt the reſt, then

The Anſwer
of example

of any other interiour State of the fame naſture and condiſion: for, as example of it ſelfe is of great authoritie, making improbabilities ſeem full of reaſon, eſpecially when the intention ſhall ſympathize with our will; ſo when it ſhall happen to be ſtrengthened with powerfull meaſes, and graced with the A&E of ſuperior perſonages: it muſt needs be very effectual to ſtir vp mens minds, to approue that with a ſtrong affection, which their own ſingle iudgement did no way allow of. And therfore equality bringeth this aduantage to a Prince, which diſſerencie cannot affoord, that albeiſt example doe ſet on foote any rebeſſious motion, yet no ſuperemineſcie ſhall authoriſe the fame.

CHAP. III.

Cæſar hauiing aduertiſement of theſe new troubles; hylleth into Gallia, and prepareth for the WARRE.

ALL the maritimate ſtates being by this meaſes drawn into the ſame conpiracy, they ſent a comon ambaffege unto Crassus; that if he would haue his men againe, he muſt deliver up the hoſtages, which he had taken from them. Whereof Cæſar being certiſed by Crassus, in as muſt as hee was then a great way diſtant from ſome his Army, he commanded Galles and ſhips of warre to be buiilt upon the riuere ^{*}Loier, which runneth into the Ocean; and that Gallic-men, Mariners, and Ship-maſters ſhould be muſtered in the Province: which being ſpeedily diſpatched, ſoone as the time of the yeare would permit him, he came into Gallia. The Veneti and the reſt of the conſederacie, underſtanding of Cæſars arriuall, and conſidering how hainous a fact they had committed, in detaining the Ambaffege & casting them into irois, whose name is held ſacred & inviolable amoungſt all naſtions: prepared accordingly to anſweſe ſo eminent a danger, & eſpecially ſuch neceſſaries, as pertained to ſhipping & ſea-fights.

THE OBSERVATION.

Arom hence I may take occaſion, briefly to touch the reuerent opinion, which all naſtions, how barbarous ſouer, haue generally conſeſſed of the qualitie & condiſion of Ambaffege: and what the grounds are of this vniuerſall receiued cuſtome, which in all ages, and times hath held Authentical. And firſt we are to underſtand, that all mankind (as indued with the fame naſture and properties) are to be linked together in the ſtrict alliance of humane ſocieſtis; that, albeiſt their turbulent and diſagreing paſſions (which in themſelues are vnnaturall, as proceeding from corruption

Cæſar.

^{*} Ligeris.

The grounds
of that reuer-
ent opinion
which is helde
of Embaffe-
ge.

rupcion and desect) drive them into extream discord, & disunion of spirit, and breake the bonds of ciuil conuerstation, which otherwise we do naturally affect: yet without a necessary entercourse and trafficke of societie, we are not able to keepe on foote the very discorde it selfe, in tearmes of reaon and orderly proceeding, but all parts will be blended with disordered confusion & go to wrack, for want of these mutuall offices performed by messengers: so streight are the bonds of Nature, and so powerfull are the laws which she enacteth. And therefore if it were for no other end, which might sort to the benefit of either partie, (as there are many good vies thereof) yet to holde vp the quarrell and keepe it frō falling, making war, according to the grounds of reason, the entercourse of messengers is not to be interrupted, nor their persons to be touched with hateful violence: but that which the common reaon of nations hath made a lawe, ought as religiouly to be obserued, as an Oracle of our owne beliefe. Secondly, for as much as the end of warre is, or at the least should be, peace: which by creatie of mutuall messengers is principally to be confirmed, to the end that no people may seem so barbarous, as to maintaine a warre, which onely intendeth bloud, and propoſeth as the chiefeſt obiect, the death and mortalitie of mankind, no way respecting peace and ciuill government: ſuch as refule the entercourse of messengers, as the means of amity and concord, are iuſtly condemned in the iudgement of all nations, as vnworthy of humane societie. Last of al, it is an iuriy of great diſhonour, and deterueth the reward of extream infamy, to reuenge the malter his quarrell vpon a feruant, and puniſh Ambaſſadors for the faults of their State: confidering that their chiefeſt duty coniſteth in the fauifull relation of ſuch mandates, as they haue receiued: which may as well tend to the aduancement and honour of that Cittie, to which they are ſent; as to the diſhonour and ruine of the ſame, whereof the messengers take no notice. And therefore whether we deſire war or peace; the free libertie, and holy order of Ambaſſadors, is reuerently to be reſpected and defended from brutiſh and vnnaturall violence.

CHAP. V.

*The proceedings of either partie, in the enterrance
of this Warre.*



¶ *He Veneti conceiued great hope of their enterprise, by reaſon of the ſtrength of their ſituation: for as much as all the paſſages by land were broken and cut off, with arms and creekes of the ſea; and on the other ſide, nauigation and entramēty ſea was ſo troubleſome and dangerous, in that the Romans were altogether unacquainted with the chanelles and ſhelues of the coaſt. Neither did they thinke that the Roman Armie could long con-
tinue there without corne, which was not to bee had in thoſe quarters. And*

C. 112.

if it happened, that the course of things were carried contrarie to this probable expectation; yet they themſelues were ſtrong in ſhipping; whereas the Romans had none at all: Neither had they knowledge of the flats and ſhallows, Ports and Islands of that coaſt, where they were to fight. And to conclude, they ſhould find the uſe of Nauigation in that narrow ſea, to be farre diſferent from that, which they were accustomed unto, in the vaste and open Ocean. In this resolution, they fortified their townes, ſtored them with provision, & brought all their ſhipping to Vannes; againſt whom, Cæſar (as it was reported) would begin to make war, taking the Oſſimi, Lexouij, Nannetis, Ambinariti, Morini, Menapij, Diablintris, as conſorts and partakers in this quarrell. Notwithſtanding these diſſiculties, many motiues ſtirred up Cæſar to undertake this war: as namely, the violent detaining of the Roman knights: their rebellion, after they had yeelded themſelues by rendry, and giuen hoſtages of their loialtie: the conſpiracie of ſo many Cities, which being now negeleſt, might afterward incite other nations and ſtates to the like inſolencie. And therefore underſtanding, that almoſt all the Galles were inclining to novelty & alteration, and of their own nature, were quick & ready to undertake a war; and further, conſidering that all men by nature deſire liberty, and hated the ſeruile condition of bondage: hee preuented all further inſurrections of the other ſtates, with the preſence of the Roman forces: and ſent Titus Labienus with the Caualrie, unto the Treuiri, that bordered upon the Rhene: to him hee gaue in charge, to viſit the men of Rhemes & the reſt of the Belge, to keep them in obedience, and to hinder ſuch forces, as might peraduenture be transported ouer the riuer by the Germains, to further this rebellious humor of the Galles. He commanded likewife Pub. Crassus, with 12. legonarie cohorts, and a great part of the horſe to go into Aquitane, leaſt there might come any aide from thoſe nations. He ſent alſo Q. Titurius Sabinus with three legions, unto the Lexouij, Curiosolite, Vnelli, to diſappoint any practice which rebellious minds might intend. And making D. Brutus chiefe Admirall of the nauie, he gaue him in charge, to make towards Vannes, with what ſpeeđe he could: and hee himſelf marched thitherward with the reſt of the foot forces.

Lendiguer.
Lysenix.
Vante.
Aurenche.
Leondoul.
Citties in lit-
tle Britaine.

*Triers.

THE OBSERVATION.

¶ *In the first booke, I obſerued the authority which the Roman Lea-
ders had to vndertake a war, without further acquainting the Senat
with the conſequence thereof: in this place, let vs obſerue the care
and circumſpection, which the Generalls had, not to vndertake a
troubleſome and dangerous warrepon a humor, or any other ſlender motion:
but diligently waighing the circumſtances thereof, and meaſuring the petill &
hazard of the warre, with the good and conſequence of the effect; informed
their iudgements of the importance of that action; and ſo tried whether the
benefit would anſwer their labor. And thus we find the reaons particularly de-
liuered, that moued Cæſar first to vndertake the Heluetian warre: and then the
cauſes, which drew him on to the quarrell with Ariouitius: then followeth the
L. 2*

necſ-

necessity of that warre with the Belgæ; and now the motiues which induced him to this with the maritiimate Citties of Bretaine: and so consequently of his passage into Germany, or what other enterprise he attempted: which he lieth downe as the grounds and occasions of those wars, & could not be auoide but with the losse and dishonour of the Roman Empire.

Further, let vs obserue the meanes he vse to prevent the inclination of the Galles, & to keep them in subiection and peaceable obedience, by sending his men into diuers quarters of that Continent; & so fettling the waetering disposition of the further skirts, with the weight of his Army, and the presence of his legionary soldiars, which hee sent ready to stifle all motions of rebellion in the beginning, thatthey might not break out to the prejudice and diminution of the Roman Empire, and the good successfe of his proceedings: besides the aduantage, which he gained in the opinion of the Enemy; whom he so little feared concerning the vshot of that quarrel, that he had dispersed the greatest part of his Army vpon other seruices, the rest being sufficient to end that war.

CHAP. VI.

The manner of their shipping, and
their Sea-fight.

The site of almost all these Cities was such, that being built in points and promontories, they could not at full sea, which happened alwaies twice in 12. houres, be appreched by foot-forces, nor yet with shipping neithers; for, againe in an ebb, the vessells were laid on the ground, and so left as a prey to the Enemy. And if the Romans went about to shut out the sea, with mounts which they raised equal to the walls of the towne, and were at the point of entering & taking it: yet the townsemen hauing such store of shipping, would easily convey both themclues & their carriages, into the next towns, and there helpe themselves, with the like aduantage of place. And thus they deluded Cæsar the greatest part of the sommer: for the Roman fleet by reason of continual windes and soule weather, durst not adventure to put out of the river Loier into so vast a sea, wherein the haunes and roades were fewe, and farre distant one from another, & the tides great. The shipping of the Galles was thus built and rigged: the keele was somewhat flatter then the Romans shipping, the better to beare the ebbes, and shallowes of that coast: the fore-deck was altogether erect and perpendicular: the poupe was made to beare the hugeness of the billowes, and the force of the tempest. And in a word, they were altogether built for strength: for, the ribbes and seats were made of beams of a foot square, fastned with yron pinnes of an inch thicke: in steade of cables, they vse chaineis of yron; and raw hides and skins for sailes, either for want of linnen or ignorant

of

of the wetherof, or because sailes of linnen would hardly serue to carrie ships of that burthen.

The meeting and conflict of the Roman navy, with this kind of ships was such, that they only excelled them in celerity and speedy nimblenes with force of oars: but in all other things, either concerning the nature of the place, or the daungers of the soule weather, were far inferior unto them: for the strength of them was such that they could neither hurt them with their beak-heads, nor cast a weapon to any purpose into them, by reason of their altitude, and high built bulkes. And if anie gulf chanced in the meane time to rise, that forced them to commit themselves to the mercy of the weather, their shipping would better beare the rage of the sea; and with greater safety shelter it selfe amongst flats and shallowes, without feare of rockes or any such hazard: of all which chances the Roman navy stood continually in danger.

O B S E R V A T I O N .



And here, let it not seem impertinent to the argument which we handle, considering the generall vse which we Influiras haue of nauigation, briefly to set down the most eminent causes of the flowing and ebbing of the sea, as farre forth as shall seem necessary to the knowledge of a souldier: which, albeit may fall short of the true reasons of this great secret; yet for as much as they stand for true principles of regularitie, and wel approued rules in our Art of nauigation, let vs take them for no lesse then they effect, and give them that credit in our imagination, which tract of time hath gained to those forged circles in the heauens: that albeit their chiefeſt eſſeſſe conſiſteth in conceit and ſuſpoſal; yet for as much as they ſerue to direct our knowledge to a certaintie, in that variety and ſeeming incoſtantie of motion, we eſteem of them as they eſſeſſe, and not as they are.

Considering then the globe of the world, as it maketh a right ſphere (for in that poſition, the Naturaliſts chiefly understand celeſtiall influence to haue operation in this liqui element of the water) it is diuided by the Horizon and Meridian into fourē quarters: the firſt quarter is that, betweene the eſt horizon and the noone meridian, which they call a flowing quarter: the ſecond fro the noone meridian, to the weſt horizon; which they make an ebbing quarter: the third, from the weſt horizon to the midnight meridian; which they likewiſe call a flowing quarter: and again, from the midnight meridian to the eſt horizon, the ſecond ebbing quarter: And ſo they make two flowing quarters, and two ebbing quarters of the whole circuit of heauen. The instruments of these tenible qualities, and contrary eſſeſſes, are the ſunne and the moone, as they are caſted through theſe diſtinct parts of the heauen. And althoſh expeſience hath noted the moon to be of greatest power in warrie motions; yet we may not omit to acknowledge the force, which the ſunne yeeldeth in this miſſacle of nature.

First therefore we are to understand, that when the moon or the ſunne begin

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The causes of
the ebbing &
flowing of the
Sea.

to

to appear above the right horizon, & enter into that part of the heauen which I earmed the first flowing quarter, that then the sea beginneth to swell: and as they mount vp to their meridian altitude; so it increaseth vntill it come to a high floud. And again, as those lights passing the meridian, decline to the west, and run the circuit of the ebbing quarter: so the water decreaseth & returneth again from whence it came. Again, as they set vnder the west horizon, & enter into the second flowing quarter; so the sea beginneth again to flow, and still increaseth vntill they come to the point of the night meridian: and then again, it refloweth, according as the sun & moon are carried in the other ebbing quarter from the night meridian, to the west horizon.

And hence it happeneth that in coniunction or new of the moon, when the sun & the moon are carried both together in the same flowing, & ebbing quarters; that then the tides and ebs are very great: and likewise in opposition or ful of the moon, when these lights are carried in opposite quarters, which we have described to bee of the same nature, either ebbing or flowing; that then in like manner the tides are great: forasmuch as both these Planets, through the symbolising quarters wherein they are carried, do joyn their forces to make perfect this work of Nature in the ebbing and flowing of the Sea. And contrariwise, in a quadrate aspect (as the Astronomers call it) or quarter age of the moone, when as the moon is carried in a flowing quarter; and at the same instant, the sun doth happen to be in an ebbing or decreasing quarter, as the course of Nature doorth necessarily require: then are the tides lessened, as daily experience doth witnesse.

And for as much as both the right horizon and the meridian also, diuide euerie diuinall circle, which either the sun or the moon maketh in their revolutions, into equal parts; it followeth that every tide is continually measured with the quantity of 6. hours: and therfore that which Cæsar here faith, must needs be true, that in the space of 12. hours, there are alwaies 2. high tides. And least any man should imagine, that every inland City, standing vpon an ebbing and flowing riuier, may take the computation of the tide according to this rule: let him understand, that this which I have delivered, is to be conceiued principally of the sea it self; and secondarily of such ports and hauenes, as stand either neare or vpon the sea: but where a riuier shall run many miles from the sea, and make many winding Meanders, before it come to the place of calculation; it must needs lose much of this time before mentioned. And thus much I thought convenient to inser in these dilcources touching the ebbing & flowing of the sea, as not impertinent to martiall knowledge.

Concerning the shipping of the Romans, whereof posteritie hath only received the late names, and some fewe circumstances touching the manner of their Equipage, the Critickes of these times haue laboured to set forth a fleet, answerable to that, which the reams and title mentioned in history leeme to report: but yet the gaine of their voyage doth not answere their charge. For, many men restvntisfied, first touching the names themselues, wherof we find these kindes.

Names

tides.

The manner
of sea-fight.

Names
 Longas.
 Onerarias.
 Actuarias.
 Triremes.
 Quadriremes.
 Quinqueremes.

The first we may vnderstand to be Gallies or shippes of seruice: the second, shippes of burthen: the third, shippes that were driven forward with force of oares, and the rest sounding according to their Names; for, I dare not intitle them with a more particular description. Now whether these Names *Longas* and *Actuarias*, were a severall sort of shippes by themselves; or the generall Names of the *Quadriremes*, *Triremes*, and *Quinqueremes*, for as much as euerie kinde of these might be called both *Longas* and *Actuarias*, as it yet remaineth in controuersie: so it is not much materiall to that which wee seeke after. But that which most troubleth our sea-Criticke, is, in what senseth they may vnderstand these vocabularies, *Triremes*, *Quadriremes*, & *Quinqueremes*, whether they were so earmed in regard of the number of rowers, or water-men that haled continually at an oare, as the custome of the Gallies is at this daie; or otherwise, because a *Trireme* had three orders of oares on either side, a *Quadrireme* foure, and a *Quinquereme* fife: whereof they tooke their distinction of Names.

Such as hold, that a *Trireme* had on each side three ranks of oares, and so consequently, of a *Quadrireme* and *Quinquereme*; allege this place of *Liue*, to make good their opinion. In the warres between Rome and Carthage, *Lelius* meeting with *Asdrubal* in the straights of *Gibraltar*, each of them had a *Quinquereme*, & seauen or eight *Triremes* a piece: the current in that place was so great that it gaue no place to Art, but carried the vesselles according to the fall of the Billow: in which vncertainty, the *Triremes* of the Carthaginian closed with the *Quinquereme* of *Lelius*: which either because shee was *pondere tenacior*, as *Liue* saith; or otherwise, for that *plures remorum ordinibus scindentibus vertices facilius regeretur*; in regarde of the plurallitie of bankes of oares, which reflasted the billowe and steamed the current, shee sunke two of the *Triremes*, and so got the victorie. From hence they proue, that a *Quinquereme* had *plures remorum ordines*, then a *Trireme* had; and therfore it took the name from the plurallitie of bankes of oares, and not from the number of men that rowed at an oare.

But the contrarie opinion doth interpret *Ordo remorum*, to bee a couple of oares one answering another, on each side of the vessell, which wee call a paire of oares: So that a *Quinquereme* being far greater and longer then a *Trireme*, had more paires of oares then a *Trireme* had, & those oares were handled with but men at one oare, according to the vse of our Gallies at this daie.

But to leaue this, and come to their manner of sea-fights, wee must vnderstand that the Romans, wanting the vse of Artillerie and managing their shippes of warre with force of oares, failed not to make vse of their Art, in their conflicts and encounters by sea: for, all their shippes of seruice, which we earme

Lib. 27

The manner
of sea-fights.

men

men of warre, carted a strong beake-head of iron, which they called *rostrum*, with which they ranne one against another, with as great violence and turie, as their oares could carrie them. And herein Art gave great aduantage; for, he that coulde best skill to turne his ship, with greatest celerity, and so frustrate an offer; or with speedy & strong agitation follow an aduantage: commonly gaue the victory.

In the battell which D. Brutus had with the Massilians, we reade that two Triremes charging the Admirall wherein Brutus was, one at the one side, and the other at the other; Brutus and his Mariners so cunningly handled the matter, that when they shold come to the hurt, they speedily in a trice of time, wond themselues from between them, and the two Triremes met with such a carriere one against another, that one brake her beake-head, and the other split with the blowe.

For this skil & fortune withall, Euphranor the Rhodian was of great fame in Cæsars time; although his end found too true the saying of the Historian, that Whom Fortune honoureth with many good haps, she oftentimes referreth to a harder destiny; as other sea-men besides Euphranor, can truly witness.

This first brunt being ended: when they came to grapple and boarding one of another, then the art & practices of their land seruices came in use: for, they erected turrets vpon their decks, and from them they fought with engines and casting-weapons, as slings, arrowes, and piles; and when they entered, they fought with sword and target. Neither did the legionary souldier find any difference when he came to the point, betweene their fight at sea and that at land: sauing that they could not be marcialled in troupes and bands, in regard wherof the feare of the ieruice was counted more base, and dishonourable; and the rather, in as much as it decided the contiouersie, by slings and casting-weapons: which kinde of fight was of lesse honour, then buckling at handy-blowes.

CHAP. VII.

The Battell continueth: and Cæsar ouercommeth.



Cæsar.
HE maner of their fight being this, as I haue described, neither Brutus, nor any Tribune or Centurion in his navy, knew what to do or what course of fight to take: for, the shippings of the Galles was so strong, that the beake-head of their *Quinqueremes* could performe no seruice vpon them: & although they shoulde raise turrets according to their use, yet these would not equal in heighth the poupe of the Enemies shippings; so that therinall to the Galles had aduantage: neither had they any meanes, whereby they might sole so great a nanie, which amounted to the number of 230. ships of war. One thing

thing there was amongst their prouisions which stod them in great stead: for, the Romans had prouided great sharp hooks or sickles, which they put vpon great & log poles: these they fastned to the taskling which held the maine yard to the mast; and then haling away their ship, with force of oares, they cut the said taskling, & the maine yard fell down. Wherby the Galles, whose only hope consisted in sayling and yare turning of their ships, lost at one instant, both their sails & the vse of their shippings: And then the contiouersie fel within the compas of valour, wherin the Romans exceeded the Galls; and the rather, i[n]asmuch as they fought in the light of Cæsar and the whole Army, no valiant act could bee smothered in secret; for, all the hilles and clifts, which afforded neare prospect into the sea, were couered with the roman Armie.

The maine yarde being cut downe, and the Romans indenouring with great fury to boord them, failed not to take many of their ships: which the Galls perceiuing, & finding no remedy nor hope of resistance, began al to fly, & turning their ships to a forewind, were vpon a sudden so bacalmed, that they were able to make no way at all. Which fell out so fitly for the Romans, that of so great a navy, very few through the helpe of the evening escaped to land, after they had fought the space of 8. hours: with which battell ended the war with the Veneti, & the rest of the maritimite nations. For, a sort of people both young & old, in whom there was either courage, counsell, or dignitie, were present at this battell, and all their shippings was taken & lost; so that such as remained, knew not whither to go, nor how to defend their towns any longer: and therfore yeelded themselues to Cæsar, in whom he used the greater severitie, that he might therby teach al other barbarous people, not to violate the lawe of nations: for, he slew all the Senat with the sword, and solde the people for bondslaves.

THE OBSERVATION.

SIN this battell I chiefly obserue the good fortune, which vsually atten-
deth vpon industrie: for amongst other prouisions, which the diligence
of the Romans had furnished out to the vse of this war, they had made
ready these hookes, not for this intent wherin they were imploied; but at all occa-
sions and chances, that might happen, as seruiceable complements rather
then principal instruments: & yet it so fel out, that they proued the only means,
to ouerthrow the Galles. Which proewth true the saying of Cæsar, that industrie
commaundeth fortune, and buyeth good successe, with extraordinary la-
bour: for industrie in action is as importunitie in speech, which forceth an af-
fent beyond the strength of reaon; and striueth through continuall pursuit, to
make good the morties, by often inculcations; and at length findeth that dispo-
sition, which will easily admit whatsoeuer is required: In like manner, diligence
and laboure lone industrie, by circumspect and heedfull carriage, seldom faile
either by hap, or cunning, to make good that part wherein the maine point of
the matter dependeth. For, every action is intangled with many infinite adhe-
rents, which are so intercelled in the matter, that it succeedeth according as it is
carried.

The force of
industrie.

carried answerable to their natures. Of these adherents, some of them are by wisdome foreseen; and directed to that course which may fortunat the action: the rest being ymknown, continue without either direction or preuention, & are all vnder the regiment of fortune; for as much as they are beyond the compasse of our wisedome reach, and in the waies either to affis or disaduantage: Of these, industrie hath greatest authority; in as much as she armeth her selfe for all chances, whereby she is sayd to command fortune.

CHAP. VIII.

Sabinus ouerthroweth the * Vnelli, with the manier thereof.



While these things happened in the state of Vannes, L. Titurius Sabinus entred with his forces into the confines of the Vnelli, ouer whom Viridouix was made chiefe Commander, hauing drawne the Aulerians and the * Eburonics with a great number of vagabonds and theues into the same conspiracie: Sabinus incapping himselfe in a convenient place, kept his souldiers within the rampier. But, Viridouix, being lodged within lesse then two miles of Sabinus his camp, brought out his forces daily, and putting them in battell gave him opportunitie to fight if he would: which Sabinus refused in such sort, that he began not onely to be suspected by the Enemy of cowardice, but to be taunted with the reprochful speeches of his own soldiers; which opinion of feare being once settled in the minds of the Enemy, he used all meane to increase it, and carried it so well, that the Enemy durst approche the very rampier of the camp. The colour that he pretended was, that he thought it not the part of a Legate, in the absence of the General, to fight with an Enemy of that strength, but upon some good opportunitie, or in a place of aduantage. In this generall pervasion of feare, Sabinus chose out a subtile wised Gall, whom he perswaded with great rewards, and further promises, to sive to the Enemy, and there to carry himself, according to the instructions, which he shoulde give him. This Gal, comming as a reuolter to the Enemy, laid open unto the the feare of the Romans; the extremity that Caesar was drivne into by these netis; & that the night before, Sabinus was about to withdraw his forces secretly out of his camp, to make all the haste he could to relieuue Caesar. Vpon which aduertisement, they al cried out with one consent, that this opportunity was not to be omitted, but setting apart al other deuises, to go & assault the Roman camp. Many circumstances perswaded the Gals to this resolutiō; as first the linging & doubt which Sabinus had made, whe he was offred battell; secondly, the intelligence which this fugitive had brought; thirdly, the want of victuals wherin they had been negligent & unadvisedly carelesse; fourthly, the hope they conceiued of the war of Vannes and lilly, for that men willingly believe that which they would haue com to pass. The force of these motiōes was so strong, that they would not suffer Viridouix

doux, nor the rest of the Captaines, to dismisse the Councell, vntill they had permitted them to take Armes, and goe to the Romaine Camp. Which being granted, they gathered rubbish and fagots to fill up the ditch; & with cheerful harts, as though the victorie were already gotten, they marched to the place where Sabinus was incamped; which was the top of a hill, rising gently from a leuell, the quantity of one thousand paces. Either the Galles hasted with all expedition: & so intent the Romaines might not haue so much time, as to put on their Armour, the Galles for haste ranne themselves out of breath.

Sabinus, incouraging his souldiers, gave the signe of battell; and sallying out at two severall gates of his Campe, it fell out that through the oportunity of the place, the wearinesse and unexperience of the Enemy, the valour of the Romane souldier, and their exercise in former battels, that the Galles could not indure the brunt of the first encounter, but presently tooke themselves to flight, of whom, very few escaped. And so it happened, that at one time; Sabinus had newes of the ouerthrow at Sea, and Caesar of Sabinus victory by Land: Vpon these victories, all the Citties and States yielded themselves to Titurius: for, as the Galles are prompt to undertake a warre; so are they weake in suffering, and impatient of the consequents and calamities thereof.

OBSEERVATION.



His practice of a counterfeit feare, was often put in use by the Romane Leaders, as well to disappoint the expectation of an enemy, as to draw them into an inconuenience, and so to defeat them of their greatest helps in time of battell. Caesar, comming to succour the Campe of Cicero, made such use of this Art, that he put to rout a great Arme of the Galles, with a handful of men: which I will referre unto the place, where it is particularly set downe by Caesar.

The chiefe thing in this place, which brought them to their ouerthrow, was disappointment: for, it is a thing hardly to be digested in busynesse of small consequence, to be frustrated of a settled expectation, when the mind shal dispose herselfe to one onely intent, and in the vp-shot meet with a counterbluffe to crossie her purposes, and so defeat her of that hope which the strength of her reason hath entertained: how much more then in things of such importance, when we shall proceed in a course of victorie, and humour our conceits with that wee wish and would haue to happen; and in the end, meet either with bondage or death, must our best wits bee appalled: hauing neither respite nor meanes, to think how the euill may be best preuented. Which the wise Romans well vnderstood, & counted it no dishonour to be reproched with shamefull cowardice, by such as knew not the secrēts of wisedome; while they in the meane time forsfawē their good fortunes, shrowded vnder the cloak of a pretended distrust.

Let these examples instruct a Leader, so to take the opportunitie of any such fortune, that in the execution, he omit not the chiefe points of order and discipline, as well for the better effecting of the designe, as for his own safety and the

The use
which the
Romans
made of a
counterfe
feare.
Lib. 5.

the securitie of his Armie. For, order is as the finewes and strength of martiall discipline, uniting the particular members into the firme composition of a well proportioned bodie: and so it maketh it more powerfull then any number of disunited parts, how able or infinite souer.

I might heire alledge infinite examples to confirme this truth: but let the battell of Drus ferre for all; wherein the Protestants, ouercharging the Catholick Armie, followed the retrait so hard, that they quickly became Maisters of the field: and then negle^tting martiall discipline, fell in confusely with the broken multitude, to make the victorie more glorious by slaughter and mortallitie. The Duke of Guise, all this while, bouged not a foot; but in vnexampled patience, kept his regiment close together, and would not suffer them to recue their Generall that was taken, vntill the regiment of the Prince of Condie was likewise dispersed and broken: and then perceiving no difference of order, betweene the victor Protestant, and the vanquished Catholick, hee dissolved that terrible clud that had hung so long in suspence; and so changed the fortune of the day, that he tooke the chiefeſt of their Princes prisoneſ, with little or no losſe of his owne men: ſo powerfull is order in the deeds of Armes, and of ſuch conſequeneſe in obtaining victorie. And thus wee haue firſt ſene the inconueniences, which a counterſet feare well diſembled, may caſt vpon a credulous and vnauided enemie, when preſtice and appearance hath brought them into an error, which their owne credulitie doth afterward auouch: and ſecondly, what ſtrength and ſaferie conſiſteth in order; and how powerfull it is to throw downe, and to ſet vp.

CHAP. IX.

The proceedings of Crassus in Aquitanie.

CONCERNING the ſame instant of time, it happened alſo, that Pub. Crassus coming into Aquitanie (which both in regard of the large extenſion of the Country, as alſo for the multitude of the inhabitants, was named the third part of Gallia) and conſidering that he was to make war in thoſe parts, where L. Valerius Preconius the Legate was ſlaine, and the Army ouerthrowne: and where Lucius Manlius was faine to ſie, with the losſe of his carriages; he thought that his affaires required no meane diligencie: and therefore, hauing made prouifion of Corne, & muſtered many Auxiliarie forces, and ſent for many valiant and prudent men from Tolouſe and Narbone, hee carried his Armie into the conſines of the * Sontiates; which was no ſooner knowne, but they leuied great forces both of horſe and foote, and with their horſe, charged vpon the Romaines in their march: which being easilie repelled, as they followed the retrait, the infanterie of the Galles, ſhewed it ſelfe in a Valley as it lay in Ambiſh. Theſe, ſetting vpon the Romaines, renewed the battaile, and there the fight continued hot a long time; the ſeſſion

Cap.

Euocati.

Sontiates beeing animated with the former victories, ſaw all the hope of Aquitanie reliе vpon their vertue: and the Romans on the other ſide, deſired to ſhow what they were able to doe of themſelves, without their grand Captaine, and under the conduktion of a young ſoldier. At length, the enemy, ouerwaged with proweſe, and weareid with wounds, beſtoke themſelves to flight; of whom the Romans ſlew a great number: and then marched direſtly to the towne of the Sontiates, and laid ſiege vnto it: the ſiege grew hot on both ſides, the Romans approached the walles, with vines, turrets and mounts. The towneſmen defended themſelves, ſometime by ſallying out, ſomtimes by undermining the mounts and fortifications, wherein the Aquitanie are very ſkilfull. But, when they percieued the indiſtricte of the Romans to exceed all that they were able to do, they inſtructed Crassus to accept their rendry: which beeing granted, and all the Army intendeing the deliuery of their Armes, Adcantuanus their chiefe Magistrate, fledde out in the meane time at another port of the Cittie, with ſixe hundred denoted companions, whom they called Solduri: but as they attempted to eſcape, the ſoldiers that kept that part of the fortification, as they ſignified his euaſion by a clamour and ſhout, the reſt beſtoke themſelves to Armes, & ſo repelled him againe into the towne; where he deſired to be taken in the number of the ſubmiſſive multitude. Crassus, hauing taken hoſtages of them, went into the conſines of the Voconie.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

EHeſe ſkilfull and experienced men, which Crassus ſent for out of all the Citties in Aquitaine, were thoſe, whom the Romans called Euocati: ſuch as were free from warfare, & exempted by their lawes from giving their names in muſters, either by reaſon of their yeeres, or the maſtracie which they had borne, or for ſome other cauſes, which gaue them that priuiledge: & in that regard, were ſent for by Letters, intreating their affiſtance in the cariage of that war, as men well acquainted with the nature of ſuch buſineſſes. Their places were nothing inferior to the Centurions, for aduile and direſtion, althoſh they had no part in comauand or authoritie.

Euocati.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

Nothing in this fight, we may further obſerue, their maner of defence againſt Mounts, and Cavalieros; which we find chiefly to be Mines. Iofephus, in the Iewiſh warre, ſaith, that The Romaines hauing raised an exceeding high mount, the Iewes vndermined the ſame with ſuch Art, that as they digged vnderneath, they ſupported the Mount with huge props & planks, that it might not ſhrinke: and watching a time of greatest aduantage, they ſet all the timber-work, which vnderproppeſt the mount, on fire, which

M 2.

which taking fire, with the help of Brimstone and Pitch, the Mount fell vpon a suddaine, to the greater terroure and amazement of the Romans.

At the siege of *Auricum*, we find how the Galles by vndermining, did take the earth from the Mount, as fast as it was caried vnto it by the Romans; and so kept it from rising, and made it vneffectuall. But if it were for the most part made of wood, or other combustible matter, they sought then by all meane to burne it; as it happened at the siege of *Mafilia*: and oftentimes, when both burning & vndermining failed, they confronited it, with another Mount within the walles, to disappoint the disadvantage by equall contesting of it; and so made it vnprofitable.

Concerning Mines, this much may I say, without preiudice to that Art, that the chiefe points to be respeted are these: First, the true distance to a desigued place; which is best got by instrument, and helpe of Geometrie, where other marks of certaintie are wanting. Secondly, the direction of the Mine, that we may not erre in our course which the Compasse affordeth. Thirdly, the strengthening of the Mine with timber-work, if need require. Lastly, the countermining and crosse-meeting. All which parts haue very many circumstancess, & require a larger discourse, then may be thought pertinent for this place.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

 He strange contract betweene these Soldurij, and their Chieftaine, may well defetue a place amongst these obseruations, excepte allie, considering the obligatorie condicions, which either party shold bound to obserue: for, the Captaine was to make his Soldurij partakers of all his happinels in this life; in regard whereof, they were to take part of whaſſocuer ill chance or diſaſter ſhould happen to beſal him. If death, which is the laſt end of all ſenſuall miferie, took hold of their head, theſe deuoted were tied voluntarily to follow him the ſelfe ſame way: neither in any memorie was there euer man found, that refuſed to die, if he to whom he was deuoted, charced to be ſlaine. Which bloody league of amitie, as it was repugnant to the course of Nature, multiplying particular deſtine to a generall calamite: ſo was it dangerous in a well ordered State, if the Ring-leader were either ambitious, or ſought to practice any thing contrarie to good government: for, he himſelfe would preſume much vpon the aſſiſtance of his Soldurij; and they on the other ſide, muſt needs wiſh well to his attempeſ, that were ſo intereſted in his life and death.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

The Galles raise new forces against Crassus.



He barbarous Galles were much troubled, that a towne of that ſtrength ſhould ſo ſoone be taken; and therfore they ſent Embaſſadours into all quarters, coniured one with another, conſiſmed their covenants with muſuall hoſtages, and leuied what power they were able to make: ſending for aide out of Spaine, and from other ſtates that bordered upon Aquitaine. At the coming of theſe forces, they began to make warre, with a great power, and with many ſouldiers of great fame: for, they appointed ſuich Leaders as had ſene the expeſience of Sertorius his warres, and were great in the opinion of men, for their ſkill and knowledge in the Arte Militarie. Theſe, according to the cuſtome of the people of Rome, beganne to take places of aduantage, to fortiſie their Campe, and to intercept the Romaines from free paſſage of conuoies, and neceſſarie intercourses. Which when Crassus perceived, & conſidering with all, that his owne forces were ſo few, that he could not well diſmember them upon any ſervice or aduantage, and that the enemy went out at his pleaſure, kept the paſſages, and left notwithstanding, a ſufficient guariſon in his Campe; by which meaſures, their corne and prouifion would in time grow ſcarce, and the enemie wased every day stronger: he thought it his beſt courſe not to linger any longer, but preſently to giue them battell.

The matter beeing referred to a Councell of warre, when he underſtood that all men were of the ſame opinion, he appointed the next day to giue them battell; & in the dawning, putting his men in a double battaile, & placing the Auxiliarie forces in the middeſt, he attendeſt to ſee what the enemy would doe. The Galles, althoſh they were perwiſed, that they might aduenture battell, both in regard of their muſitude and ancient proweſſe of warre, as alſo in reſpect of the pauciſtie of the Romaines; yet they thought it better to block up the paſſages, and ſo cut off all carriages, and conuoies of corne; and ſo the victory would follow without bloodbed: and if the Romaines for want of Corne, ſhould offer to make a retraite, they would then ſet upon them as they marched, wearied with trauell, & heauie laden with their burthens. This reſolution beeing approoued by the whole Councell of the Galles, when the Romaines imbaſtailed their forces, they kept their men within their Campe.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



His Sertorius had followed the faction of Marius and Cinna, and when Sylla had ouerthrowne both the elder & yonger Marius, hee fled into Spaine, and there maintained the quarrell on foote againſt Pompey and Metellus, and ouerthrew them in many battels: but in

Sertorius.

OBSERVATIONS UPON CÆSARS

the end was trecherously slaine by Perpanna at a banke. He was a man of great spirit, and of admirable dispatch; & vnder him were these Captaines brought vp, which Cæsar commendeth for their skill in Armes.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

N histories, propounding to our consideration the deeds and moniments of former ages, we may obserue two especiall meanes, which the great Commanders of the world haue entertraied to achiue victorie, and ouermaiter their enemies: the first, by cunning and wise cariage of a matter, before it come to triall by blowes: the second by forceable meanes and waging of bataile; the one proceeding from wisedome and the better faculties of the soule; and the other depending vpon the strength and abilitie of the bodie.

Concerning the first, it hath euer beeene held more honourable, as better fitting the worth of the spirit, and the diuine essence of our nature, so to direct the course of an action, that the aduerte part may be weake ned by wit, and preuented in the projects of their better fortunes, by anticipation of meanes and occasions, and so through aduantages taken from their owne proceedings, to be driven to that exigent, which may determine of the controuersie before they come to blowes, and conclude the matter by tearmes of Arte, taken from the directions of good prouidence. For, to speake a truth, the action of battell, as it is the last part in that facultie, so it is the wort in regard of Christian dutie and better fiteseth the progeny of Lamech his second wife (which the Diuine doe note to be borne to the ruine and destruction of mankind) then the children of grace; whose ioy consisteth in peace and loue.

Cæsar, in the first of the Ciuill warres, reipeted the same thing, but from other grounds: for, hauing shutte vp Afranius and Petreius in a place of disadvantage, and might haue cut them off without further trouble; yet, forasmuch as he forsway the victorie comming towards him without blow or wound, he thus answered his Captaines that were earnest vpon the enemie; *Cure etiam secundo prælio aliquos ex suis amitteret? cur vulnerari patetur optimè deinceps meritos milites? cur denique fortunā periclitaretur?* And this course did the Galles take, which vnder Sertorius had learned the Romaine Art, and the Romaine industrie; and were now become so expert, that they had almost beaten the Romanes at their owne weapon.

This first meanes is principally to be imbraced, as the safest way in these certaine and caluall euents: for, that wchich refreath vpon corporall strength, & maketh execution the meanes to a conclusion, is very terrible euen to the better partie, full of hazard and of little certaintie. For, it were a miracle of Fortune never heard of yet, so to carrie a bataile vpon what aduantage or meanes whatsoeuer, that the victor Arme should buy so great a fortune without bloodshed or losse of men; and ered a Trophee to Honour, at the sole cost of the enemy, without losse or expence of his owne treasure.

And

COMMENTARIES, LIB. III.

And for the vncertaintie in a bataile, who knoweth not what infinite chances and changes may happen in euerie small moment of time, to turne the fortune of the day to this or that partie, and make both sides vncoufiant in their affections, by presenting them interchangeably with hope and feare, ioy & sorrow: and therefore Cæsar thought it not best to tempt the weywardnesse of Fortune, when by other meanes he might obtaine his desires.

This, I say, is chiefly to be imbraced, if our meanes will afford vs that hapineſſe: but howſoever, I hold it wifedome ſo to enterteine this courſe of victorie, that wee omite not the chiefest helps of furtherance, when it commeth to blowes, but to thinke of this conqueſt by Arte and wit, as neceſſarie, if our meanes will ſerve vs to compaſſe it; and of the other, as neceſſarie whether we will or no: for, the hiftorie maketh it plaine, that when Brutus found himſelfe deſtitute of meanes, to vndertake that courſe of victorie, which proceedeth from prouidence and diſcreet cariage; hee then tooke himſelfe neceſſarilie to the later, and by the helpe of battell, fought to free himſelfe from thofe diſaduantages, into which the Galles had brought him.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.



Obſerue further, out of this place, that what courſe ſouer bee taken, a diſcreet Leader will not eafilie for-goe an aduantage without great auſturance of a better fortune: nor change the certaintie of a benefit, vpon probabilities of other hopes, vntill it haue paid him the iuſtice of his expeſtation, and wrought that effect which it promiſed to performe. For, to hee might forgoe his fortune, by presuming too much vpon the fauour of future chances, which are often ſene to crosse our purpoſes, rather then to further the way which is taken.

Not to forgoe an aduantage

THE FOUVRTH OBSERVATION.



Wtther, I obſerue, this double battell to be anſwerable to the paucity of the Roman forces: for, their vnuall manner was, to make a triple battell, that the firſt might haue a ſecond, and a third helpe: but where their number would not afford that commoditie, they then made two battells that there might be the ſuccour of a ſecond ſupply. But they neuer fought with one iingle battell, for ought that may bee gathered by their hiftories.

THE

THE FIFT OBSERVATION.

The place where forces are before Gaul.
He last thing which I obserue, is the place, where Crassus bestowed the Auxiliarie forces, in the disposition of his troupes to battaile; which is heere said to bee, in *medium Aciem*: for, as their Armies were diuided into three battells; so every battell was diuided into three parts; the two cornets, and the battell, wherein the Auxiliarie forces were in this seruice bestowed: of these he afterward saith, that Inasmuch as he durst not put any confidence in them, hee commaunded them to serue the Romaine in time of battaile, with stones and weapons; and to carry earth and turfe to the Mount. The reason why suspected troupes are placed in the battell, rather then in either of the cornets, is, for that the battaile hath not such scope to charge out, or take aduantage of place to doe mischiefe, as the cornets haue: for, hereloeuer there haue been set battells fought, the strength of their Armie consisted alwaies in the cornets, as the two principall instruments of the battell: and as long as these stood found, the victorie went alwaies certain on that part; for, the cornets kept the enemy, both from incompassing about the body of their Armie, and had the aduantage also of charging vpon the open side of their aduersarie.

At the battell of Cannas, Hanniball put the weakest of his forces in the battell, and aduancing them towards the enemy, left the two cornets behind: so that, when the enemy came to charge vpon the battell, they easily beat them backe, and as they followed, the retreat fell in between the two cornets, wherein the strength of the Armie consisted; & being by them encompassed on each side, were defeated and ouerthrown. And thus we see the aduantage which a General hath, when his two cornets stand firme, although the battell shrink in the encounter. Hanniball, in the battell hee had with Scipio in Africk, placed the Strangers in the front, and in the reward; according peraduenture as hee found their number, and the vse of their Armies: which are circumstances to be considered in this case, and depend rather vpon the judgement of a General, then of any prescription that can be giuen in this matter.

CHAP. XI.

Crassus taketh the Camp of the Galles: and
with their ouerthrow endeth that
VVare.



RASSVS, understanding their drift, and finding his men willing to set upon their Campe, incouraged his soldierns; & to the contentment of all men, vven directly to the place where they were lodged: & as some began to fill up the ditch, and others with casting weapons to beat the Galles from the rampier, he commaunded the Auxiliarie forces, of whom he

COMMENTARIES, LIB. III.

129

hee had no great assurance, to bring stones and weapons to the soldierns that fought, and to carie earth & turfe to the Mount; that so they might make a shew of fighting. And on the other side, as the enemy beganne valiantly to make responce, and to cast their weapon from the higher ground, to the great hurt of the Romaine soldiern; the horsemens in the meane time, riding about the Campe of the Galles, brought word to Crassus, that the rampier at the Decumane port, was not fortifid with such diligence, as they found it in other places, but would admit an easie entrance. Crassus dealt earnestly with the Commaunders of the horse, to incourage them men with great promises and rewards; and instructed them what he would haue done: they, according to their instructions, took fourre cohorts that were left in the Campe, and carrying them a further way about, that they might not be discouered by the enemie, while all mens eyes and minds were intent vpon the fight, they speedily came to the place of the fortifications, which the horsemens had found to be weake; vwhich beeing easilie broken downe, they had entered the Campe before the Enemy could well tell what was done. And then a great clamour and shout beeing heard about that place, the Romaine legions renuing their force, as it falleth out alwaies in hope of victorie, beganne to charge them afresh with great furie. The Galles, beeing circumuerted on each side, and despairing of their safetie, casting themselves ouer the rampier, sought by flight to escape the danger. But forasmuch as the Country was open & champaigne, the horsemens pursued them with that execution, that of fiftie thousand, there scarce remained the fourth part.

O B S E R V A T I O N .

Lib. 3. Amerimbo secundo.
Rom this place Brancatio taketh occasion to dispute, how an Enemy that is strongly incamped, & for some aduantage will not remoue, may be dislodged, whether he will or no. A point of great consequence, in matter of warre; and therefore deserueth due consideration. Concerning which, he laieth this downe for a maxime, that All forts and strong holds are taken by the foot; & that camps and lodgings are taken by the head. By which is meant, that hee who purposeth to winne a fortresse well manned and prouided, must first get the foot, and take hold of the ditch, and then leise himselfe vpon the rampier, and so get the place: for, he saith, that mounts and eminent elevacions, are of little vse against fortresses or sconces, vnlesse they ouer-toppe them: which may be easilie preuented, by raisng the paraper of the fortresse in front, and the curtaine in flanke, according as the enemy shall carry his mounts aloft; and so they shall never come to ouer-toppe the holds. But all Camps and lodgings are taken by the head: that is, by mounts and elevacions; which by the aduantage of their height, command the champaigne: for, hee holdeth it impossible, to raise a mount within the Campe in so short a time, to contest that, which the enemie shall make without.

This foundation being laid, he proceedeth to discouer a way, how to raise a mount, maugre the enemy, which shall dislodge them by force of Artillerie, or murther

murthen them all within their trenches. And this he taketh from Cæsar, at the siege of Gergobia. The substance of the matter consisteth in a double ditch, running like vnto the line which the Geometricians call *Helicall*. By this double ditch, he maketh his approach to any place of most aduantage, where he may, in a night, raise a mount high enough for the ordinance to play vpon any quarter of the Campe. The censure of this practice, I referre to our judicious souldiers, which may, if it please them, take a better view of the particularities of this stratagem in Brancatius himselfe. This much I dare affirme, in the behalfe of these works, that they were of high esteemme amongst the Romans, who daily experience and exidents of hazard had taught to finde the readiest meanes, both for securite and victorie. And if our souldiers could be brought to talte the commodities of these works, either by perswasion or impulsion, it were the best part of their warlike practices: but our men had rather flie vpon desperat aduentures, and fecke victorie in the iawes of death, then to cleare all hazard, with paines and diligence.

CHAP. XII.

Cæsar vndertaketh the warre with the
Menapij and Morini.

*T*he same time also, although the Sommer was almost at an end, yet forasmuch as all Gallia was in peace, and the* Morini only, with the* Menapij stood out in Armes, and had never either sent Embassadour, or otherwise treated of Peace: Cæsar, thinking that warre might quickly be ended, sedde his Arme into their Country. At his comming, hee found them to carie the warres farre otherwise, then the rest of the Galles had done: for, understanding that the greatest Nations of Gallia, vwhich had waged battell with the Romans, were beaten and ouerthrowne: and having vholde continents of woods and boggs in their territories, they conuauiae both themselves and their goods into those quarters. Cæsar, comming to the beginning of the woods, began to fortifie his Campe, not discouering any enemy neare about him: but as his men were dispersed in their charges, they suddenly sallied out of the woods, and assauaulted the Romans: but beeing speedily driven in againe, with the losse of manie of them, as the Romans followed them farre into the woods, had some few of their men slaine.

The time that remained, Cæsar resolueth to spend in cutting downe the woods: and, least the souldiers might be taken unawares, while they were busied in that worke, he caused them to place all the trees which they cut downe, on either side of the Arme, that they might serue for a defence, against sudden assaults. A great quantitie of ground was thus rid within a few daies, so that their goods & castell was taken by the Romans: but they themselves were fledde into thicker woods.

woods. At which time there happened such a continual raine, as forced them to leane off the worke; and the souldiers could no longer indure to lie in Tents of skinnes: and therefore Cæsar, after hee had wasted and spoiled their Country, burned their townes, and their houses; hee caried back his Arme, and placed them in such Citties to winter in, as were subdued by the late warres.

O B S E R V A T I O N.



He Irish rebels, hauing the like commodities of woods and bogges, do entaine the like course of war, as the Morini did with Cæsar. The meanes which heyld to disappoinct them of that practice, was to cut downe the woods; which if it be thought monstrous in this age, or ridiculous to our men of war; let them consider that the Romaine discipline, wrought greater effects of valour, then can be made crediblie by the vies of these times. For, befores their exquisite discipline, which of it selfe vwas able to frame patterns of vnxempted magnanimitie, their industrie was admirable in the execution thereof, and caried it with such vncessant trauell, that the souldiers thought it great happynesse when they came to wage battell with the Enemy; and could haue meanes to quit their continuall trauell, with the hazard of their liues.

Neither let it seeme strange, that the Romaines vndertooke to cut downe the woods: but rather let vs admire their facilitie in so difficult a task; for, as the historie witnesseth; *magnus spacio paucis diebus confecto, incredibili celeritate*: a great quantitie of ground, was rid in a few daies, with incredible speed. And after the woods were cut downe, they tooke more paines in placing it on each side of the legions, to hinder any luddaine assault, then they did in cutting it downe: which deserueth as great admiration as the former part. There is another place in the sixt booke of these Commentaries, which exprefseth more particularly the nature of such warres, and may serue to acquaint vs with that which Cæsar did in the difficulties.

The Eburones, or the men of Liege, had the like commodities of woods & bogges, and made vse of them in the warre they had with Cæsar. The matter saith hee, required great diligence, not so much in regard of the peril of the whole Arme (for there could no danger come from an enemy that was frightened and dispersed) as the safetie of euerie particular souldier, which in part did pertaine to the welfare of the whole Arme. For, the desire of a boote, caried many of the souldiers farre from the bodie of the Arme: and the woods being full of vnuowne and secret passages, would not suffer them to goe either thicke together, or close imbatallied. If he desired to haue the warre ended, and the race of those wicked men to be rooted out, hee must of force make manie small companies, & diuide his men into many bodies: but if he would haue the Maniples to keepe at their Ensignes, as the discipline and custome of the Romaine Arme required; then the place was a shelter and defence to the Ennie. Neither did they want courage to lay Ambushments, and to circumvent such

such as they found alone, straggling from their companies. In these difficulties, there was as much done as diligence could doe; prouiding rather to be wanning in the offensive part (although all mens mindes were sette on fire with revenge) then to hurt the enemie with the losse of the Romaine souldier. Caesar sent messengers to the bordering States, to come out and sack the Eburones, & they should haue all the prey for their labour: that the life of the Galles, rather then his legionarie souldiers, might be hazarded in thole woods; as also, that with so great a multitude, both the race & name of that people might be quite extinguished.

There are many particularities in this relation, which concerne the true motion of the Irish warres, which may be better obserued by such as knowe those warres by experience, then by my selfe, that understand them onely by relation: and therfore to prevent such exceptions, as my rule shall make of the parallel in these two cases, I will leauie it to bee done by themselues. And thus endeth the third Commentarie.



THE FOVRTH COMMEN- TARIE.

THE ARGUMENT.

HHe Visipetes, and Tenchtheri are driven to seek new seates in Gallia; they drove the Menapij out of their territories: but in the end are ouerthrown by Caesar. That warre being ended, he made a bridge vpon the Rhene, and carried his Army ouer into Germany. He taketh reuenge vpon the Sicambris; and giueth libertie to the Vbij: returneth into Gallia, and carrieth his Armie ouer into Britanie, with the occurrences of that warre.

CHAP. I.

The*Visipetes, and*Tenchtheri bring great multitudes of peoples, ouer the Rhene into Gallia: the nature of the Sueui:

* Those of
Zuphen.
* Of Hassia.

Cesar.

HE winter following, Pompei and Crassus being Consuls, the Visipetes and Tenchtheri, two Germane nations, passed ouer the Rhene, with great multitudes of people; not far from the place, where it falleth into the sea. The reaon of their sittynge, was the ill intreacie, which for many yeares together they had receiued of the Sueui, the greatest and warlikest nation amongst the Germanies. For, these Sueui had one hundred Cantons or shires, which yearly furnished their warres, with 1000. men apiece; and kept as manie at home to maintain both themselues, and their Armies abroad: and these the yeare following were in Armes; and the other staid at home, and performed the like dutie; and so by this means, they all continued their experiance both of tillage, and matter of war. They liued chiefly upon cattel & milk, & used much hunting, which was the cause (what through the quality of their diet, their continual exercise, and libertie of life, being never tyed to any discipline, nor urged to any thing against their disposition) that they were strong & of a large stature, vsing skins and hides for their cloathing, which covered but part of their hodie, the rest being naked. Their horsemen oftentimes, in time of batell, forsooke their horse, and fought on foot; being taught to stand still

In one place, that when they would they might retorne unto them. Neither is there any thing more base, or dishonest in the course of their life, then to use furniture for horses; and would aduenture to charge upon great troupes of horse, it used Equipage, with a few of their owne quality. They admitted no wine to be brought in unto them, least it might effeminate their warlike inclination, or make them unapt for labour. The greatest honour in their opinion, was to have their Territories lie waste & desolate: for, so it would be thought, that nine States together, would not resist their conquering valour: and it was reported, that the country lay waste from them one waie 600. miles together.

THE OBSERVATION.

BY this practice of the Suevi, it appeareth, how little a naked resolution of valour availeth, when it wanteth the ornaments of moral carriage and civil discretion, to make vse of that greatness which their prowles hath obtained: for, notwithstanding that they were naturally both warlike, and of good abilitie, they were so vainly carried on with a conceit of manhood, that it sorted to no other end, then to maintaine barbarisme at home, and desolation abroad; where as true valor is alwaies subordinate to the preferuacion of Common-weales, and is as the defensive Armes of ciuill society. Which I have the rather noted, in as much as it resembleth an humor that aboundeth in this age, especially in the particular hauour of our young Gallants, whose naked valour revealing it selfe only in the lie and in the stabbe, for want of other assistante vertues to temper the heat of so brittle a metall, leadeth them into such inconueniences and diordered actions, that it changeth the nature thereof, into giddie headed rashnesse; and in lieu of vertues guredon, is repaid with iurisdon.

CHAP. II.

The motiues, inducing the Vspetes to
come ouer the Rhene into
GALLIA.

Cæsar.



Ext unto these Suevi, inhabited the Vbij, a very ample and potent State: and through their entercourse & traffick with merchants, somewhat more ciuill then the rest of the Germans. With these, the Suevi had often waged battell: and albeit they could not expell them out of their country, forasmuch as their State was very great and populous; yet by continual incursions they brought them under, and much weakened their estate. In the same case were the Vspetes and Tenchtheri: for, hawing made head against the

Suevi

Geldres &
Gleue.

Suevi for many yeares together, they were constrained in the end to forsake their possessions; and wandering the space of three years through the Continent of Germany, at last they arrived where the * Menapij inhabited the bankes, on both sides the riuier Rhene: but being terrified with the arruall of such a multitude, they forsooke all their dwellings beyond the riuier, and planted themselves on this side of the water, to hinder the Germans from further passage.

The Vspetes with their associates, hawing tried all meanes, and not finding themselves able to passe ouer by force, for want of boats, nor by stealth, by reason of the diligent watch of the Menapij, fained a retreat to their old habitation: & after three daies journey, their horsemen in one night speedily returned againe, and slew the Menapij, both vnguarded and unprovided. For they vpon the deuerture of the Germans feared not to retorne ouer the riuier into their towns & houses. These being slain, and their shipping taken, they got ouer the riuier, before the rest of the Menapij had any notice of their comming: by which meanes they easily dispossesed them of their dwelling places, and lined that winter vpon the prouision they found there.

Cæsar understanding of these things, and fearing the weaknesse of the Galles, in as much as they are sudden & quick in their resolutions, and withall desirous of noueltie: he durst no wae trust their unconstancie; for, it was their practice and custome to stay trauellers and passengers, and inquire of them what they either heard or knewe, concerning any thing that had happened; and the common people would flocke about Merchants in faires and markets, and learne of them whence they came, and what newes they brought from thence: and by these rumors and heare sayes they directed the main course of their actions; wherof they could not but report them selues, being grounded vpon such weake intelligence, as was vsually coined to please the multitude. Which custom being known, Cæsar so preuent a greater war, hasted to his Army, sooner then he was wont to doe.

O B S E R V A T I O N.

Such as haue spent their time in the contemplation of Nature, & haue made diligent search of the temperature & quality of climates and nations, haue all with one consent made choler the Regent of the French complexion; distinguisheing the people, with such attributes, as the saide humor vsually breedeth. Neither haue these conditions, which Cæsar so long agoe obseruert in the ancient Galles, any distreinblance from that which the learned of this age haue deliuerned, concerning the nature of the said inhabitants: but that irresolute constitution, which breeds such nouelties and contrarieties of actions, continuall the same vnto these times, in the inhabitants of that country, notwithstanding the alteration of custumes, and people, or what else so long a time hath changed; which argiurth the vniuersall power of celestiell influence, establishing an vniformity of nature, according as the sit of the place lieth capable of their powerfull aspect.

The cause of the diuerseitie in the temperature of nations, which are differ-

uled by North and South, is not without apparent cause, attributed to their pro-
pinquity, or distance from the course of the sun, which distinguiheth by heat
and cold the Northren & Southerne climates of the earth; and separateth the
inhabitants thereof, by the dominion of their active qualities. But the reason
why two Nations which are both in the same climate, and vnder the same pa-
rallel, receiving the vertue of the celestiall bodies, by the same downfall and re-
bound of their beames, being differenced only by East and West; are so much
disunited in nature, and so unlike in disposition, is not so apparent: whether it be
as some haue imagined, forasmuch as the all-inclosing spheare; which remai-
neth quiet and immoueable aboue the circuit of the first motor, hath his parts
diuersly distinguished with variety of properties; which by continuall refer-
rence and mutuall aspect, are imprinted in the correspondent quarters of the
earth; and so keepe a perpetuall residencie of one and the same qualitie, in one
and the same place; and make also the variety of fashions in such partes, as o-
therwise are equall fauorites of the heauens maiestie, by receiuing an equall
measure of light, heat and vertue; or whether the saide quarters of the earth
are in themselues diuersly noted, with severall qualitie, which appropriate the
selue same influence to their particular nature, and so alter it into many fashions;
or whether there be som other vnknowne cause: I wil leue every man to fa-
tisfe himself with that which seemeth most probable vnto him, and proceed to
the discouerie of this cholericke passion. Wherin I will indeuour to shew, how
impatience, sodaine resolution, and desire of noueltie, are naturall adjuncts
of this humor. And if Cæsar made vse of this Philosophy in the managing of
that warre; let it not be thought impertinent to the knowledge of a Generall, to
enter into the consideration of this learning. Wherin first, I must laie for a
maxime, that which long experience hath made authenticall, that the motions
of the minde are either quicke or slow, according as the complexion is tem-
pered, either with heat or cold: for, as the flegmaticall humor, is of a moist, colde
and heauie nature, begetting weake and grosse spirites, and benumming the in-
struments with a luelēt disabilitie; so is the motion of the internall faculti-
es proceeding likewile after a slow manner, according to the quality of the instru-
ments, whereby it moueth: and therfore men of this waterish constitution, are
no way apt to receiue an impression, nor to entertaine any sensible apprehen-
sion, vnesce it be beaten into them, with often and strong repetitions; and then
also they proceede as slowly in discouering of the consequence, and linger in
the chioice of their resolutions. On the contrary part, this *flama bilis*, being of a
hot piercing nature, and resembling the active vertue of the fire, doth so purifie
the instruments of sense, and quicken the spirites with the viuacity of motion,
that they take the first impression as perfectly, as if it had beene oftentimes pre-
sented vnto them, with many strong circumstantes. And thence it happeneth,
that inasmuch as the *Species* is so readily received, & possessesthe apprehen-
sion facultie, with such facility of entancie, that it moueth the other powers
of the loue, with as great efficacie at the first conception, as if it had beene
brought in with troupe of probabilities, and strengthened with manifest argu-
ments of vndoubted truth: It followeth therefore (by reason of the subtile and

fit disposition of the instruments, which proceedeth frō heate the chiefeſt qua-
litie in choler) that the obieſt is at the firſt moment, ſo ſtrongly ſettled, in the
firſt receiving facultie, that the other powers of the minde, with great ſpeed
manifeſt their offiſes, concerneſt the apprehenſion; and deliuer a ſentencē an-
ſwerable to the ſtrength of the firſt concepſion: which makeſt them ſo impati-
ent of delay, and ſo loſtainedly to alter their former reſolutions, not ſuffering the
diſcourſive power to examine the ſubſtance thereof, by confeſſion of circum-
ſtances; nor to give iudgement according to the courſe of our intellectuall
court. It behoueth therfore every man, in that vneſtady diſpoſition, eſpecially
in matter of moment, to be ſuspicioſ of his own credulity, & not to give place
to reſolution, before his iudgement be informed, by diſcourſe of the ſtrength
or weaſonleſſe of the conſeueed opinion.

But to leue theſe ſpeculatie meditations, to Philosophers of learned con-
ceit: for as much as the right vſe of paſſions is either true wiſdom, or conmether
neareſt to the ſame; I will only touch in a word what degree of choler beſt be-
ſitteth a ſoldier; or how it aualeth, or diſaduantageth in matter of warre. And
firſt it cannot be denied, that there is almoſt no paſſion, that doth more eclipſe
the light of reaſon, or ſooner corrupreth the ſinceritie of a good iudgement,
then this of anger, which we now ſpeak of: Neither is there any motion that
more pleaſeth it ſelue in his owne actions, or followeth them with greater heat
in the execution. And if the truthe chance to ſhew it ſelue, and conuince a false
pretended cauſe, as the authour of that paſſion, it oftentimes redoubleth the
rage even againſt truthe and innocencie. Pifo condemned a ſouldier for re-
turning from forraſing, without his companion, being perſuaded that he had ſlain
him: but at the inſtant of the execution, the other that was miſſing, returned &
with great joy of the whole Army, they were carried to the Generall, thinking
to haue much gratified him, with the manifeſtation of the truthe: but he through
ſhame and deſpight, being yet in the torture of his wrath, redoubled his anger,
and by a ſubtilty which his paſſion furnished him withall, he made three cul-
pable for that hee found one innocencie: the firſt, becaue the ſentencē of death
was paſt againſt him, and was not to bee recalled without the breach of lawe:
the ſecond, for that he was the cauſe of the death of his companion: and third-
ly, the executioner, for not obeying his commandement.

Concerning matter of warre, as it coniſteth of diuerſed parts; ſo hath
choler diuerſe effectes. In caue of diſcouerſe and conſultation, when as the pow-
ers of the minde ought to bee cleare of all violent affections, it greatly darke-
neth the vnderſtanding, and troubleth the ſinceritie of a good iudgement, as
Cæſar noted in his ſpeech to the Senate concerneſt Cateline: and therfore a
Commander, muſt by al meaſures indeuour to auoid, even the leaſt motions of ſo
hurefull a paſſion; and ſeafon his affections, with that grauitie and conſtanſy of
ſpirit, that no turbulent diſpoſition may, either hinder his vnderſtanding, or
with-holde his will from following that courſe, which reaſon appointeth, as
the beſt meaſure to a fortunate ſucceſſe: alwaies remebering that all his actions
are preſented vpon a ſtage, and paſſe the curenſe of many curiouſ beholders,
which applaud graue & patient motion, as the greateſt proofe of true wiſdom;

Saluſt.

zitallow of passionate, and headstrong affection, as derogating from the sin-
gle carriage of an action, how iust souer otherwise it seemeth.

Concerning execution and furie of battaile, I take anger to be a necessarie instrument to let valour on foot, and to ouerwage the difficulties of terror, with furious resolution: for, considering that the noblest actions of the mind, stand in need of the impulsion of passions, I take anger to be the fittest meane, to aduance the valiant carriage of a battaile: for, as feare is treacherous and vn-
certe, to anger is confident and of an vnquenchable heat. And therfore a Cō-
mauder ought by all meanes, to suggest matter of anger against an Enemie, that his men may beholde them with a wrathfull regarde, and thirst after the daie of battell, to satisfie their fury with the bloud of their aduersaries. If any vrge, that it hath beene heit before obserued of the Galles, that in the beginning of a battell they were more then men, and in the later end they were lesse then women; and therefore a cholericke disposition is not so fit for seruice, as we seeme to make it: I answer, that There is a difference betweene a disposition to choler, such as was obserued in the Galles, and the passion of anger, wel kindled in the minde: for, the first is subiect to alteration and contrarie actions; but the other is furious, invincible, neuer satisfied but with reuenge. And so that of Aristotle is prooued true, that anger serueth oftentimes as a weapon to vertue; wherunto some answere very pleasantly, saying, it is a weapon of a strange nature: for, we do manage other weapons, and this doth manage vs; our hand guideth not it, but it guideth our hand; it possesst vs, and not we it, as it hap-
pened in the raigne of Tyberius, amongst the mutinous legions at Vetera: & therefore a Commander ought to take great heed, whom hee maketh the obiect of that anger, which kindleth in his Army. For, as it is a passion of terrible execution, and therefore needeth to be wisely directed; so is it dangerous in regarde of obedience, which was the only thing which Cæsar required in his soldiers.

But to leaue this hasty matter, and fall neerer that which we seek after: I may not omit the Prognostication, which Cæsar made of the consequence of this accident, by the naturall disposition of the people; the euent whereof proved the truth of his predictions; which sheweth what aduantage a learned General that hath bin somewhat instructed in the school of Nature, hath gained of him, whom only experience hath taught the actiuie rudiments of the war, and thin-
keth of no further lesson in that art, then that which the office of a Seriant, or Lanceprizado containeth.

C H A P.

C H A P. III.

Cæsar commeth to his Armie, marcheth towards the Germaines, and by the wacie treateth of conditions of Peace.



Cæsar being come to his Army, found that to hys happened which he before suspected: for, some of the States of Gallia had sent messengers unto the Germaines, to leaue the banks of Rhenes, and to come further into the continent, where they should find ready, what souer they desired. Whereupon the Germaines began to make further incursions, and to waste the land as far as the confines of the Eburones. The Princes of the Galles being called together, Cæsar thought it best to dissemble what he had discouered, concerning their revolt; and confirming their minds with an approbation of their loyalty, he commanded certaine troupes of horse to be leuied; and resolued to make warre upon the Germaines; and hauing made prouision of corne, hee directed his march towards them. From whō as he was on the way, within a few daies journey of their Camp, he received this message: The Germaines as they were not willing to make warre upon the Romans, so they would not refuse to make triall of their manhood, if they were iustly provoked; for, their ancient custome was to answere an Enemy by force, and not by treaty: yet this much they would confess, that they came thither very unwillingly, being driven by violence out of their possessions. If the Roman people would accept of their friendship, & either give them territories to inhabite, or suffer them to keep that which they had got by the lawe of Armes, they might proue profitable friends unto them. They onely yelded to the Sueni, to whom the gods in seats of arms were inferior; any other Nation they would easilly conquer.

To this Cæsar answered what he thought fit; but the purport of his speech was, that he could not make any league with them, if they continued in Gallia: neither was it probable, that they that could not keepe their owne, would get possessions out of other mens hands: Gallia had no vacant place to entertaine so great a multitude: but if they would they might find a welcome amongst the Vbijs, whose agents were at that instant in his Camp, complaining of the iniurie of the Sueni, and desiring aide against them; this much he himselfe would intreat of the Vbijs. The messengers went backe with these mandates, promising within three daies to returne againe to Cæsar: in the meane time, they desired him, not to bring his Army anie nearer their quarters; which request Cæsar denied. For, understanding that a fewe daies before, a great part of their Cavalrie were passed ouer the Meuse, he suspected that this delay imported nothing more then the returne of their horsemen.

When Cæsar was come within twelve miles of their Camp, their Ambassadors returned

Cæsar.

Liege.

Colonia Aripina.

OBSERVATIONS Vpon CÆSARS

returned, and meeting him on the way, entreated him earnestly to march no further towards them: but being desirous of their succour, they besought him to send to those troops of horse, which marched before the Army, that they shoulde not fight nor make any hostile encounter; and that he would give them leave to send messengers to the Vbij: of whose entertainment they would willingly accept, if the Princes and Senate would swear faith and safe continuall unto their people. Neither would they require more then 3. daies, to negotiate this busynesse. Caesar conceaved this intreaty to import nothing else, then the retурne of their horsemen that were absent in pillage, whom they expected within three daies; notwithstanding he promised them to march but fourre miles further that day, to a convenient warring place: in the meane time he sent to the Commanders of the horse that were before, not to prouoke the Enemy to fight; and if they were set upon, to sustaine the charge, untill he came neerer with the Armie.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

First, wee may obserue his dissembling of the practice of the Galles with the Germans; and the incouragement which hee gave them in a faithfull and loyall affection to the people of Rome, when hee himselfe knew they had started from that duty, which both their honour and a good respect of their friends required: for, he well vnderstood, that his presence did take away all scruple of any further motion in that kind; and therfore to haue obiected vnto them their errors, had not bin to heale, but to discouer their wound: only he took the wae to cut off their hopes of any practices, which they might attempt against the Romaine people; and held them in the meane time in the apparence of faithfull friends, that they might not be disengaged, by the detection of their revolt.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

Secondly, vpon this resolution that there was no league to be made with the Germans, if they continued on this side the Rhene; wee may obserue how he entertained a treaty of peace, with such consents & denials, as might manifest his readinesse to further what he made shew of, & not weaken the meanes of his best aduantage. For as hee was content they shoulde take a quiet farewell of Gallia, & plant themselves in the possessions of the Vbij, so was he loath to yeeld to any condition, which might disaduantage his forcible constraint or weaken his command, if perswasion failed: for, he well knew, that powerfull means to effect that which he required, would further the course of a peaceable conclusion, and carry more authority in a parlee, then any other motiue, how reasonable soever.

Moreover wee may obserue, how carefull hee was not to impose vpon the Germanes a necessarie of fighting; but opened a passage (by propounding unto

COMMEN FARIIES, LIB. IIII.

to them the association of the Vbij) by which they might auoyd the hazard of battell. Which thing was alwayes obserued by Commanders of auncient times, who diligently searching into the nature of things, found that neyther of those noble instruments, whereby man worketh such wonders (I meane the hand and the tongue) had euer brought so many excellent works to that type of perfection, vntill they had been forced thereunto by necessitie: and therefore we are wicly to handle the course of our actions, least while we stand too strict vpon a violent guarde, we give occasion to the Enemy, by the wae of *Antiperistasis*, to redouble his strength; and so furnish him with that powerfull engine, which *Vetus Mefcius* calleth *ultimum and maximum telum*, the last and greatest weapon; the force whereof shall better appear by these examples.

Some fewe of the Samnites, contrarie to the articles of peace between them and the Romans, hauing made incursions into the territories of the Roman cōfederats; the Senate of that State sent to Rome, to excuse the fact, and to make offer of satisfaction: But beeing rejected, *Claudius Pontius* Generall of their forces, in an excellent Oration which he made, shewed how the Romans would not harken to peace, but chose rather to be revenged by war: and therfore necessitie constrained them to put on Arms: *In sum eft bellum, (saith he) quibus necessarium, & pia arma quibus, nisi in Armis, spes eft.*

Caius Marilius, conducting the Roman legions against the Veij, part of the Veian Army had entred the Roman Campe; which Marilius perceiving, hee hasted with a band of men to keep the breach, and to shut in the Veij: which they no sooner perceiued, but they fought with that rage and fury, that they slew Marilius, and had ouerthrown the whole Camp, had not a Tribune opened them a passage, by which they fled away.

In like manner *Caenilius*, the wicest of the Romaine Captaines, being entred into the Cittie of the Veij, that hee might take it with greater facilitie and disarme the Enemie of that terrible weapon of necessitie, hee caused it to bee proclaimed, that no Veian should bee hurt, that was found vnaarmed. Wherupon every man cast away his weapon, and to the towne was taken without bloudshed.

Let a souldier therefore take such holde of occasions, and opportunities that are offered vnto him, that in time of battell hee may seem to cast necessitie vpon his own caufe, and retaine it in his paie: considering how the power therof altereth the works of Nature, and changeth their effects into contrary operations: being never subiect to anie ordinance or lawe; and yet making that lawfull which proceedeth from it.

141.
ingulo qui
pronocat ho-
stem.

Lin. lib. 9

Lin. lib. 7

CHAP.

The Germans, contrary to their owne request
made to Cæsar, set vpon the Romaine horse-
men, and ouerthrew them.



Notwithstanding the Germans request, concerning the truce, as soon as they saw the Roman horsemen, which were in number 5000, (wher as the Germans had not above 800. horse) they charged upon the Romans, not expecting any hostile encounter, inasmuch as their ambassadours were newly departed from Cæsar, and had obtained that daie of truce: but being set upon, they made what resistance they could. The Germans, according to their vj ual custome, forsooke their horse, and fighting on foote, did easly put the Romans to flight; who never looked backe, vntill they came into the sight of the regions: in that battell were slain 74. Roman horsemen. After this battell, Cæsar bought it not safe, either to hearken to any conditions, or to receive any message from them, that by fraud and deceit had sought for peace, & meant nothing but war: And to attend any longer vntill their horsemen returned, was but to give them that advantage against him, specially considering the weaknesse of the Galles, amongst whom the Germans by this battell had gained great reputation; and therfore he durst not give them space to thinke vpon it.

O B S E R V A T I O N .

His cunning of the Germans offereth occasion to speak somewhat, concerning that maine controuersie of policie, which is, whether the actious of Princes and great Commanders, are alwaies to be attested with integrity, & faithful accomplishment thereof. Wherin I will only set down such arguments and groundes of reason, which vertue and moral honestie on the one part, (for we will make it no question to a Christian mind) & the daily practice of States men on the other side, alleage to make good their contrarie assertions.

The great Politicians of the world, that command vertue in a shew, and not in esse and being, & study to maintaine their states onely with humane reason, not regarding the authority of diuine ordinance, set this down as a maxime in their Art; That he, that is to negotiate a matter, and meaneth to bring it to an end forting to his contentment, must in all respects bee like qualified, both in judgement and disposition, as the party is, with whom he dealeth: otherwise he cannot be sufficiently prepared, to hold himself strong in the matter, whiche he undertaketh. For, a wrastler that commeth with mere strength to encounter an other that hath both strength and cunning, may besheeue his strength that brought him thither, to be cast by skill, and be laught at, as an vnworthie

Cham-

Champion for ferious sports: in like manner, in this vniuerall confusion of infidelity, wherin subtily lyeth at so high a pitch, he that thinketh with simplicity of spirit to wind through the labyryntis of falsehood, and avoide the snares of deceit, shall find himself too weak for so difficult a task, and besheeue his honesty, if he regard his commodity. For, it is the course that every man taketh, which must bring vs to the place, to which every man goeth: and he that opposeth himself against the current of the world, may stand alone in his owne conceit, and never attain that which the world leeketh after. Forasmuch therefore, as crift & deceit are to generall, it behooueth a man of publicke negotiations, to carry a mind apt & dispoled to these qualities. This was signified by that, which ancient writers report of Achilles, who was sent to Chiron the Ceraure, half a man and half a beast, to be instructed in the rudiments of Princely carriage; that of the brutifull part, hee might learne to strengthen himselfe, with force and courage; and of the humane shape, so to manage reason, that it might bee a fit instrument to answer or preuent, whatsoeuer mans wit might forge to ouerthrow it. Neither ought a priuate man to woder at the strangenes of these positions; considering that the government of kin gdoms, & Empires is caried with another bias, then that which concerneth particular affaires in a wel ordered State: wherin truth-breakers and faithles dissemblers are worthily condemned, inasmuch as they necessarily enforce the ruine therof. But these that sit at the helm of government, and are to shape the course of a State, according to the variation of times and fortunes, derive their conclusions from other principles, wherof inferior subiects are no morre capable, then men are able to understand the works of the Gods: and therefore they are called *arcana imperij*, to be reuerenced rather, then looke into.

To conclude, the affaires of particular persons are of so shott extensiōn, and incircled in so small a compasse, that a meane capacity may easily apprehend the aduantages or inconueniences, which may enue upon the contrāct: and therefore it is requisite they should stand to the aduenture, and their judgement is worthily taxed with the los: but the busynesse of the Common-weale are, both subiect to so many casuallties of fortune, and rely vpon such vncpected accidents, that it is impossible for any spirit, how prouident soever, to foresee the issue in that variety of chances. Besides that, every particular subiect is much interested in the fortune of the euent, and may iustly chalenge an alteration of the intended course, rather then suffer shipwreck through the error of their Pilot: And so the safetie of the State doth balance out the los of credit in the Gouvernour.

On the other side, such as zealously affect true honour, affirme vertue to bee the same both in Prince & people; neither doth condition of state, or calling, or the qualite of publicke or priuete busynesse, alter the nature and essence of goodnes: for, to deprive the toun of truth and fidelity were to break the bond of ciuill society, which is the basis and ground-plot of all States and Commonweales. They doe not denie but that a wise Prince may so carrie a treatie, that he may seeme to affect that mōlē which he least intendeth: or answere doubtfully concerning the propositions; and that hee may vse with great honour the prac-

practices and stratagems of warre, when the fortune of both parties consisteth upon their owne industrie: but to breake any covenants agreed vpon, may wel get a kingdome, but never honourable reputation.

And thus they contend concerning the means, wherby a State is continued in happy government: whereof this much I dare say by the warrant of this History, that he who falsifieth his word vpon aduantage, howsover he regardeth his honour, had need to pay them home in regard of his owne lafetie: for, if they once recover the losse, and get any aduantage against those truth-breakers, they will finde as little fauour, as the Germans did with Cæsar.

CHAP. V.

Cæsar marched directly to the Campe of the Germans, and cut them all in peeces, and so ended that warre.



Upon these considerations, Cæsar manifesting his resolution to the Legates, and Questor, there happened a very fortunate accident. For, the next day, very early in the morning, most of the Princes and chiefeſt of the Germans came unto Cæſar into his Camp, to excuse their fraudulent practice, and with all to continue their petition of truce. Whereof Cæſar was exceeding glad, and caused them to be kept in hold; and at the same instant brought his Army out of the Camp, commanding his horſemen to follow the legions, because they had bin daunted with so late an ouerthrow: And making a triple battle, marched speedily eight miles, and so came vpon the Germans, before they had notice what had hapned; & being terrifid with our suddain arriuall, & the departure of their own leaders, knew not whether it were their best course to bring forth their forces, or defend their Cap, or otherwise to ſeek their ſafety by flight. Which tumult & feare was no ſooner perceived by the Romæ soldier, but calling to mind their perfidious treacherie, they brake into the Camp, and were at firſt a little refleſhed; in the meane time, the women and children fled every one away: vwhich Cæſar perceiving, ſent his horſemen to pursue them. The Germans, hearing the clamour and ſchrivings behind their backs, & ſeeing their friends purſued and ſlaine, did cast away their weapons, and fledde out of the Campe: and comming to the confluence of the Maſe and the Rhene, ſuch as had escaped, cast their ſelves into the riuer; where, what through fear & wearinesſ, and the force of the water, they were all drowned. In this conflict, the Romans lost not a man. The number of the enemie was 430000, with women and children. To them who he had retained in his Campe, he gaue leaue to depart; but they, fearing the crueltie of the Galles, deſired that they might continue with the Romans: which Cæſar agreed unto.

ORSEY

O B S E R V A T I O N .



His relation affordeth little matter of warre, but onely a ſeuere revenge of hatefull trecherie: notwithstanding, I will hence take occation, to diſcouer the offices of the Questor and the Legates; and ſhew what place they had in the Armie. And firſt, concerning the Questor, we are to underſtand, that he was elected by the common voice of the people, in the ſame Court, which was called to create the Generall. His office was, to take charge of the publique treaſure, whether it came out of their Aerarium, for the pay of the Armie; or otherwife was taken from the enemy.

Of him the ſoldiers received their ſtipend, both in corne and money: and what other boote was taken from the enemy, he either kept them, or ſold them, for the vſe of the Common-weale.

The Legates were not chosen by the people, but appointed by the Senate, as Aſſiſtants and Coadiutors to the Emperor, for the publique ſervice, & vvere altogether directed by the Generall, in whose abſence they had the abſolute commaund: and their number was for the moſt part uncertaine; but proportioned according to the number of legions in the Armie.

CHAP. VI.

Cæſar maketh a bridge vpon the Rhene, and carieth his Armie ouer into Germanie.



HE Germane warre beeing thus ended: Cæſar thought it neceſſarie, to tranſport his Armie ouer the Rhene into the Continent of Germanie, for many cauſes: whereof this was not the leaſt, that ſeeing the Germans were ſo eaſily peruaded, to bring their Colonies, & their vagrant multitudes into Gallia, he thought it good to make known vnto them, that the Romaine people could at their pleasure, cari their forces ouer the Rhene into Germanie. Moreover, thoſe troupes of horſe, vwhich were abſent at the late ouerthrowe of the Germans, were fledde into the confines of the Sicambri; to whom, when Cæſar ſent Meſſengers to demand them to be ſent vnto him, they auſwered, that the Romaine Empire was limited by the Rhene: & if the Germanes were interdicted Gallia, why ſhould Cæſar challenge anie authoritie in their quarters? Lastlie, the Yby, who amongſt all the reſt of the Germanes, had onelie accepted of Cæſars friendſhippe, and giuen pledges of their fidelitie, had made earnest ſute vnto him, to ſend them aide againſt the ſueui; or at the leaſt, to tranſport his Army ouer the Rhene: for, the name and opinion of the Roman Army was ſo great, & of ſuch fame, what with Arioſius ouerthrow, & this

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OBSERVATIONS UPON CÆSARS

this last service, that it founded honorable amongst the furthest Nations of Germany. For these reasons, Cæsar resolved to passe the Rhene: but to carie his Army ouer by boate, was neither safe, nor for the maiestie of the people of Rome. And, albeit it seemed a matter of great difficultie, by reason of the breadth, swiftnesse, and depth of the riuier, to make a bridge: yet hee resolved to try what he could doe; otherwise, hee determined not to passe ouer at all: and so hee built a bridge after this manner.

At two foote distaunce, he placed two trees of a foot and halfe square, sharped at the lower end, and cut answerable to the depth of the riuier: these hee let downe into the water with engines, and drove them in with commanders, not perpendicularly, after the fashion of a pile, but gable-wise, and bending with the course of the water: opposite unto these, he placed two other trees, ioyned together after the same fashion, being fortie foote distant from the former, by the dimension between their lower parts in the bottome of the water, and reclining against the course of the riuier. These two paire of couples thus placed, hee ioyned together with a beame of two foote square, equal to the distance betweene the said couples, and fastened them at each end, on either side of the couples, with braces and pinnes: whereby the strength of the worke, and nature of the frame was such, that the greater the violence of the stremme was, and the faler it fell vpon the timber work, the stronger the bridge was vvanited in the couplings and ioyns. In like manner, he proceeded with couples, and beames, vntill the work was brought unto the other side of the riuier: and then hee laid straight planks from beame to beame, and couered them with hurdles; and so hee made a floore to the bridge. Moreouer, on the lower side of the bridge, hee drove downe supporters, which being fastened to the timber worke, did strengthen the bridge against the force of the water; and on the upper side of the bridge, at a reasonable distaunce, he placed piles to hinder the force of trees or boates, or what else the enemy might cast downe to trouble the worke: within tenne daies, that the timber beganne to be cut downe and caried, the worke was ended, and the Army transported. Cæsar, leauing a strong gaurison at either end of the bridge, went into the confines of the Sicambri.

O B S E R V A T I O N.

THIS shall not be amisse, to enter a little into the consideration of this bridge; as wel in regard of the ingenious Architecture thereof, as also that we may somewhat imitate Cæsar: whom wee may obserue to insit with as great plenty of wit and eloquence, in presenting vnto vs the lubilitie of his inuention, in such manner of handy works, as vpon any other part of his actions; as this particular description of the bridge, may sufficiently witness: besides, the fortifications at Alesia, & the intrenchments in Britany, for the safety of his shipping, with many other works, which he might well record, as the greatest desingnes of an heroick spirit, and the wonderfull effects of magnanious industrie, that succeeding ages might not boast either of Arte or prowesse, which his vertue had not expressed; or otherwise might wonder

COMMENTARIES, LIB. IIII.

wonder at that worth, which they themselves could not attaine vnto. And to that purpose, he entertained Vitruvius, the Father of Architecture, and as worthily to be imitated in that facultie, as his Maitre Cæsar is in feates of Armes. By whose example, a great Commander may leare, how much it importeth the eternitie of his fame, to beautifie his greatest desingnes with Arte, and to esteeme of such as are able to intreat the Mathematical Muses, to shew themselves vnder the shape of a sensible forme; which albeit, through the rudenesse of the matter, fall farre short of the truth of their intellectuall nature, yet their beautie expresseth such a maiestie of Arte, that no time will suffer the memorie thereof to perish.

The workmanship of this bridge consisted chiefly in the oblique situation of the double postes, whereof the first order bending with the stremme, and the lower ranke against the stremme, when they came to bee coupled together with ouerthwart beames, which were fastened in the couplings with braces, which he nameth *Fibulas*; the more violent the stremme fell vpon the work, the faster the ioyns of the building were vniited, as may better appeare by a modell of that making, then can be expressed by any circumstance of words.

I might hence take occasion to speake of the diuersitie of bridges, and of the practises which antiquitie hath devised, to transport Armies ouer Rivers: but inasmuch as it is a common subiect for all that vndertake this Militarie task, & hath been handled by Lipsius, vpon the occasion of this bridge, I will referre the Reader to that place; and onely note the singular disposition of this action, inasmuch as Cæsar made the meanes correspondent to that end which hee intended. For, considering that the chiefe end of his passage was, to let the Germans vnderstand, that the power of the Romaine Empire, was not bounded with the Rhene; and that a riuier could not so separate their territories, but that they were able to ioyn both the Continents together, and make a common roade way, where it seemed most vnpassable: hee thought it best to passe ouer his Army by a bridge, that so the Germanes might knowe the power of his forces, and also concit their Territories, as vniited vnto Gallia; or to be vniited at the pleasure of the Romans, with a firme Isthmus and plaine paslge by foote, which in times past had alwaies been separated by a mighty riuier. Neither would a transportation by boate haue wrought that effect, forasmuch as the daily vse thereof was so familiar to the Germanes, that it nothing altered their imagination, of an vnacessible passage: but when they saw so strange a thing attempted, & so sudainely performed, they would easily understand, that they were not so farte off, but that they might bee overtaken: and so direct their deuourour accordingly.

Let this suffice therefore to proue, that a passage ouera riuier by a bridge, is more honourable, safe, and of greater terror to the enemy, then any other way that can be devised; especially, if the riuier carrie any depth, such as the Rhene is: otherwise, if it haue either shallowes or foordes, whereby men may wade ouer, without any great incombrance, it were but lost labour to stand about a bridge; but rather to thinke of it, as of a place incombrd with such hindrances, as men often meet with a march.

CHAP. VII.

Cæsar taketh reuenge vpon the Sicambri: giueth libertie to the Ubij; and returneth againe into Gallia.

HE Sicambri, understanding that Cæsar was making a bridge over the Rhene, prepared themselves to flee; and at the perswasion of the Vipetes, forsooke their country, and conuained themselves and their possessions into woods and solitarie Deserts. Cæsar, continuing a few daies in their quarters, hauing set on fire their villages and houses, and burned up their Corne and prouision; he came to the Ubij, promising them aide against the Suevi: by whom, he understood, that as soone as the Suevi had intelligence, that hee went about to make a bridge, calling a Councell, according to their manner, they sent unto all quarters of their State, that they shold forsake their townes, and carie their wiuues and children, and all that they had, into the woods: and that all that were able to beare Armes, shold make head in one place, which they appointed to be the midle of their Country; & there they attended the comming of the Romans, & were resolued in that place to give the battell. Which when Cæsar understood, hauing ended all those thinges, in regard vwhereof he came into Germanie, vwhich was chiefly to terrifie the Germans, to be reuenged upon the Sicambri, to set the Ubij at libertie; having spent in all eightene daies beyond the Rhene, as well in regard of his own honor, as the good of the Common-wealth: hee returned into Gallia, and brake vp the bridge.

CHAP. VIII.

Cæsar thinketh of a voyaige into Britanie: hee enquireth of Merchants, concerning the nature of that people.

Lithough the Sommer was almost spent, & that in those parts the winter hasted on apace, inasmuch as all Gallia inclineth to the North; notwithstanding, hee resolved to goe over into Britanie: forasmuch as hee understood, that in all the former warres of Gallia, the Enemy had received most of their supplies from thence. And, although the time of the yeare would not suffer him to finishe that warre; yet hee thought it would bee to good purpose, if he went only to view the Iland, to understand the qualitie of the inhabitants;

COMMENTARIES, LIB. IIII.

149

inhabitants, and to know their Coast, their Ports, & their landing places; whereof the Galles were altogether ignorant: for, sildome any man but Merchants did trauell unto them. Neither was there any thing discovered but the Sea-coast, & those Regions which were opposite unto Gallia. And therefore, calling Merchants together from all quarters, he neither could understand of what quantity the Iland was, what Nations, or of what power they were that inhabited it; what use or experience of warre they had; what lawes or customes they used; nor what Hauens they had to receive a Nation of great shipping.

OBSEERVATION.



S the Germans had oftentimes stirred vp motions of rebellion amongst the Galles, by sending their superfluous multitudes into their kingdome; so the Britaines had vheld most of their warres, by furnishing them with such supplies, as from time to time they stood in need of. So that if Cæsar, or the Romane people, would rest secure of their quiet and peaceable government in Gallia, as they had chastised the insolencies of the Germans, and sent them backe againe, with greater losse then gaine; so was it necessary to make the Britaines knowe, that their affilite in the warre of Gallia, would draw more busynesse vpon them, then they were well able to manage. For, as I haue noted in my former discourses, the causes of an vnpeaceable government, are as well externall and forraigne, as internall, and bred in the bodie; which neede the helpe of a Physician, to continue the body in a perfect state of health, and require as great a diligence to qualifie their malicious operations, as any internall sicknesse whatfouer.

In the second Commentarie, I brieflye touched the commoditie of good discouerie: but because it is a matter of great consequnce, in the fortunate cariage of a warre, I will once againe by this example of Cæsar, remember a Generall not to be negligent in this dutie. Suetonius, in the life of our Cæsar reporteth, that he never vndertooke any expedition, but he first received true intelligence of the particular sit and nature of the Country, as also of the manners and qualitie of the people: and that he would not undertake the voyaige into Britanie, vntill hee had made perfect discouerie by himselfe, of the magnitude and situation of the Iland. Whiche Suetonius might understand by this first voyaige, which Cæsar would needs vndertake in the later end of a Sommer, although it were as he himselfe saith, but to discouer.

It is recorded by ancient Writers, that those demi-gods that gouerned the world in their time, gaue great honour to the exercise of hunting, as the perfect image of warre in the resemblance of all parts; and namely, in the discouerie and knowledge of a Country: without which, all enterprises, either of sport in hunting, or earnest in warres, were fruulous and of no effect. And therefore Xenophon in the life of Cyrus, sheweth, that his expedition against the King of Armenia, was nothing but a repetition of such sports, as hee had vied in hunting. Howfouer, if the infinite examples registred in historie, how by the dexteritie

dexterity of some Leaders it hath gained great victories, and through the negligence of others, irrecoverable ouerthrows, are not sufficient motiues to perwade them to this duty: let their owne experience in matters of small moment, manifest the weaknes of their proceedings, whē they are ignorant of the chiefeſt circumſtances of the mater they haue in hand. But let this ſuffice in the ſecond place, to proue the neceſſity of good diſcoueries; and let vs learn of Cæſar, what is principally to bee inquired after in the diſcouery of an unknownen country; as firſt, the quantity of the land: ſecondly, what Nations inhabite it: thirdly, their vſe of warre: fourthly, their ciuill gouernment: and laſtly, what Hauens they haue to receiue a Naue of great ſhipping. All which circumſtances, are ſuch principall Arteries in the bodie of a State, that the diſcouery of any one of theſe demands, would haue giuen great light, concerning the motion of the whole body.

CHAP. IX.

Cæſar ſendeth C. Voluſenus, to diſcouer the coaſt of Britanien; and prepareth himſelfe for that voiage.



CÆſAR ſent out Caius Voluſenus, with a Galley, to diſcouer what he could concerning theſe things; and to returne againe unto him very ſpeedily: he himſelfe marched in the meane time, with all his forces, unto the Morini; for aſmuch as from thence, lay the ſhorter cut into Britanien. Thither he commaunded that ſhippes ſhould be brought from all the maſtimate Cities of that quarter, and namely that fleet, which he had buiilt the yeere before for the warre at Vannes. In the meane time, his reſolution beeing knowne, and caried into Britanien by Merchants and others, many priuate States of that Iland ſent Embaſſadours unto him, promising him hoſtages of their loyaltie, and ſignifying their readineſſe to ſubmit themſelues to the Romaine Empire. To theſe he made liberall promises, exhorting them to continue in that obedieneſſe; and ſo ſent them backe againe. And with them he ſent Camius, whom he had made King of Arras, whoſe wiſedome & vertue he held in good account, and knew it to be of great authoritie in theſe Regions. To him he gaue in charge to goe to as many of the States as hee could, and perwade them to accept of the friendſhippe of the Romaine Empire, and that Cæſar himſelfe would preſentlie follow after.

Voluſenus, hauiing taken what view of the Country he could (for he durſt not goe on ſhore to commit himſelfe to the barbarisme of the enemy) after ſiue daies returned to Cæſar: and while he ſtaied in theſe places, for the furniſhing of his fleet, the Morini ſent Meſſengers unto him, excuſing their former faultes, and maniſtating their readineſſe to obey his mandates.

Cæſar,

Cæſar, not willing to leaue any enemie behind him, or to neglect his voyage into Britanien, for ſuch ſmall matters; hee willingly accepted of their ſubmiſſion, hauiing firſt received many hoſtages of them, and hauiing made readye eighty ſhipps of burthen, which he thought ſufficient to tranſport two legions, he diuided the Galleyes to the Queſtor, the Legates, and the Commanders of the horſe. There were alſo eighteen ſhipps of burthen more, which lay wind-bound at a Port eight miles off, and them he appointed for the horſemen. The reſt of the Army, he committed to Q. Titurius Sabinius, and L. Arunculus Cotta, commaunding them to goe to the conſines of Menapij: and appointed P. Sulp. Rufus, a Legate, to keep the Port, with a ſufficient gaurizon.

CHAP. X.

Cæſar ſaileth into Britanien, and landeth his men.

Cæſar ſ Hēſe things beeing thus diſpatched; hauiing a good wind, in the third watch, he put out to ſea, commaunding his horſemen to imbarke themſelves at the further Port, which was but ſlowly per formed: He himſelfe arrived upon the coaſt about the fourth hour of the day, where hee found all the Clifts poſſeſſed with the forces of the enemy. The nature of the place was ſuch, that the hills lay ſo ſteep ouer the ſea, that a weapon might eaſily be caſt, from the higher ground upon the lower ſhore: and therefore he thought it no fit landing place; notwithstanding, hee caſt anchor until the reſt of the Naue were come up unto him.

In the meane time, calling a Councell of the Legates and Tribunes, hee declared unto them what aduertiſements hee had received by Voluſenus, and told them what hee would haue done; and withall, admoniſhed them, that the courſe of Miſſerie affaires, and especially ſea matters, that had ſo ſuddaine & uncoſtant a motion, required all things to be done at a beſt, and in due time. The Councell beeing diſmiffed, hauiing both wind and tide with him, hee waighed anchor, and ſailed eight miles from that place, unto a plaine and open ſhore.

The Britaines, perceiving the Romans determination, ſent their horſe & chariots before, and the reſt of their forces followed after, to the place where the Romaines intended to land. Cæſar found it exceeding difficult to land his men, for theſe reſeptes: the ſhippes were ſo great, that they could not be brought neare unto the ſhore; the ſoldiers in ſtrange & unknowne places, hauiing their hands laden with great and heauie weapons, were at one iſtant to goe out of the ſhip, to withſtand the force of the billow, and to fight with the enemy; where as the Britaines either ſtanding upon the ſhore, or making ſhort ſallies into the water, did boldly caſt their weapons in knowne and frequented places, and managed their horſes, as accuſtomed to ſuch ſervices.

The

Cæſar.

OBSERVATIONS UPON CÆSARS

The Romans beeing terrified with these things, and altogether unskilfull of this kind offight, did use the same courage as they were wont to doe in land-servises. Which whē Cæsar perceived, he caused the Galleies, that were both strange to the Britaines, and readier for use, to be remoued from the shippes of burthen, and to be rowed up and downne, and laid against the open side of the enemy; that from thence, with shings, engines and arrowes, the Enemy might bee beaten up from the water side; which stod the Romans in good stead: for, the Britains, beeing troubled with the strangenesse of the Galleies, the motion of their Oares, and the unusual kind of engines, were somewhat dismayed, and beganne to retire backe, and give way to the Romans. But the souldiers still lingered, and especially for fear of the depth of the sea, the Eagle-bearer of the tenth legion, desiring the Gods, that it might fall out happily to the legion: If you will, saith hee, forsake your Eagle, O yee souldiers, and betray it to the enemy; for mine owne part, I will doe my dutie, both to the Common-weale, and to my Imperator. And having spoken this with a loud voice, he cast himselfe into the Sea, and caried the Eagle toward the Enemy. The Romaines, exhorting one another, not to suffer such a dishonour to be committed, they all leaped out of the shippes: which when others that were neere at hand perceived, they followed them with as great alacrity, and pressed towards the enemie to incounter with them.

The fight on both parts was very eager: the Romans (not being able to keepe any order of battell, nor to get any firme scotting, nor to follow their Ensignes, forasmuch as every man kept with those Ensignes which he first met withall) were wonderfully troubled. But the Enemy, acquainted with the flats and shallowes, as they beheld them from the shore to come single out of their shippes, putting spurres to their horse, would set upon them incombred and unprepared, & many of them would ouer-lay a few: others, would get the aduantage of the open side, and cast their weapons amongst the thickest troupes of them. Which when Cæsar perceived, he caused the shipboates and smaller vessels to be manned with souldiers: and where he saw need of help, he sent them to rescue such as were overcharged.

As soone as the Romaines got footing on the firme land, they made head together, and charged the enemy, and so put them to flight; but they were not able to follow them, nor take the land at that time, for want of horsemen, which thing was only wanting to Cæsars fortune.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Upon this circumstance of landing, I may justly take occasion to handle that controuersie, which hath beeene often debated by our English Capaines, which is, whether it be better in question of an invasion, & in the absence of our shippes, to oppole an enemy at his landing vpon our Coast; or quietly to suffer him to sette his men on shore, and retire our forces into some in-land place, & there attend to give him battell? It seemeth that such as first set this question on foot, and were of an opinion,

COMMENTARIES, LIB. IIII.

153

on, that we ought not by any means to encounter an enemy at his landing; for, so we might much endanger our selues and our Country; did ground themselves vpon the authority of Monsieur de Langey, not obseruing the difference between an Iland and a Continent. For, where he setteth downe that position, he plainly aimeth at such Princes, as border one vpon another in the same Continent: but where their territories are disioyned by so great a bar as the Ocean, and haue not such meanes to surprise one another, it were meere folly to hold good that rule, as shall better appear by the sequell of this discourse. Wherein I will first lay downe the realons, that may be vrged to proue it vnsafe to oppole an enemy at his landing, not as beeing vrged by that party (for, I never heard any probable motiue from them, which might induce any such opinion) but set downe by such as haue looked into the controuersies, both with experiance, and good judgement.

And first, it may be objected, that it is a hard matter to resist an enemy at his landing, as well in regard of the uncertainie of place, as of time: for, beeing ignorant in what place hee will attempt a landing, wee must either defend all places of accessse, or our intentions will proue mere fruulous; & to performe that, it is requisite that our defensive forces be sufficient, according to the particular qualite of every place subiect to danger: which, considering the large extensio[n] of our marittime parts, and the many landing places on our Coast, will require a greater number of men, then this Iland can afford. And although it could furnish such a competent number, as might seeme in some fort sufficient; yet the uncertainie of the time of the enemies arriuall, would require that they should be lodged, either vpon, or neere the places of danger, many daies at least, if not many weekes, before the instant of their attempt, which would exhaust a greater masse of Treasure, then could bee well affoorded by the State.

Secondly, it may bee objected, that all our landing places are of such disadvantage for the defendants, that it were no safetie at all to make head against him at the landing: for, inasmuch as such places are open & plaine, they yield no commoditi to shelter the defendants from the furie of the artillerie, wherewith the Enemy will plentifullly furnish their long boates and landing vessailes; which beating vpon the beach (for, most of our landing places are of that qualite) will so scatter them, that no man shall be able to indure the inconuenience thereof.

The third obiection, may arise from the disparite both of numbers, and condition of the forces of either partie: for the first, it must needs bee granted, that the defendants, beeing to guard so many places at once, cannot furnish such numbers to every particular place for defence, as the affaillants may, for offence.

Concerning the qualite of the forces, it is without question, that a great & potent Prince (for, such a one it must be, that vndertaketh to inuade the territories of so absolute and well obeyed a Princeesse as her Maiestie is) would draw out the floure of his soulderie where soever; besides, the gallant troupes of voluntaries, which doe commonlie attend such seruices. Now, these being thus qualified,

OBSERVATIONS UPON CÆSARS

qualified, and drawne into one head, and being to make as it were but one bo-
dic: how can it be reasonably imagined (the time and place of their attempt
beeing vncertaine) that the defendants should equall them with forces of like
virtue and experiance?

These are the reasons, which may be drawne from the disaduantage, which
they haue that goe about to oppoile an enemy at his landing: the rest that haue
beene vrged, by such as maintaine this opinion, are either impertinent to the
question, or taken altogether from false grounds. But before I proceed to the
answering of these reasons, I will lay this downe for a principle: That it is im-
possible for any forraigne Prince, how puissant soever, to make such a prepara-
tion as shal be fitting, to inuade a State so populous, and respectiue of their So-
ueraigne (notwithstanding the pretences devised to dissemble the same) but it
must of necessarie be discouered, before it can be made able to put any thing in
execution: which I might enlarge by particularizing the infinite equipage,
which is required for so great a fleet. But I will rest my selfe in the example of
the yeare 88, which proueth the discouerty of the pretended inuasion, before it
could come to execution.

Concerning therefore the first obiection: it cannot indeed be denied, but
the place of the enemies landing will be doubtfull, and therefore our care must
generally extend it selfe to all places of access: but that our defensiu forces
are not sufficient in a competent manner to guard all such places, according as
the necessarie of them shall require, that is the point in question.

To proue that our forces are sufficient: we must necessarily enter into parti-
cularities, wherin I will take Kent for a president, as not altogether vnaquainted
with the state thereof; which, if I deceiue not my selfe, is a shire of as large
extensiōn vpon the maritimate parts, as any other within this kingdom. For the
breadth thereof enlarging it selfe from the point of Nesse by Lyd, which is the
utermost skirt vpon the coast of Suffex, vnto Margate, vpon the coast of Essex;
is by computation about twentie fourre miles: but notwithstanding this large
circuit, who knoweth not, that the sixt part thereof is not subiect to the landing
of such an enemy as wee speake of: partly, in regard of the hugeness of the
cliffes, which doe inclose a great part of that skirt; & partly in regard that much
of that quantitie, which may be landed vpon, hath such eminent and difficult
places neare adioyning, as an Armie that should put it selfe there on shore,
should find it selfe, beeing oppoiled but by a small force, so straitened, as they
would not easily find a way out, without apparent ruine of their whole forces.

Further, it cannot be denied, but that generally along the coast of Kent, there
are so many rocks, shelues, flats, and other impediments, that a nauie of great
shippes can haue no commoditiē to anchor neare the shire: and for the most
part, the coast lieth so open to the weather, that the least gale of wind will put
them from their Anchor: all which particularities duly considered, it will ap-
peare that this large skirt of Kent, will afford a far lesser part fit for the landing
of an Army, then was thought of at the first. And were it that so publicke a
treatise as this is, would admit with good discretion such an exact relation, as
falleth within my knowledge concerning this point, I would vndertake to make
it

COMMENTARIES, LIB. IIII.

it so euident, by the particular description, both of the number, quantitie, and
qualitie of the places themselves, as no man of an indifferent judgement, wold
imagine our forces to be insufficient, to afford every of them such a safe & sure
guard, as shal be thought requisite for the same. But forasmuch as it is vnfitting
to give such particular satisfaction in this publique discourse, giue mee leaue,
submitting my selfe alwaies to better iudgements, to give a generall rule of
that meane as wold secure all places, with a competent number of men.

Hauing shewed you before, the circuit of the maritimate parts of Kent, I
would obserue this order: first, to make a triple diuision of all such forces, as shal
be appointed for this seruice; as for example, I will suppose the number to bee
twelue thousand, of which I would lodge three thousand about the point of
Nesse, and three thousand about Margate, and sixe thousand about Foulkston,
which I take to be as it were the center: for, my greatest care shoulde bee to to
dispose of them, as they might not only succour one another in the same shire:
but as euery shire bordereth one vpon another; so they shoulde mutually giue
helpe one vnto another, as occasion shoulde be offered: as if the enemy shoulde
attempt a landing about Nesse, not onely the sixe thousand lodged as before,
should march to their succours, but such also of the Suffex forces as were neer
vnto that part; & so likewise of the rest. By which you may see, how great a force
wold in few houres be assembled, for the renforcing of any of thele out-skirts;
and the rāther, forasmuch as the one halfe of the whole forces, are thus lodged
in the center of the Shire, which is neerer to all parts then any other place what-
soever. There wold also in the quartering of them, an especiall care be had to
the places of danger, as might be answerable to the impoerance thereof: for,
my meaning is not to lodge them close together, but to stretch them out along
the coast, by regiments and companies, as the Country might afford best op-
portunitie to enterteine them.

Now, concerning the later part of this obiection, which vrgeth the vncer-
tainie of time, when the enemy shal make his approches: I hold it most requi-
site, that our defensiu forces shoulde be drawne into a head, before the enemie
should be discouered neer our coast, ready to put his selfe on shore: for, it were
a grosse absurdite to imagine, that companies could vpon such a suddaine bee
assembled, without confusione; and make so long a march, with such expediti-
on, as the necessarie of the occasion wold require. Now, for that husbanding
repect of her Maiesties coffers, which is vrged to such extreamitie, as it wold
be vsupportable for this State to beare: as I doubt not but good intelligence
would much qualifie that supposed inmoderate expence; so I assiure my selfe,
that men of sound judgement, will deeme it much our of season to dilute a-
bout vnecessary thirst, when the whole kingdome is brought in question of
beeing made subiect to a stranger:

*Vt ingulē homines surgunt de nocte latrones:
Non expurgari, vt te ipsum serues?*

The enemy (peraduenture) hath kept 30000 men in pay 2 months before, to
make haucke of our Country, and to bring vs into perpetuall thralldome;
shall

OBSERVATIONS UPON CÆSARS

shall we think it much to maintaine sufficient forces vpon our Coast, to assure our selues that no such enemy shall enter into our Country? The extremitie of this charge, would be qualifi'd by our good espiel, which would proportion our attendance, with the necessarie which is imposed vpon vs, to be carefull in busynesse of this nature. Let this suffice therefore to proue, that our forces are sufficient to keepe the Sea-coast; and that the vncertainty of time, when the enemy will make his attempts, ought not to hinder vs from performing that dutie, which the care and respect of our Prince and Country, imposeth vpon every good subiect; which is the substance of the first reason, which I set down in the beginning of this discourse.

Now, concerning the second reason, which vrgeth the disaduantage of the place, in regard of the furie of the Enemies artillery. True it is, that such places as yeeld the Enemy commoditie of landing, are for the most part plaine and open, and afford naturally no couer at all. What then? Shall a souldier take every place as he findeth it, and vse no Arte to qualifie the disaduantages thereof? Or shall a man forgoe the benefit of a place of aduantage, rather then hee will relieue with industry, the discommoditie of some particular circumstance? I make no question, but an ingenious Commanduer, being in seasonable time lodged with convenient forces vpon any of those places, yea, vpon the beach it selfe, which is vnapt to make defensible, as any place whatsoeuer, would vse such industrie, as might give sufficient securtie to his forces, & ouer-weigh the Enemy with aduantage of place; especially, considering that this age hath auoirded luch plentiful examples of admirable inuention in that behalfe. But this cannot be done, if our forces do not make head before the instant of the Enemies attempt, that our Commanduers may haue some time to make readie store of Gabions, hand-baskets, with such moueable matter as shal be thought fit for that seruice.

Neither let this trouble any man: for, I dare avouch it, that if our forces are not drawne into a head before the Enemy bee discouer'd vpon the Coast, although wee never meane to oppote their landing, but attred them in some inland place, to giue them bataile; our Commanduers will be faire to leke of manie important circumstancies, which are requisite in a matter of that consequence. And therefore, let vs haue but a reaonable time to bethinke our selues of these necessaries, and wee will easilie ouercome all these difficulties, and vse the benefite of the firme land to repell an Enemy, weakened with the Sea, toiled with the billow, troubled with his weapons, with many other hinderances and discouragements, which are presented vnto him both from the Land and the Sea. Hee that saw the landing of our forces in the Iland of Iall, in the yeare 97, can some-what iudge of the difficultie of that matter: for, what with the working of the Sea, the steepnesse of the Clifffes, the troublelomnesse of their Armes, the souldiers were so incombed, that had not the Enemy beene more then a coward, he might well with two hundred men, haue kept vs from entering any part of that Iland.

Concerning the third Obiection, this briefly shall bee sufficient, that wee are not so much to regard, that our forces doe equalle them in number;

COMMENTARIES, LIB. IIII.

as to see that they bee sufficient for the nature of the place, to make it good against the Enemies landing: for, wee know that in places of aduantage and difficult accessse, a small number is able to oppote a great; and wee doubt not, but all circumstances duly considered, wee shall proportionably equalle the Enemy, both in number and qualite of their forces: alwaies presupposed, that our State shall never bee destitute of sufficient forces trayned, and exercized in a competent manner, to defende their Countrey from forraine Enemies. For, the negleſt thereof were to drawe on such as of themselves are but too forward to make a prey of vs; and to make vs vnapt, not onelie to oppote an Enemies landing, but to defende our selues from beeing ouer-rumne; as other Nations liuing in securtie, without due regarde thereof, have beeſe.

And this much concerning the anſweſe to thoſe three reaons, which ſeeme to proue that an Enemy is not to be reſiſted at his landing. Now if wee doe but looke a little into the diſcommodities, which follow vpon the landing of an Enemy, we ſhall eaſilie diſcouer the dangerousneſſe of this opinion: as firſt, we giue him leave to liue vpon the ſpoile of our Countrey; which cannot bee preuented by any waſting, ſpoiling, or retiring of our prouiſions, in ſo plentifull a Country as this is, eſpecially conſidering that we haue no ſtrong townes at all to repole our ſelues vpon. Wherof we need no further teſtimoniſe, then is deliuered vnto vs out of the ſeuenth booke of theſe Commentaries, in that warre, which Cæſar had with Vercingetorix.

Secondly obediſce, which at other times is willingly giuen to Princes, is greatly, weakeſed at ſuch times; wherby all neceſſary means to maintain a warre is hardly drawn frō the ſubiect. Thirdly, opportunity is giuen to malecontents & ill diſpoſed persons, either to make head themſelues, or to fli to the Enemy. Fourthly, the madneſſe to aduenture a kingdome vpon one ſtroke, hauing it in our diſpofition to do otherwife, with many other diſaduantages, whiſh the opportunity of any ſuſh occaſion would diſcouer.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



He word Imperator, which the Eagle-bearer attributeth to Cæſar, was the greateſt title that could be giuen to a Romane Leader: and as Zonaras in his ſecond Tome faith, was neuer giuen but vpon ſome great exploiſt, and after a iuft victory obtained; and then in the place where the bataile was fought, and the Enemy ouerthrowne, the Generall was ſaluted by the name of Imperator, with the triumphant ſhort of the whole Armie; by which acclamatiōn, the ſouldiers gaue teſtimoniſe of his worth; and made it equiualent with the moſt furtunatē Commanders.

This Ceremonie was of great antiquitie in the Roman Empire, as appeareth by manie Histories, and namely by Tacitus, where hee faſhyth, that Tyberius gaue that honour to Blesus, that hee ſhould bee ſaluted Imperator by

the legions; which hee sheweth to bee an ancient dignitie belonging to great Captaines, after they had foiled the Enemy, with an eminent ouerthrow. For, euerie victorie was not sufficient, whereby they might challenge so great an honour, but there was required (as it seemeth) a certaine number of the Enemies to be slaine. Appian in his second book sayth, that in olde time the name of Imperator was never taken, but vpon great and admirable exploites: but in his time 10000. of the Enemie being slaine in one battell, was a sufficient ground of that honour. Cicero sayth, that 2000. slaine in the place, especially of Thracians, Spaniards or Galles, did worthily merit the name of Imperator. Howsoever; it seemeth by the same Author, that there was a certaine number of the Enemy required to be slaine, where he sayth, *Se in ista vitoria Imperatorem appellatum.*

CHAP. XI.

The Britaines make peace with Cæsar, but breake it againe vpon the losse of the Roman shipping.



He Britaines being ouerthrowne in this battaile; assoone as they had recovered their safety by flight, they prefetely dispatched messengers to Cæsar to intreat for peace, promising hostages & obedience, in whatsoeuer he commanded. And with these Ambassadors returned Comius of Arras, whom Cæsar had sent before into Britany. Cæsar complained, that wheras they sent unto him into Gallia to desire peace, notwithstanding at his comming they made war against him, without any cause or reason at all; but excusing it by their ignorance, hee commanded hostages to be delivered unto him: which they presently performed in part; and the rest being to be fet further off, should likewise bee rendered within a short time; in the meane while, they commauded their people to retorne to their posseßions, and their Rulers and Princes came out of all quarters to command themselves and their States to Cæsar. The peace being thus concluded; fourre daies after that Cæsar came into Britanie, the 18. shippes which were appointed for the horsemen, put out to sea with a gentle wind: and approaching so neare the coast of Britanie, that they were within viewe of the Roman Camp; there arose such a sodaine tempest, that none of them were able to holde their course, but some of them returned to the port from whence they came; others some were cast vpon the lower part of the Iland, which lieth to the Westward; and there casting anchor tooke in such seas, that they were forced to commit themselves againe to the sea, and direct their course to the coast of Gallia. The same night it happened, that the moone being in the full, the tides were very high in those seas; whereof the Romans beeing altogether ignorant, both the Gallies which were drawne vp upon the shoare were fillid with the tide, and the shippes of burthen that lay at anchour, were shaken with the tem-

tempest; neither was there any help to be giuen unto them: so that many of them were rent, and split in peeces; and the rest lost both their anchors, gables and other tackling, and by that meanes became altogether vnseruiceable. Wherat the whole Army was exceedingly troubled; for there was no other shippes to recary them backe againe: Neither had they any necessaries to new furnish the olde: and every man knew that they must needs winter in Gallia; forasmuch as there was no prouision of corn in those places where they were. Which thing being known to the Princes of Britanie, that were assembled to conferre of such things as Cæsar had commanded them to performe; when they understood that the Romans wanted both their horsemen, shippes and prouision of corn, and coniecturing of the paucity of their forces, by the small circuit of their Campe; and that which was more important then all the rest, that Cæsar had transported his soldiery without such necessary carriages, as they vsed to take with them: they thought it their best course to rebell, and to keepe the Romans from corne and conveyes of prouision, and so prolong the matter, vntill winter came on. For, they thought that if these were once ouerthrown and cut off from turning into Gallia, never any man would afterward aduenture to bring an Army into Britanie: therfore they conspired againe the second time, and conuiced themselves by stealth out of the Camp, and got their men priuily out of the fields, to make head in some conuenient place against the Romans.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

 Oncerning the ebbing and flowing of the sea, and the causes therof; it hath alreadly been handled in the second book: to which I will adde this much, as may serue to shew, how the Romans became so ignorant of the spring tides, which happen in the full and newe of the Moone. It is obserued by experiance, that the motion of this waterie element is altogether directed by the course of the moon; wherin the exerciseth her regency, according as shee findeth the matter qualified for her influence. And forasmuch as al mediterranean seas, & such gullis as are inclosed in sinues and bofones of the earth, are both abridged of the liberty of their course, and through the smallnes of their quantity, are not so capable of celestiall power, as the Ocean it selfe: it consequently followeth, that the Tuskan sea, wherwith the Romans were chiefly acquainted, were not so answerable in effect to the operation of the moon, as the main sea, whose bounds are ranged in a more spacious circuit; and through the plentious abundance of his parts, better answerte the vertue of the Moon. The Ocean therfore being thus obedient to the course of the celestial bodies, taking his course of flowing fro the North, falleth with such a current between the Orcades, and the maine of Noruegia; that the falleth our channell between England and France, with great swelling tides, & maketh her motion more eminent in these quarters, then in any other parts of the world. And hence it happeneth, that our riuer of Thames, lying with her mouth so ready to receive the tyde as it commeth, and hauing withall a plaine-

OBSERVATIONS UPON CÆSARS

euelled belly, and a very smal fresh current, taketh the tide as far into the land, as any other known ruer of Europe. And for this cause the Romans were ignorant of the spring tides in the full of the moon.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

Such as either by their own experience, or otherwise by observation of that which history recordeth, are acquainted with the government of Common weales, are not ignorant with what difficultie a nation, that either hath long liued in libertie, or bin gouernd by Commanders of their owne chooing, is made subiect to the yoke of bondage, or reduced vnder the obedience of a stranger. For, as we are apt by a naturall inclination to ciuill society; so by the same nature wee desire a free diuision of our selues and possessions, as the chiefe end of the saide societie: and therefore in the government of a subdued State, what losse or disaduantage happeneth to the Victor, or how indirectly soever it concerneth the bond of their thraldom, the captiue people behold it as a part of their aduersaries overthrow; and conceue thereupon such spirits as awarde the greatness of their hope, and fort with the strength of their will, which alwaies maketh that leame ease to be effected which it desireth. And this was the rea'on that the Britains alterred their resolution of peace, vpon the losse which the Romans had received in their shipping.

CHAP. XII.

Cæsar new trimmeth his late shaken nauie: the Britaines f^t upon the Romans as they haruested; but were put off by CÆSAR.

Cæsar.



Cæsar although hee had not discouered their determination, yet coniecturing of the event by the losse of his shippes, and by their deay of giuing vp hostages, hee prouided against all chaunces: for, hee brought corne daily out of the fieldes into his Campe; and tooke the hulls of such shippes as were most dismembered, and with the timber and brasse therof he made the rest that were beaten with the tempeſt, cauſing other neceſſaries to bee brought out of Gallia. Which being handled with the great industry and trauell of the ſouldiers, hee loſt onely twelve ſhips, and made the other able to abide the ſea.

While theſe things were in action, the ſeuenth legion being ſent out by course, to ſearch in corne, and little ſupecting any motion of warre; as part of the ſouldiers continued in the field, and the reſt went and came between them & the Campes

COMMENTARIES, LIB. IIII.

the ſtation that watched before the gate of the Camp, gaue aduertisement to Cæſar, that the ſame way which the legion went, there appeared a greater dufft then was uſually ſeen. Cæſar ſupecting that which indeed was true, that the Britains were entred into ſom new resolution, he tooke thoſe two cohorts which were in ſtation before the port, commanding other two to take their place, and the reſt to arm themſelues, and preſently to follow him, and went that way, where the dufft was deſcried. And when he had marched ſome diſtance from the Camp, he ſaw his men ouercharged with the Enemy, & ſcarce able to iuſtaine the aſſault, the legion thronged together on a heap, & weapons cast from al parts amongſt them. For, when they had haruested all other quarters, ther remained one piece of corn, whither the Enemie ſupected the Romans would at laſt come; and in the night time conuaied themſelues ſecrely into the woods, where they continued vntill the Romans were come into the field: and as they ſaw them diſarmed, diſpersed and occupied in reaping; they ſuddenly ſet vpon them, and laying ſome fewe of them, rowled the reſt and incompaſſed them about with their horſemen, and Chariots. Their manner of fight with Chariots, was firſt to ride up and down & cast their weapons, as they ſaw aduantage; and with the terror of their horſes and rattling of their wheeles, to diſorder the companies; and when they had wound themſelues between any troups of horſe, they forſoak their Chariots and fought on foot: in the mean time, the guiders of their Chariots would drine a little aside, & ſo place themſelues, that if their maſters needed any helpe, they might haue an eaſie paſſage vnto them. And thus they performed, in al their fightes, both the nimble motion of horſemen, and the firme stability of footmen; and were ſo ready with daily praſtice, that they could ſtai in the declivity of a ſleep hill, and turne ſhort or moderate their going, as it ſeemed beſt vnto them; and run along the beam of the coach and reſt vpon the yoke, or harnesse of their horſes, and return as ſpeedily again at their pleasure. The Romans being thus troubled, Cæſar came to reſcue them in very good time: for, at his comming, the Enemie ſtood ſtill; and the ſoldiers gathered their ſpirits vnto them, and began to renew their courage that was almoſt ſpent. Cæſar taking it an uſit time, either to prouoke the Enemie, or to giue him battell, he continued a whiſt in the ſame place: and then re-turned with the legions into the Camp. While theſe things were a-doing, and the Romans thus buſied, the Britains that were in the field, conuaied themſelues al-a-way.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

CY this we plainly find, that there were uſually two cohorts (which according to the rate of 120. in a maniple, amounted to the number of 720. men) which kept the daie watch before the gate of the Camp, & were alwaies in readines vpon any ſeruice. The commoditie whereof appeareth by this accident: for, conſidering that the aduertisement required haffe and ſpeedy recoure, it greatly furthered their reſcue, to haue ſo many men ready to march forwarde at the firſt motion, that they might giue what helpe they could, vntill the reſt of their ſellowes came in.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

Heir manner of fight with Chariots, is very particularly described by Cæsar, and needeth not to be stood vpon any longer: only I obserue that neither in Gallia, nor any other country of Europe, the use of Chariots is ever mentioned: but they haue euer beene attributed, as a peculiar fight, vnto the Easterne Countries, as suitable to the plain and leuell situation of the place, whereof we finde often mention in the scripture: which may serue for an argument to Geffrey of Monmouth, to proue the Britaines deuent from Troy in Asia, where we likewise finde mention of such Chariots.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

Thirdly, wee may obserue the discrete and moderate temper of his valour, and the meanes hee vved to make his soldierns confident in his directions: for, notwithstanding the Britaines had exceedingly vrged him, to make hazard of a present reuenge; yet finding it an unfit time, (inasmuch as his men had beeene somewhat troubled, with the surie of the Britains) he thought it best to expect some other opportunity. And againe, to auoid the inconueniences of a fearefull retrair, hee continued a while in the same place, to imbolden his men with the sight of the Enemie. And this manner of proceeding wrought a full perfwasion in his soldierns, that his actions were directed with knowledge, and with a carefull respect of their safetie: which gaue his men resolution when they were carried vpon seruice, being assured that what seruice soever they were imployed vpon, was most diligently to be performed, as a matter much importing the fortunate issue of that warre: wheras if they had perceiued, that headstrong fury (which carrieth men on with a desire of victorie, and never looketh into the meanes whereby it may bee obtained) had directed the course of their proceedings, they might with reason haue drawn back from such imployments, and valued their safety aboue the issue of such an enterprise. And hence ariseth that confident opinion, which the soldierns haue of a good General; which is a matter of great importance in the course of warre.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

The Britaines make head, with their forces; and are beaten by Cæsar: his returne into GALLIA.

After this; for manie dayes together, there followed such tempests and soule weather, that both the Romans were constrained to keepe their Campe, and the Britaines were kept from attempting any thing against them: But in the meane time, they sent messengers into all quarters, publishing the small number of the Roman forces, & amplifying the greatnessse of the booty, & the easie means offered unto them of perpetuall liberty, if they could take the Roman Campe. Shortly, vpon this, hauing gathered a great companie, both of horse and foot; they came to the place where the Romans were incamped. Cæsar (although he forefaw the event by that which before had hapned, that if the Enemie were beaten back, he would auoid the danger by flight) yet hauing som 30. horse, which Comius of Arras had carried with him, at his comming into Britany, he imbattailed his legions before his Camp; & so gaue them battel. The Enemie not being able to bearre the assaults of the Roman soldiers, turned their backs & fled: the Romans followed them, as far as they could by running on foote; and after a great slaughter, with the burning of their towns farre and neare, they returned to their Camp. The same day, the Britains sent messengers to Cæsar, to intreat for peace; whom he commanded to double their number of hostages, which he commanded to be carried into Gallia. And forasmuch as the Aequinoctium was at hand; he thought it not safe to put himselfe to the winter sea, with such weake shippes: and therefore hauing got a convenient time, he boised saile a little after midnight, and brought all his shippes safe vnto the Continent. Two of these shippes of burthen, not beeing able to reach the same hauen, put in somewhat lower into the land: the soldierns that were in them being about 300. being set on shore, and marching towardes their Camp; the Morini, with whom Cæsar at his going into Britany had made peace, in hope of a booty, first with a fewe of their men stood about them, commanding them vpon paine of death to lay downe their weapons: & as the Romans by casting themselves into an Orbe, began to make defence, at the noise and clamour amongst them, there were suddenly gathered together about 60:10. of the Enemie. Which thing being knowne, Cæsar sent out all the horsemen to relieue them: in the meane time the Romans sustaine the force of the Enemie, and fought valiantly the space of fourre houres; and receiuing themselves some fewe wounds, they slew many of the Enemy. After the Roman horsemen came in sight, the Enemie cast away their weapons and fled, and a great number of them fell by the horsemen.

Cæsar.

OBSERVATION.

Call the figures which the *Tactici* have chosen to make use of in military affairs; the circle hath ever been taken for the fittest, to be applied in the defensive part, as inclosing with an equal circuit on all parts whatsoever is contained within the circumference of that Area: and therefore Geometricians teach a circumference a simple line, forasmuch as if you alter the site of the parts, and transport one arch into the place of another; the figure notwithstanding will remaine the same, because of the equal bending of the line, throughout the whole circumference. Which property, as it pouereth an uniformity of strength in the whole circuit, so that it cannot be said that this is the beginning, or this is the end; this is front, or this is flank: So doth that, which Euclide doth demonstrate in the 3. of his Elements, concerning the final affinity between a right line, and a circle (which being drawn to touch the circumference, doth touch it but in a point only) shew the greatness of this strength in regard of any other line, by which it may be broken. Which, howsoeuer they seem, as speculative qualitie, conceived rather by intellectual discourse, then manifested to sensible apprehension; yet forasmuch as experience hath proved the strength of this figure, in a defensive part, above any other manner of imbattoiling; let vs not neglect the knowledge of these naturall properties, which discouer the causes of this effect: neither let vs neglect this part of military knowledge, being so strong a means to maintain valour, & the sinew of all our abilities: for, order correspondent to circumstances is the whole strength and power of an Army. Neither ought there any action in a well ordered discipline, to be irregular, or voide of order: and therefore the Romans did neither eat nor sleep, without the direction of the Consull, or chief Commander; otherwise their valour might rather haue been tamed fury then vertue: but when their courage was ranged with order, and disposed according to the occurrences of the time; it never failed as long as the saide order continued perfect.

It appeareth therefore, how important it is for a Commander to look into the diversity of orders for imbattoiling, and to waigh the nature thereof; that he may with knowledge apply them to the quality of any occasion. The Romans termed this figure, *Orbi*; which signifieth a round body both with a concave, and a convex surface: in resemblance whereof, I understand this Orbe of men imbattoiled to be so named, which peradventure consist of five, or more, or fewer ranks, inclosing one another after the nature of so many circles, described about one Center: so that either the middest thereof remained voide, or otherwise contained luch carriages, and impediments, as they had with them in their march. This form of imbattoiling was never vied, but in great extremitie: for, as it was the safet of all others; so it gaue suspition to the soldiers of exceeding danger: which abated much of their heat in battell, as will hereafter appeare by the testimony of Cæsar himself, in the fist *Commentarie*, uppon the occasion which happened vnto Sabinus and Cotta.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

Con the next date, Cæsar sent *Titus Labienus* a Legate, with those legions which he had brought out of Britany, against the revolted Morins; who having no place of refuge because their boggs & fennes were dried up, where they had sheltered themselves the yeare before; they al fel under the power of his mercy. *Q. Titurius, & A. Cotta* the Legats, who had led the legions against the Menapi, after they had wasted their fields, cut up their corn, burned their houses (for, the Menapi were all hid in thicke woods) they returned to Cæsar: these things being thus ended, Cæsar placed the wintering Camps of al his legions amogst the Belgæ, to which place two only of all the Cities in Britany, sent hostages unto him. the rest neglecting it. These wars being thus ended: upon the relatio of Cæsars letters, the senat decreed a supplicatio for the space of 20. daies.

Cæsar.

OBSERVATION.

Con the end of the second *Commentary*, we read of a supplication granted by the Senat, for 15. daies; which was never granted to anie man before that time, since the first building of the Cittie: but forasmuch as in this fourth yeare of the warr in Gallia, it was augmented from 15. vnto 20. daies, I thought it fit to refer the handling therof, vnto this place. We are therefore to understand, that whensoeuer a Roman Generall had carried him self well in the wars, by gaining a victory, or enlarging the boundes of their Empire; that then the Senat did decree a supplication to the gods, in the name of that Captain. And this dignity was much sought after: not only because it was a matter of great honour, that in their names the Temples of their gods should be opened, and their victories acknowledged, with the concourse & gratulation of the Roman people; but also because a supplication was commonly the forerunner of a triumph, which was the greatest honor in the Roman government: And therefore *Cato* nameth it the prerogative of a triumph. And *Liue* in his 26. book saith, that it was long disputed in the Senat, how they could deny one that was there present to triumph, whose safetence they had honoured, with supplication, & thank giuing to the gods, for things happily effected. The manner of the Ceremonie was; that after the Magistrate had publiclye proclaimed it with this form or stile, *quid bene & feliciter rempublicam administrasset*; the Roman people cloathed in white garments & crowned with garland, wen to all the Temples of the gods, and there offered sacrifices, to gratulate the victory in the name of the General. In which time they were forbidden all other busynesses, but that which pertained to this solemnity. It seemeth that this time of supplicatio, was at first included within one or 2. daies at the most, as appeareth by *Liue* in his third book, where he saith, that the victorie gained by two seuerall battells, was spittfully (that is to say) by the Senat in one daies supplication; the people of their own accord keeping the next day holy, & celebrating it with greater devotion then the former.

Li. 15. fam. Cicer.

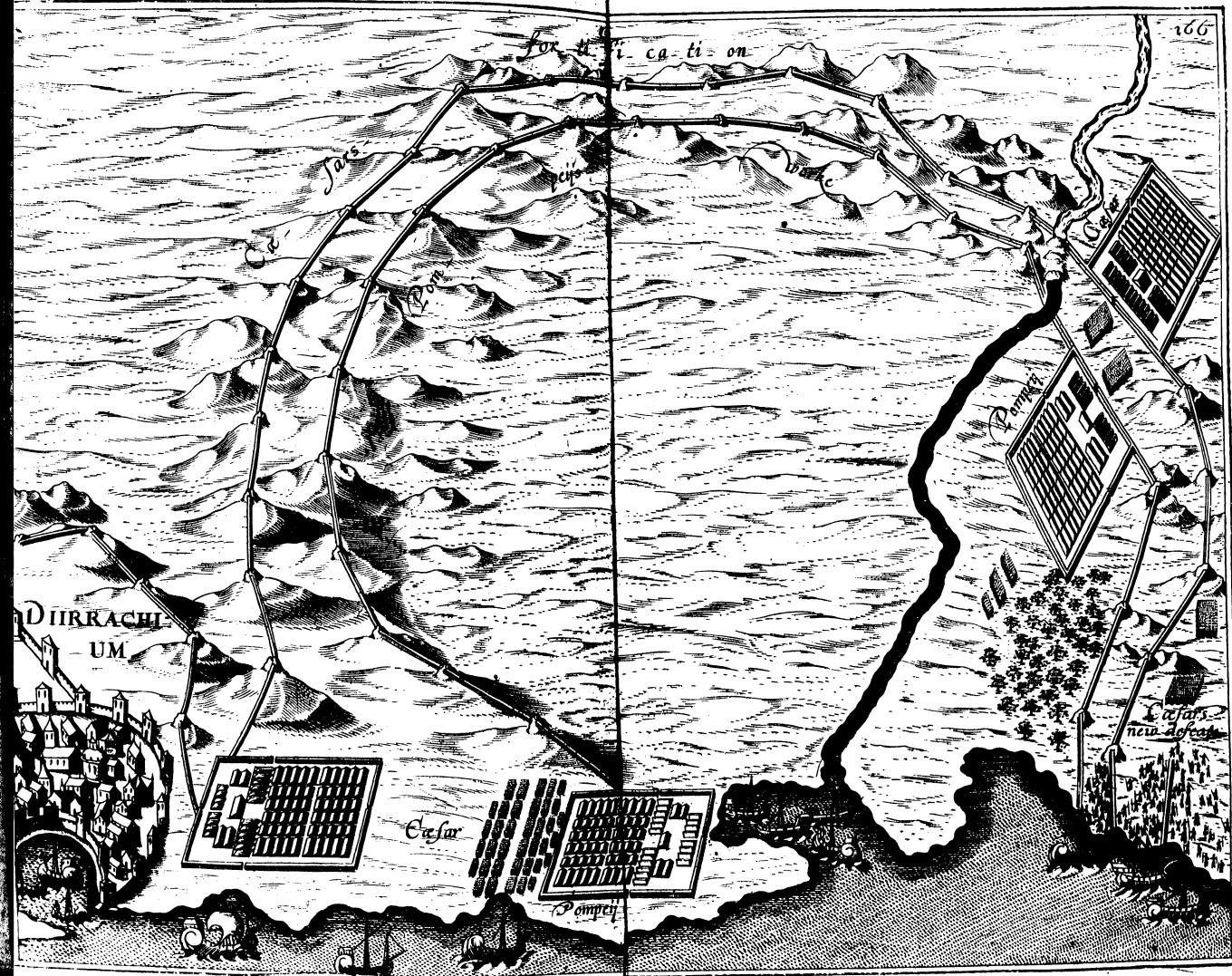
Vpon

OBSERVATIONS UPON CÆSARS

Vpon the victory which Camillus had against the Veii, there were granted four daies of supplication; to which there was afterward a daie added, which was the vsuall time of supplication vnto the time that Pompei ended the warre, which they called Mithridaticum; when the vsual time of fife daies was doubled, and made 10. and in the second of thele Commentaries, made 15. and now brought to 20. daies. Whiche setteth forth the incitements and rewards of wel doing, whiche the Romans propounded both at home and abroad, to such as in deuored to enlarge their Empire, or manage a charge, to the benefit of their Common-wealths. And thus endeth the fourth Commentarie.

THE





THE FIFT COMMENTARY OF
THE WARRE, WHICH CÆSAR
MADE IN GALLIA.

THE ARGVMENT.

 Cæsar caused a great nauy to be built in Gallia: he caried 5. legions into Britany, where he made war with the Britains, on both sides the riuers Thames: at his retурne into Gallia, most of the Galles reuolted; and first the Eburones, vnder the conduction of Ambiorix, ser vpon the Camp of Q. Titurius the Legate, whom they circumuerted by subtily; and then besieged the Camp of Cicero: but were put by, and their Army ouerthrown by Cæsar.

CHAP. I.

Cæsar returneth into Gallia: findeth there great store of shipping made by the soldiery, and commaundeth them to be brought to the hauen Iccius.

Cæsar.

 *Veius Domitius, and Appius Claudius, being Consuls; Cæsar at his going into Italy, gaue order to the Legats to builde as many ships that winter, as possibly they could; commanding them to be built of a lower pitch then those which are vfed in the mediterraneen sea, for the speedier lading & unlading of them, and because the tides in these sea were very great: and forasmuch as he was to tranport great store of horse, he commanded them to be made flatter in the bottoms then such as were vusual in other places, and all of them to be made for the use of Oares, to which purpose their lowe building serued very conueniently. Other necessaries and furniture for rigging, he gaue order to have it brought out of Spain. Cæsar after the assembly of the States in Lombardy, and that he set free Illiricum from the incursions of the Pirustæ, he returned to Gallia; where he found 600. ships built, by the extraordinarie industry of the soldiery, notwithstanding the penurie and want of all necessary matter, with 28 gallies ready furnished, which in a few daies might be lanched: hausing commened the soldiers and overseers of the work, he commanded them to be brought to the port called Iccius, from whence he knew the passage into Britany, was not above thirty mile ouer.*

THE

THE OBSERVATION.

SHIS Iccius Portus, Floide thinketh to bee Caleis; others take it to bee Saint Omer: partly in regarde of the situation of the place, which being in it selfe very lowe, hath notwithstanding very high banks, which incompaſſe the towne about; and in times past was a very large hauen. To this may be added the diſtance from this towne, to the next Continent of the Iland of Britany; which Strabo maketh to containe 320. stadia, which agreeth to the French computation of 13. leages. Cæſar maketh it thirty mile: this is the hauen, which Pliny calleth *Britannicum portum Morinorum*.

CHAP. II.

Cæſar saileth into Britanie: landeth his forces, and seeketh the Enemie.


 Cæſar hauing prepared all things in readinesſe, he left Labesus in the Continent with three legions, & 2000. horse, both to keep the hauen & make provision of corne; and also to obſerve the motion of the Galles: and with 5. legions & the like number of horse, as he left in the Continent, about sun-ſetting he put out to ſea, with a ſoft ſouth wind, which continued vntill midnight; and then ceaſing he was carried with the tide vntill the morning, when he perceiued that the Iland late on his left hand: and again, as the tide chaſed, he laboured by rowing to reach that part of the Iland, where hee had ſound good landing the yeare before: wherin the ſoldiers deserved great commendation; for, by ſtrength & force of Oares, they made their great ſhips of burthen to keepe waie with the Galleies. About high noon, they arrived in Britany, with all their ſhips: neither was there any Enemie ſene in that place: but as afterward Cæſar underſtoode by the Captiues, the Britains were there with a great power; but being terrifiſed with the infinit number of ſhipping, which they diſcovered from the ſhore (for there were in al about 800) they forſtook the ſhore, & hid themſelves in the upland country. Cæſar hauing landed his men, and choſen a conuenient place to incamp, asſoon as hee understood by the captiues where the enemy late, in the watch of the night, hee marched towards them, leaſing ten cohorts & 300. horse for a gauizon to his ſhipping: which hee the leſſe feared, because it lay at anchor in a ſoft & open ſhore: hee marched that night about 12. mile before hee found the Enemie. The Britains ſending out their horse, and chariots to arriue that ran between them & the Romans, and hauing the aduantage of the upper ground: began to hinder the Romans and to give them battell: but being beaten backe with our horſemen, they conuayed theſelves into a wood. The place was ſtrongly fortiſed both by Art and Nature, and made for a defence (as it ſeemeth) in their ciuill warres:

wars: for, all the entrances were ſhut up with great trees, laid overthwart the paſſages. And the Britaines ſhewed themſelves out of the wood but heere and there, not ſuffering the Romans to enter the fortification: but the ſoldiers of the 7. legion, with a Tafudo which they made, and a mount which they raifed, tooke the place, and draue them all out of the woods, without any loſſe at all; ſaue ſome fewe wounds which they received. But Cæſar forbade his men to follow after them, with any long purſuite, because hee was both ignorant of the place, and a great part of that day being ſpent, hee would imploie the reſt thereof in the fortification of his Campe.

O B S E R V A T I O N.


 Cæſar, hauing taken what auerſeſſe of peace hee could with the Galles, both by carrying the chiefest of their Princes with him, and by leauing three legions in the Continent, to keep the vulgar people in obedience; hee imbarkeſſed all his men at one place, that they might be all partakers of the ſame caſualties, and take the benefit of the ſame aduentures: which beeing neglected the yeare before, drew him into many inconueniences for want of horſe, which being imbarkeſſed at another Hauen, met with other chances, & few other fortunes; & neuer came to him into Britanie. The place of landing in this ſecond voyage, was the ſame where hee landed the yeare before: & by the circumſtances of this history, may agree with that which tradition hath deliuered of Deale in Kent, where it is laid that Cæſar landed. In the firſt yeare we find, that hee neuer remoued his Campe from the leaſe shore, where hee firſt ſeateth himſelfe; although his men went out to bring in Corne, as far as they might wel returne again at night: but now hee entered further into the Iland, and within twelue miles march came vnto a riuer, which muſt needs be that of Canterbury, which falleth into the ſea at Sandwich.

In that hee ſaith that the gauizon of his ſhipping coniifted of tenne cohorts, which I haue ſaid to be a legion: we muſt vnderſtand, that Cæſar left not an en-tire legion in that gauizon; but hee tooke tenne cohorts out of his whole forces, peraduenture two out of every legion, and appointed them to take the charge of his ſhipping.

CHAP. III.
Cæſar returneth to his Nauiſ, to take order for
ſuch loſſes as had happened by tempeſt
the night before.


 HE next day, earlie in the morning, hee deuided his forces into three companies, and ſent them out to purſue the enemie: but before they had marched any farre diſtance, and came to haue the reueread of the Enemie in viewe; there came newes from L. Atrius, vniſh whom

Cæſar.

whom he left the ten cohorts, & the charge of the shippings; that the night before, there was such a tempest at sea, that the whole Naue was either sore beaten, or cast on shore; and that neither anchor nor gable could hold them, nor yet the Sailers indure the force of the weather: and that there was great losse in the shippings, by running against one another, in the violence of the tempest.

Vpon these newes, Cæsar caused the legions to be called backe againe, and to cease for that time, from following the enemy any further. HEE himselfe returned to the Naue, where he found forty shippes lost, and the rest, not to be repaired, but with great industry and paines: first, therefore, he chose Ship-wrightes and Carpenters out of the legions, and caused others to be sent for out of Gallia, and wrote to Labienus to make ready what shippings he could. And although it seemed a matter of great difficulty & much labour, yet hee thought it best, to hale up all the shippes on shore, and to inclose them vpon in the fortification of his Campe. In this busynesse he spent ten daies, without intermission either of night or day, vntill he had drawne up the shippes, and strongly fortified the Campe; leaving the same garrison which was there before, to defend it.

THE OBSERVATION.

VHEREIN we may behold the true image of vndanted valour, and the horrible industry (as Tully tearmeth it) which hee vied to prevent Fortune of her stroke in his busynes, and comprehend casuallies and future cōtingents, within the compasse of order, & the bounds of his owne power, beeing able in tenne daies space, to set almost eight hundred shippes from the hazard of wind and weather; & to make his Campe Roade for his Naue, that so hee might rest free of a meanes to returne this pleasure.

CHAP. III.

The Britaines make Cæsiuellaunus Generall in this warre: the Iland, and the manners of the people described.

CÆSAR, returning to the place from whence he came, found for greater forces of the Britaines there assembled, then he left wher he went to the Naue: and that by publique consent of the Britaines, the whole government of that warre was given to Cæsiuellaunus, whose kingdome lay diuided from the maritimate States, with the riuer Thames, beginning at the sea, & extending it selfe four-score mile into the Iland. This Cæsiuellaunus, made continuall warre with his neighbour States: but upon the comming of the Romaines, they all forgot their home-bred quarrels, and cast the whole government upon his shoulers, as the fittest to direct that warre.

The inner part of Britanie is inhabited, by such as memorie recordeth to bee borne in the Iland, and the maritimate coast by such as came out of Belgia, either to make incursions or invasions; and after the war was ended, they continued in the possessions they had gained, and were called by the name of the Citties from whence they came. The Country is very populous, and well inhabited with houses, much like unto them in Gallia. They have great store of cattell, & use braffe for money, or iron rings, weighed at a certayne rate. In the diuiditarian parts, there is found great quantity of Tyn, and in the maritimate parts, iron: their braffe was brought in by other Nations. They have all sorts of trees that haue in Gallia, excepting the Fig and the Beech. Their religion will not suffer them to eat either Hare, Hen, or Goose; notwithstanding, they haue of all sorts, as well for noueltie as varietie. The Country is more temperate, and not so cold as Gallia: the Iland lyeth triangle-wise, whereof one side confronteth Gallia, of which side that angle, wherin Kent is, pointeth to the East, and the other angle to the South: this side containeth about 500 mile. Another side lieth toward Spaine, and the West, that way where Ireland lieth, being an Iland halfe a big as England, and as farre distant from it as Gallia. In the midway betwene England and Ireland, lieth an island called Iona, besides many other smaller Islands; of which some write, that in Winter-time, for thirtie daies together, they haue continuall night: whereof we learned nothing by inquiry: only we found by certain measures of water, that the nights in England were shorter thicke in the Continent: the length of this side, according to the opinion of the inhabitants, containeth leauen hundred mile. The third side lieth to the North & the open sea, sauing that this angle doth somewhat point towards Germanie: this side is thought to containe eight hundred miles; and so the whole Iland containeth in circuit 2000 miles. Of all the inhabitants, they of Kent are most courteous and ciuill; all their Countrey bordering upon the sea, & little differing from the fashion of Gallia. Most of the in-land people haue no Corne, but live with milke and flesh, clothed with skinnes, & hauing their faces painted with a blew colour, to the end they may seeme more terrible in fight: they haue the haire of their head long, hauing all other parts of their body shauen, sauing their upper lip. Their wifes are common to tenne or twelue, especially, brethren with brethren, and parents with children; but the children that are borne, are put vnto them, vnto whom the mother was first given in mariage.

OBSERVATION.

CON the descriptions of the ancient Britains, we may first obserue their pedigree, according to the Haraldry of that time: wherein we must understand, that in those ages, the Nations of the world thought it no small honour, to derive their descent from a certaine beginning, and to make either some of their Gods, or some man of famous memorie, the Father of that progenie, and founder of their State; that so they might promisse a fortunate continuance to their government, beeing first laid and established by so powerfull a meanes. But if this failed, they then bragged of antiquitie, and cast all their glory vpon the fertilitie of their soile, being so strong and fruitfull.

full, that it yeeded of it felte such a people, as they were: and so we read how the Athenians, forasmuch as they were ignorant frō whence they came, ware an Oaken lease, in token that they were bred of the earth where they dwelled. And heereupon also grew the contoures betwene the Egyptians and the Scythians, concerning antiquite: wherin the Egyptians seemed to have great aduantage, because of the fertilitie and heat of their country; whereas the Scythians inhabited a cold climate, vnfruitfull, and an enemy to generation. Of this sort were the Britaines, that inhabited the mediterranean part of the lland: who, not knowing from whence they came, nor who first brought them thither, satisfied themselves with that common received opinion, that they were borne and bred of the earth. The sea-coast was possest by such as came out of the Continent, and retained the names of the Cities from whence they came, as a memorall of their progenitors.

The forme of the lland is very well described, and measured out, according to the scale of our moderne Geographers. For, concerning the difference of longitude between the Ealterne angle of Kent, & the furthest point of Cornwall, they make it eight degrees; which in a manner iumpeth with Cæsars dimensurition: the other sides are somewhat longer: and therefore Tacitus, in the life of Aricola, compareth it to a Carpenters Axe, making that side which bordereth upon France to resemble the edge, and the other two sides to incline by little and little, one towards another; and so make the lland narrower at the top, according to the forme of that instrument. Hee setteth downe the whole compasse of the lland, according to the manner of the ancient Geographers; who by the quantite of the circuit, did vsually iudge of the content: not considering that the *Area* of every figure dependeth as well of the quantite of the angle, as the length of the side.

Concerning the temperature of Britanie, in regard of the cold Winters in France, we must understand that Britanie hath euer been found of a more temperate constitution, in regard of sharp and cold winters, then any other countrie lying vnder the same parallel: whether the cause thereof may be imputed to the continual motion of the sea about the lland, which begetteth heate, as some haue imagined; or to the site thereof, in regard of other Continents from whence the wind alwaies rifieth, and carieth with it the nature of the Country by which it passeth: and so the lland hauing no other Continent lying North to it, from whence the wind may rise, but all for the most part vpon the South, hath no such cold windes to diftemper it, as other parts of Germanie, which are vnder the same parallel: but the Southerne wind, which is so frequent in Britanie, tempereth the ayre with a mild disposition, and so keepeth it warme; or whether it be some other vnknowne cause, our Philosophers rest vnatisfied. But as touching Gallia, it may be said, that forasmuch as it beareth more to the South then this lland doth, the aire thereof (by reason of the continual heat) is of a farre purer disposition; and so pierceth more then this groffer aire of Britanie, and carieth the cold further into the pores; and so seemeth sharper, and of a farre colder disposition.

This lland, which Cæsar nameth *Mona*, is known at this time by the name of

Man,

Man, and lieth between Cumberland and Ireland. Ptolemy calleth it *Monada*. Tacitus calleth Anglesey by the name of *Mona*, peraduenture from the nomination of the Britaines, who called it *Tyr mon*, the land of Mon.

Concerning those places, where the night continueth in the midst of winter for 30 daies together, they must be set 6. degrees beyond the circle Articke, and haue a day in summer of like continuance, according to the rules of Astro-nomy. In that he found the nights in Britanie shorter then in the Continent, we must understand it to be onely in summer: for the more oblique the horizon is, the more vneuen are the portions of the diurnal circles which it cutteth; and the nearer it commeth to a right horizon, the nearer it commeth to an equality of day and night: and hence it happeneth, that in summer time, the nights in France, are longer then heere in England; and in winter, shorter. The like we must understand of all Southerne and Northerne Countries.

To conclude, I may not omit the ciuitie of the Kentish men, and their curteous disposition, aboue the rest of the Britains, which must be imputed to that ordinary course which brought ciuitie vnto all other Nations: of whom such as were first seated in their possessions, and entertained societie, were the first that brought in ciuill conuersation, and by little and little were purifed, and so attained to the perfection of ciuill government. So we find, that first Assyrians and Babylonians (as nextest to the Mountaines of Armenia where the Ark rested, and people first inhabited) reduced their States into Common-weales of Monarchies of exquisite government, florishing with all manner of learning and knowledge; when as yet other Countries lay either waste, or overwhelmed with Barbarisme. From thence it flowed into Egypt; out of Egypt into Greece; out of Greece into Italie; out of Italie into Gallia; and from thence into England: where our Kentishmen first entertained it, as bordering vpon Fraunce; and frequented with Marchants of those Countries.

CHAP. V.

Diuers skirmishes between the Romans and the Britaines.



HE Cavalrie of the enemy and their chariots, gaue a sharpe conflict to the Romaine horsemen, in their march: but so, that the Romaines got the better every way, drivning them with great slaughter to the woods and hills, and loosing also some of their ownen men, beeing too venturous in the purſuit. The Britaines, after ſome intermiſſion of time, when the Romaines little thought of them, and were busied in fortiſying their Campe, came ſuddainely out of the woods, and charged vpon thofe that kept ſtation before the Campe. Cesar ſent out two the chiefest cohorts of two legions, to ſecond their fellowes. Theſe two cohorts, ſtanding vwith a ſmall alleys betwene them, the other that were first charged, beeing terrified

23

Cesar.

with that strange kind of fight, boldly brake through the thickest of the enemy, and so retired in safetie to their fellowes. That day, Quintus Laberius Durus, a Tribune of the soldiery, was slaine. The Britaines were repelled with moe cohorts, which Caesar sent to second the former. And, forasmuch as the fight happened in the view of all the Campe, it was plainly perceiued, that the legionarie soldiery, beeing neither able for the weight of their Armour, to follow the enemy as he retired, nor yet daring to goe farre from his Ensigne, was not a fit adversary to contest this kind of enemy: and that the horsemen likewise fought with no lesse danger, inasmuch as the enemy would retire backe of purpose, and when they had drawne them a little from the legions, they would then light from their Chariots, and encounter them, with that advantage which is betwene a footman and a horseman. Furthermore, they never fought thicke and clost together, but thin, and in great distances, hauing stations of men to succour one another, to receiue the wearie, and to send out fresh supplies.

O B S E R V A T I O N.

Npon this occasion of their heauie Armour, I will describe a legiōnarie soldiour in his compleat furniture, that we may better judge of their manner of warfare, and vnderstand wherein their greatest strength consisted. And first we are to learne, that their legionarie soldiery were called *Milites granis armatura*, soldiery wearing heauie Armour, to distinguish them from the *Velites*, the Archers, Slingers, and other light armed men. Their offensive Armes were a couple of Piles, or as some will, but one Pile, and a Spanish sword, short and strong, to strike rather with the point then with the edge. Their defensive Armes were, a helmet, a coiflet, and bootes of brasie, with a large Target; which in some sort was offensive, in regard of that *umbonem* which stuck out in the midit thereof. The Piles described at large in the first booke, and the Target in the second. The sword, as Polybius witnesseth, was shor, two edged, very sharpe, and of a strong point; and therefore Luius, in his 22 booke, saith, that The Galles vsed very long swords without points; but the Romaines had short swords, readier for vse: these they called Spanish swords, because they borrowed that fashion from the Spaniard. The old Romaines were to girt with their swords, as appeareth by Polybius, & their monuments in Marble, that from their lef. shoulder it hung vpon their right thigh, contrary to the vse of the times; which, as I haue noted before, was in regard of their target, which they caried on their lef. arme: this sword was hung with a belt of leather, belet with studs, as Varro noteith, and these were their offensive weapons.

Their Helmet was of brasie, adorned with three Ostrich feathers, of a cubit in length, by whiche, the soldiour appeared of a larger stature, and more terrible to the Enemy, as Polybius saith in his sixt booke. Their breast plate was either of Brasie or Iron, ioynted together after the manner of scales, or plated with little rings of Iron: their bootes were made of barres of brasie, from the

foote vp to the knee. And thus were the legionary soldiery armed, to stand firme, rather then to vse any nimble motion, and to combine themselues into a body of that strength, which might not easily recoile, at the opposition of any confronment: for, agilitie standeth indifferent to helpe either a retreat or a pursuit: and nimble-footed soldiery, are as ready to flee back, as to march forward; but a waightie bodie, keepeth a more regular motion, and is not hindered with a common counterbuffe: so that whenoeuer they came to firme buckeling, and felte the enemy stand stiffe before them, such was their practise, and excercise in continual wars, that they never fainted vnder any such taske, but the victorie went alwaies cleere on their side. But, if the enemy gaue way to their violence, and came not in but for advantage, and then as speedily retired, before the counterbuffe were well discharged, then did their nimblenesse much helpe their weaknesse, and frustrate the greatest part of the Romaine discipline. This is also proued, in the ouerthrowe of Sabinus and Cotta, where Ambiorix finding the inconuenience of buckling at handy blowes, commanded his men to fight afar off; and if they were assualted, to give backe, and to come on againe as they saw occasion: which so wearied out the Romaines that they all fell vnder the execution of the Galles. Let this suffice therefore to shew, how vnap the Romaines were to flee vpon any occasion, when their Armour was such, that it kept them from all starting motions, and made them futable to the staled and well assured rules of their discipline, which were as certaine principles in the execution of a standing battaile; and therefore, not to fit either for a pursuite, or a flight.

Concerning the vnequall combat betwene a horseman and a footman, it may be thought strange, that a footman should haue such an aduantage against a horseman, beeing ouermatched, at least with a Sextuple proportion both of strength and agilitie: but we must understand, that as the horse is much swifter in a long carriere, so in speedie and nimble turning at hand, wherein the substance of the combatte consisteth, the footman farre exceedeth the horseman in aduantage: hauing a larger marke to hit by the Horse, then the other hath. Besides, the horseman ingageth both his valour, & his fortune in the good speed of his horse, his wounds and his death, do consequently pull the rider after, his feare or turc maketh his maister either desperate or slowe of performance, and what defect soever ariseth from the horse, must be answered out of the honour of the rider. And surely, it seemeth reasonable, that what thing soever draweth vs into the societie of so great a hazard, shoulde as much as is possible, be contained in the compasse of our owne power.

The sword which we manage with our owne hand, affoordeth greater assurance then the Harquebuse, wherein there are many parts belonging to the action, as he powder, the stone, the spring, and luch like; whereof, if the least faille of his part, we likewise faile of our fortune: but, how probable soever this seemeth, this is certaine, that in the course of the Romaine warres, the horse were euer defeated by the foote, as is manifelty proued in the first of these bookees.

CHAP. VII.

Cæsar giueth the Britaines two seuerall ouerthrokes.

HE next day, the Enemy made a stand upon the hills afar off from the Campe, and strewed themselves not so often; neither were they so busie with our horsemen, as they were the day before: but about noone, whi Cæsar sent out three legions, and all his Canallrie to get forrage, vnder the conduction of Caius Trebonius a Legate, they made a suddaine assault upon the forragers, and fell in close with the Ensignes and the legions. The Romaines charged very fiercely upon them, & beat them backe: neither did they make an end of following them, vntill the horsemen trusling to the succour of the legions which were behind them, put them all to flight, with the slaughter of a great number of them; neither did they give them respite either to make head, to make a stand, or to forsake their chariots.

After this overthrow, all their Auxiliarie forces departed from them; neither did they afterward contend with the Romaines with any great power. Cæsar, understanding their determination, caried his Armie to the riuier Thames, and so to the confines of Cassiellaunus, which riuier was passable by boote but in one place onely, and that very hardly. At his comming, he found a great power of the Enemy to be im battaile on the other side, and the banke fortified with many sharpe stakes, and many other also were planted couertly under the water. These things being discovered to the Romaines by the Captiues and fugitiues, Cæsar, putting his horse before, caused the legions to follow suddainely after: who notwithstanding they had but their heads cleare above the water, went with that violence, that the enemie was not able to endure the charge, but left the banke, and beooke themselves to flight.

OB S E R V A T I O N.

His attempt of Cæsar, seemeth so strange to Brancario, that he runneth into strange conclusions, concerning this matter: as first, that he that imitateth Cæsar, may doubt of his good fortunes: for his proceeding in this point, was not directed by any order of war; and that a great Commanduer, hath nothing common with other Leaders: but especially, he crieth out at the basenesse of the Britaints, that would suffer themselves so cowardly to be beaten. But if we looke into the circumstances of the action, we shal find both Arte and good direction therein: for, beeing assyred by the fugitiues, that the riuier was passable in that place, and in that place onelie; he knew that he must either aduenture ouer there, or leaue Cassiellaunus for another Summer, which was a very strong inducement to vrge him to

that enterprize. The difficultie whereof, was much relieved by good direction, which consisted of two points: First, by sending ouer the horsemen in the frond of the legions, who might better induce the charge of the enemie, then the footmen could, that were vp to the neck in water; and withall, to shelter the footmen from the furie of the Enemie.

Secondly, he sent them ouer with such speed, that they were on the other side of the water before the enemie could tell what they attempted: for, if hee had lingered in the seruice, and giuen the enemy leaue to find the advantage which he had by experiance, his men had never beene able to haue indured the hazard of so dangerous a seruice. It is hard to conjecture at the place where this seruice was performed; for, since the building of London bridge, manie foordes haue beene scoured with the current, and fall of the water, which before that time, caried not such a depth as now they doe.

CHAP. VII.

The conclusion of the Britiſh warre: Cæſar returneth into Gallia.



Cæſar. Assiellaunus, hauing no courage to contend any longer, dismissed his greatest forces; and retaining onely fourte thousand chariots, obserued their iourneys, keeping the wood Countries, and drivning men and cattell out of the fields into the woods, for feare of the Romans: & as their horse strayed out either for forrage or boote, he sent his chariots out of the woods by unknowne waies, and put their horsemen to great perill: in regard whereof, the horsemen durst never aduenture further then the legions, neither was there any more spoile done in the Country, then that which the legionarie souldiers did of themselves.

In the meane time, the Trinobantes, being almost the greatest State of all those Countries (from whom Mandubratius had fledde to Cæſar into Gallia, for that his father Imanuentius holding the kingdome, was slaine by Cassiellaunus) sent Embassadors to Cæſar, to offer their submission, and to intreat that Mandubratius might be defended from the oppresion of Cassiellaunus, and sent unto them to take the kingdome. Cæſar, hauing received from them fortie pledges, & Corne for his Armie, sent Mandubratius unto them. The Trinobantes, beeing thus kept from the violence of the soldiers, the Cenimagni, Seguntiaci, Anacalites, Bibrocaſi, yeldeled themſelues to Cæſar. By these he understood, that Cassiellaunus his towne was not farre off, fortified with woods and bogs, and well storred with men and cattell. The Britaines call a towne, a thicke wood, incloed about with a ditch and a rampier, made for a place of retrait, when they stood in feare of incursions from the borderers. Thither marched Cæſar with his Army, and found it well fortified, both by Arte and Nature: and as hee assaulted it in

two

OBSERVATIONS UPON CÆSARS

two severall places, the enemy unable to keepe it, cast himselfe out of the towne by a backe way: and so he tooke it. Where he found great store of cattell, and slew many of the Britaines.

While these things were a-dooing, Cassiuellaunus sent messengers into Kent, wherein there were four severall Kings, Cingetorix, Carnilius, Taximagus, & Segonax: them he commanded with all the power they could make, to lete upon the Campe where the Nanie was kept. The Kings comming to the place, were overthronwe by a sally which the Romanes made out upon them, many of them beeinge slaine, and Cingetorix taken prisoner. This battell concurring with the former losses, and especially moued therewinto with the revolt of the forenamed Citties, Cassiuellaunus intreated peace of Cæsar, by Comius of Arras. Cæsar, being determined to winter in the Continent, for feare of suddaine commotions in Gallia, and that the Summer was now farre spent, and might easlie bee lingered out, he commaunded pledges to be brought unto him, and set down what yerely tribute the Britaines shold pay to the Romans. The hostages beeinge taken, he carried backe his Armie to the sea, imbarke his men, and arrived safe with all his shippes upon the coast of Gallia.

O B S E R V A T I O N .

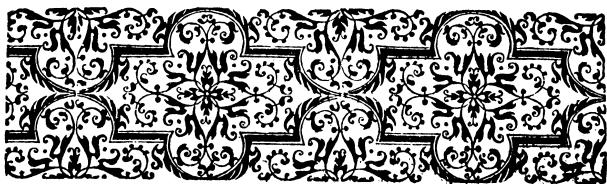


ND thus ended the warre in Britanie, which affordeth little matter of discourse, being indeed but a scambling warre, as well in regard of the Britaines themselues; who after they had felt the strength of the Romane legions, would never aduenture to buckle with them in any standing battell, as also in regard that there were no such townes in Britanie, as are recorded to have beeene in Gallia, which might haue giuen great honour to the war, if ther had been any such to haue been besieged, and taken-in by Cæsar.

And although Tacitus saith, that Britanie was rather viewed then subdued by Cæsar, beeinge desirous to draw that honour to his father in law Agricola; yet we find heere, that the Trinobantes, which were more then either the skitt, or the hart of Britanie (for, our Historians doe understand them to haue inhabited that part, which lieth as farre as Yorkshire & Lancashire) were brought vnder the Romaine Empire by Cæsar; who was the first that euer laid tribute vpon Britanie, in the behalfe of the people of Rome; or cast vpon them the hauncie name of a subdued people.

TO

COMMENTARIES, LIB. V.

TO THE WORTHY KNIGHT,
SIR ROBERT DRVRIE.

(* * *)

SIR, my purpose was to haue concluded these discourses, with the end of the Britiſh warre; refering the later part of this fift booke, for an entrance vnto ſuch obſeruations, as may be gaſthered from the fixt & ſeauenth Commentaries, which I intend to make a ſecond part of this worke: but your deſire to ſee the errours of Sabinus and Cotta diſcouered, and the famous fight of Q. Cicero in his wintering Campe, hath brought them foorth ſomewhat before their time, annexing that to the firſt part, which was meant for the later. If my labour ſhall be found too weake to deferue well of Militarie deſignes; yet I thinke it very well imployd, in that it pleaſeth you to giue it the reading, and ſo reſt

Readie to doe you ſeruice,

C. EDMVND. S.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

Cæsar disposeth his legions into their
wintering Campes.

After he had put his ships in harbour, & held a Councell of the Galles at Samarobriva; forasmuch as that yere, by reason of the drought, there was some scarcitie of Corne in Gallia; he was constrained to guarizon his Armie, and to disperse them into more Citties then hee had done the yeeres before. And first, he gaue one legion to Caius Fabius, to be ledde among the Morini; another to Q. Cicero, to bee carried to the Reruui: another to L. Roscius, to be conducted to the Eissui; a fourth he commaunderd to winter among the men of Rheimes, in the marches of the Treuiri under T. Labienus; three he placed in Belgia, with whom he sent Marcus Crassus, his Queslor, L. Munatius Planus, and C. Trebonius, Legates; he sent one legion, that which he had last inrolld, beyond the river Po in Itale, with five cohorts, unto the Eburones: the greatest part of whose Country lieth between the Mace & the Rhone; with them he sent Q. Titurius Sabinius, and Lucius Arunculeius Cotta. By distributing his legions in this maner, he thought to remedie the scarcitie of corne, and yet the guarizons of all these legions, excepting that which Roscius caried in to a quiet and peaceable part, were contained within the space of one hundred mile: and vntill his legions were settled, and their wintering Campes fortisid, he determined to abide in Gallia.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Auue heard it oftentimes contradicted by some, that understand not the weight of a multitude, when it was said, that an Armie keeping head continually in one part of a kingdome, was more burthenome to the common wealth, in regard of the expence of victuals, then when it was dispersed into particular citties and families, before the time of the muster and inrolment: for (say they) in the general account of the publike weale, it differeth nothing, whether a multitude of 30000 men be maintained with necessarie prouissons in one inire body together, or dispersed particularly throughout euery part of the Country: forasmuch as euery man hath but a competent quantite allotted vnto him, which he cannot want in what for or condition of life soever he be ranged; neither doth the charge of a multitude grow in regard they are vnted together, but in regard they amount to such a multitude wherefoever. But such as looke into the difference with judgement, shall finde a maruellous inequality, both in regard of the portion of victuals which is spent, and the meanes whereby it is prouided: for, first, we must understand,

stand, that an Army lying continually in one place, falleth so heauie vpon that part, that it quickly consumeth both the fete and the fleshe (as they say) & leaueth nothing vnspent, which that part can afford them; and without further supply of prouissons, woulde in a small time come to vtter destruction. This want then must be relieved by taking from the plenarie of other bordering quarters, to furnishe the wants of so great a multitude: wherein there cannot be observed that proportion of moderate taking, to vittale the Armie with a sufficient competencie, but the partiall respect which the puruers, and vittailers wil haue to their priuat commodity, will quickly make an inconuenience either in the country, from whence it is taken; or in the Armie, for which it is prouided; according as the error may best aduantage their particular, what discipline soever be established in that behalfe: Whereas on the contrary part, when euery particular man of that multitude shal be billeted in a seueral family, throught all parts of the kingdom, the charge wil be so insensible, in regard of the expence of the lads families, that the countrie wil never feele any inconuenience. And if every householder that had received into his houle one of the said Armie, should give a true account of that which rith aboue his ordinary expence; by the adition of one man, it would fall far short of that treasure, which is necessarily required, to maintaine the saide number of men vnted together into one bo-die.

Neither doth the difference consist in the quantity of vittaille, which euery man hath for his portion, whether they be dispersed or vnted; but in the manner of prouision, and the meane which is vled to maintaine them: wherin euery master or steward of a family, endeuouereth to make his prouision at the best hand, & so to husband it, that it may serue for competencie, and not for superfluitie; and by that meane, the generall plenty of the country is maintained, & the common wealth florisheth by well directed moderation. But in the viciualling of an Army, there is no such respect had, which may any way aduantage the publike good; for, there the gaine of the puruer rith by expence and superfluous wafting, rather then by thrift and sauing frugality: and so the common wealth is weakenyd by the ill husbanding of that great portion of vittaille, which is allowed for so great a multitude: And if they should haue such varietie of viands in an Armie, as they haue when they are in seueral families, it were vnpossible it should continue any tyne together. And therefore the Romanes, notwithstanding the exactnes of their discipline, could afford their Armies no other prouision but corne, and larde, as wel in regard of the commodity which that kinde of diet affoorded them in the course of their warres, as also for the good of that country, wherein they were resident: And if it so fel out, that the extremitie of the seafon, or any other caufe, had brought a dearth into the land, there was no readier way to help that inconuenience, then by dispersing their Armies into diuers quarters; which Cæsar disposeth with that care, that they might be as neare together as they could.

CHAP. VIII.

Cæsar disposeth his legions into their
wintering Campes.

After he had put his ships in harbour, & held a Councell of the Galles at ** Samarobriva*; forasmuch as that yere, by reason of the drought, there was some scarcitie of Corne in Gallia; he was constrained to guarison his Armie, and to disperse them into more Citties then hee had done the yeeres before. And first, he gaue one legion to *Caius Fabius*, to be ledde among the Morini; another to *Q. Cicero*, to bee caried to the *Neruïj*: another to *L. Roscius*, to be conducted to the *Esseïj*; a fourth he commannded to winter among the men of *Rheimes*, in the marches of the *Treuirij* under *T. Labienus*; three he placed in *Belgia*, with whom he sent *Marcus Crassus*, his *Questor*, *L. Munatius Planus*, and *C. Trebonius*, *Legates*; he sent one legion, that which hee had last inrolded, beyond the riuier *Po* in *Italie*, with five cohorts, unto the *Eburones*: the greatest part of whose Country lieth between the *Maze* & the *Rhene*; with them he sent *Q. Titurius Sabinus*, and *Lucius Anunculeius Cotta*. By distributing his legions in this maner, he thought to remedie the scarcitie of corne; and yet the guarisons of all these legions, excepting that which *Roscius* caried into a quiet and peaceable part, were contained within the space of one hundred mile: and vntill his legions were settled, and their wintering Campes fortified, he determined to abide in *Gallia*.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Man haue heard it oftentimes contradicted by some, that vnderstand not the weight of a multitude, when it was said, that an Armie keeping head continually in one part of a kingdome, was more burthenome to the common-wealth, in regard of the expence of victuals, then when it was dispersed into particular citties and families, before the time of the muster and inrolement: for (say they) in the generall account of the publike weale, it differeth nothing, whether a multitude of 30000 men be maintained with necessary prouision in one intire body together, or dispersed particularly throughout every part of the Country: forasmuch as euer man hath but a competente quantite allotted vnto him, whiche he cannot want in what sort or condition of life soever he be ranged; neither doth the charge of a multitude grow in regard they are vnted together, but in regard they amount to such a multitude whereforeuer. But such as looke into the difference with judgement, shall finde a maruellous inequality, both in regard of the portion of victuals which is spent, and the meanes whereby it is prouided: for, first, we must vnderstand,

stand, that an Army lying continually in one place, falleth so heauie vpon that part, that it quickly consumeth both the fatte and the flesh (as they say) & leaueth nothing vnspent, which that part can afford them; and without further supply of prouision, woulde in a small time come to vited destruction. This want then must be relieued by taking from the plentie of other bordering quarters, to furnish the wants of so great a multitude: wherein there cannot be obserued that proportion of moderate taking, to vittale the Armie with a sufficient competencie, but the partall respect which the purueiers, and vittailers wil haue to their priuat commodity, will quickly make an inconuenience either in the country, from whence it is taken; or in the Armie, for which it is prouided; according as the error may best aduantage their particular, what discipline soever be established in that behalfe: VVhereas on the contrary part, when euerie particular man of that multitude shal be billeted in a seuerall family, throughout all parts of the kingdom, the charge wil be so insensible, in regard of the expence of the said families, that the countre wil never feele any inconuenience. And if every householder that had receiued into his house one of the said Armie, should give a true account of that which risteth aboue his ordinary expence; by the adition of one man, it would fall far short of that treasure, which is necessarily required, to maintaine the saide number of men vnted together into one bo-die.

Neither doth the difference consist in the quantity of vittales, which euer man hath for his portion, whether they be dispersed or vnted; but in the manner of prouision, and the means which is vled to maintaine them: wherin euerie master or steward of a family, endeouereth to make his prouision at the best hand, & to husband it, that it may serue for competencie, and not for superfluitie; and by that means, the general plenty of the country is maintained, & the common-wealth florisheth by well directed moderation. But in the victualling of an Army, there is no such respect had, which may any way aduantage the publike good; for, there the gaine of the purueier risteth by expence and superfluous wasting, rather then by thrift and sauing frugality: and so the common-wealth is weakened by the il husbanding of that great portioun of vittale, which is allowed for so great a multitude. And if they shold haue such varietie of viands in an Armie, as they haue when they are in seuerall families, it were vnpossible it shold continue any tyme together. And therefore the Romanes, notwithstanding the exactnesse of their discipline, coulde afford their Armies no other prouision but corne, and larde, as wel in regard of the commodity whiche that kinde of diet affordeth them in the course of their warres, as also for the good of that country, wherein they were resident. And if it so fel out, that the extremity of the seaon, or any other cause, had brought a dearth into the land, there was no readier way to help that inconuenience, then by dispersing their Armies into diuers quarters, which Cæsar disposeth with that care, that they might be as neere together as they could.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

Concerning the choice of their souldiers and their maner of inrollement, I had rather referre the Reader to Polybius, then enter into the particular discourse of that action; which was carried with such grauitie and religious ceremonies, as might best serue to possest their minds of the waight and consequence of that businesse: but forasmuch as the largenesse of their Empire, and the necessarie of their occasions would not admit, that the enrollement should still be made at Rome amongst the ciuizens, as it appeareth by this legiōn which was inrolled beyond the tuer Po; it consequently followeth, that luch Ceremonies, which were annexed to the place, were altogether omitted: and therefore I cannot speake of that which the old Romanes did in that part of their discipline, as a thing continued vnto Cæsars time. But he that desirereth to see the maner of their choise, with such complements as might adde both a reverent respect, and a Maiestie to the work; let him read Polybius of that argument.

CHAP. IX.

Ambiorix attempteth to surprise the Campe of Sabinus and Cotta; and failing, practiseth to take them by guile.

Esteene daies after the legions were settled in their wintering Camps, there began a sudden tumult and rebellion by the meanes of Ambiorix, and Catuvectes, who hauing receiued Sabinus and Cotta into their confines, & brought them in corne to the place, where they lay; at the inducement of Induciomarus of Triers, they stirr'd up their people to rebellion: & suddenly surprising those that were gon abroad to get wood, came with a great power to assault the Camp. But when our men had tooke Arms, and were got uppon the rampier, and had ouermatched them in a skirmish of horse, which made a fallie out of the Camp vpon the Galles; Ambiorix despairing of good successe, withdrew his men from the assault; & then after their maner, they cried vnto vs, that some of our company shoulde come & speake with them: for they had somwhat to discouer touching the publike state, wherby they hoped a controuersies might be ended. Wherupon Caius Carpinius a Roman borseman, and one of Titurius his familiar friends, and one Junius a Spaniard, who

divers times before had bee sent by Cæsar to Ambiorix; were sent out to treat with them. Ambiorix first acknowledg'd himselfe much indebted to Cæsar; for, manie curtesies, that by his meanes he was freed from a pension which he paid to the Aduatichi; and for that both his own son, and his brothers sonne, whom the Aduatichi had helde in prison under the name of hostages, were by Cæsar released and sent home againe. And touching the assault of the Camp, he had done nothing of himselfe, but by the impulsion of the State; among whom such was his condition, that the people had as great authority ouer him, as he himself had in regard of the people: who were likewise inforced to this warre, because they could not withstand the sudden insurrection of the Galles, whereof his small meanes might bee a sufficient argumeent. For, his experience was not so little, to thinke himselfe able with so small a power to ouerthrow the people of Rome; but it was a general appointment throughout al Gallia, vpon this day to assault al Cæsars garrisons, to the end that one legion might not giue reliefe unto another: Galles could not easilie denie the request of Galles, especially when it concerned their publicke libertie. Now hauing satisfied that dutie which he owed to his conntry, hee had respect to Cæsar and his benefites; in regard wherof he admonished them, and praied Titurius for the hospitality that had been between them, that hee would look to the safetie of himselfe, and his soldiers. There were a great number of Germanes that had alreadie passed the Rhene, and would be heere within 2. daies: and therfore let them aduise themselves, whether they thought it good before the next borderers perceiued it, to depart with their souldiers out of their wintering places, either to Cicero or Labienus, of whom the one was not past fifty mile off; and the other a little further: for his owne part, he promised them this much, and confirmed it by oath, that they shoulde have safe passage through his territories; for, so hee shoulde both doe a pleasure to his countrey, in disburdening it of garrisons, and shew himselfe thankfull to Cæsar for his benefites. This speech being ended, Ambiorix departed, and Carpinius and Junius made report thereof to the Legates.

O B S E R V A T I O N.

Tander his counsell, to vse the foxes skinne where the Lions faiileth, doth shewe, that the discourse of our reaon is sooner corrupted with errore, then the powers of our bodie are ouercome with force. For, oftentimes the mind is so disquieted, with the extremitie of perturbation, that neither the apprehension can take found instructiōns, nor the iudgement determine of that which is most for our good: but according as any passion shall happen to raigne in our disposition; to atte wee carried headlong to the ruine of our fortune, without sense of errore, or mistrust of wel-succeeding; where as the body continueth firme in his owne strength, and is subiect onely to a greater waight of power, by which it may bee subdued and ouerthrown. It behoueth vs therefore to take good heede, that our surest holdes bee not vnfaſtned by the subtiltie of the Foxe, when it hath

hath continued firme against the force of the lion: and that the treacherie of the spirit doth not disadvantage those meaneſ, which either our owne power or opportunitie, hath gained in our actions. Wherin a Commander cannot haue a better rule for his direction, then to beware, that violence of passion doth hinder the course of ſound deliberation: and withall, to bee jealous of whatſoever an Enemie ſhall, eyther by ſpeech or action, ſeeme to thruit vpon him, how colourable ſoever the reaſons may be, which are alledged to induc him thereunto. For firſt, if the minde be not conuinced by the vertue of her better faculties, to reſiſt the motion of ſtruitleſſ apprehenſions, it may eaſily be ſeduced (eyther by ſearc or vaine imagination, diſſident conceptions or ouer-eaſie credulitie, with manie other ſuch diſturbing powers) from that waie, which a good diſcretion, and an understanding ſree from paſſion, would haue taken.

First therefore I holde it neceſſarie, to haue the coniſtorie of our iudgement well ſettled, with a firme reſolution, and with the preſence of the mind, before we enter into deliberation of ſuch things, as are made happy vnto vs by good diſcretion. And then this, amoung other circumſtances, will giue ſome help to a good coniſtution; when we coniider how improbable it is, that an Enemie, whose chiefest care is to weaken his aduersarie, and bring him to ruine, ſhould aduife him of anie thing that may concern his good; vniſle the profit, which he haueth ſhall thereby gather, do farre exceed that which the contrarie part may ex: ect.

I grant that in Civill warrs, where there are many friends on either partie, & haue the aduerſie cauſe as deare vnto them as their owne; there are oftentimes manie aduertisements giuen, which proceed from a true and ſincere affeſtion, & may advantage the partie whom it concerneſth, as wel in preuenting any danger, as in the furtherance of their cauſe; and therefore are not altogether to be neglected, but to be weighed by circumſtances, & accorſingly to be reſpeſted; whereof we haue manie pregnant examples in the ciuill warrs of France, and particularly in *Monsieur La Lou* his diſcourses: but where there are two Armies, diſſerent in nation, language and humour, conting for that which perciularly belongeth vnto one of them; where care to keep that which is deareſt vnto them, poſſeſſeth the one, and hope of gaine ſtirreth vp the other; there is commonly ſuch an inuerſall haterd between them, that they are to looke for ſmall aduantage by aduertisements from the Enemie: which if the Romans had well conſidered, this ſubtile Gall had not diſpoſed them of their ſtrength, nor brought them to ruine.

CHAP. X.

The Romans call a councell vpon this aduertisement, and reſolute to depart, and ioine themſelues to ſome other of the Legions.



He Romans being troubled at the ſodainneſſe of the matter, albeit thoſe things were ſpoken by an Enemy, yet they thought thi no way to be negeleſt; but ſpecially it mooved them for that it was incredibl that the Eburones, being base and of ſo reputation, durſt of themſelues make war againſt the peo- ple of Rome: and therefore they propounded the matter in a councell, wherein there grew a great coniouerſie among them: L. Arunculeius & moſt of the Tribunes, and Centurions of the firſt orders, thought it not good to conioue of any thing riſibly, nor to depart out of their wintering Camps, without expreſſe commandment from Cæſar; for aſmuch as they were able to reſiſt neuer ſo great a power yea even of the Germans, hauing their garizons wel fortiſied: an argument wherof was, ſhut they had valiantly withiſood the firſt aſſault of the Enemy, & giuen them many wounds. Neither wanted they any viuſtals, & before that prouifion which they had was ſpent, there would come ſuccor from other garizons & from Cæſar. And to conclude, what was more diſhonorable or ſauoured of greater inconfonſtancie, then to conioue of their waightieſt affaers, by the aduertisement of an Enemy? Titurius urged vehemently to the contrarie, that it therel be too late for them to ſeek a remedie, when a greater power of the Enemy, accompanied with the Germans, were aſſembled againſt them; or when anie blowe were giuen to any of the next wintering Camps: he tooke Cæſar to be gone into Italy; for, otherwife the Eburones, would not haue come ſo proudly to the Campe. Let them not reſiſt the anhour, but the thing it ſelfe, the Rhene was not fare off, and bee knew well that the ouerthowre of Ario-uitus, and their former viſtories, were greeuous to the Germanes. The Galles were vexed with the contumelies they had receiued, being brought in ſubiection to the Roman Empire, and hauing lost their former reputation in deeds of Arms. And to conclude, who would imagine that Ambiorix (hould enterprise ſuch a matter, without any ground, or certaintie thereof? but howſoever things ſhould, his counſel was ſure, and could bring no harm: for, if there were no worse thing intended, they ſhould but goe ſafelie to the next garizons; or otherwife, if the Galles coniſered with the Germans, their only ſafetie coniifted in celerite. As for the counſel of Cotta, and ſuch as were of the contrary opinion, what expec- tation could be had thereof? wherein if there were not preſent danger, yet affu- ſerely famine was to be feared by long ſiege. The diſputation being thus conuinued on either part, and Cotta with the Centurions of the firſt orders, earneſtly re- puſing it; Doe as pleaſe you, ſince you will neeſt haue it ſo, ſayth Sabinus; and that he ſpake with a loud voice, that a great part of the ſoldiers might well heare him: for, I am not hee that moſt ſearceth death among you; let

let these be wise: and if any mischance happen unto them, they shall aske account thereof at thy hands, inasmuch as if thou wouldest let them, they might ioyne themselves within 2. dayes to the next quarizons, & with them sustaine what chance soever their common destinie should allot them; and not perish with famine and sword, like a people cast off and abandoned from their fellowes. After these words, they began to rise out of the Council; but holde was laide upon them both; entreaty was made that they would not obstinately bring all unto a desperate hazard; the matter was all one whether they went or staid, so that they all agreed upon one thing; whereat in disagreeing, there was no likelihood of well doing: the disputation was prolonged vntill midnight; at length Cotta yelded, and the sentence of Sabinus tooke place. And therupon it was proclaimed, that they shoulde set forth by the break of day: the rest of the night was spent in watching: every souldier sought out what he had to carry with him, and what he shoulde be constrained to leaue behind him of such necessaries, as he had prepared for winter: all things were disposed in such sort, to make the souldiers belieue, that they could not stay without danger.

OBSEERVATION.

BY the resolution in this disputation, it appeareth how little a graue and wise deliberation availeth, when it is impugned with the violence of passion, according to the truth of my former obseruation; for, the matter was well reasoned by Cotta, and his positions were grounded upon things certaine, and wel knowne to the whole Council: and yet the feare of Sabinus was such, that it carried the conclusion by such suposed assertions as the qualitie of his passion had ratified for true principles; being grounded altogether vpon that which the Enemie had suggested, and not vpon any certaine knowledge of the truth: neither is it often leane, when a Councell dispueth vpon matters of such consequence, that their deliberations are altogether cleere from such trouble: some motions, but that it will somewhat incline to the partialitie of a strong affection; so powerfull is passion in the gouernement of the soule, and so interested in the other faculties. And this is one cause of the vncertainty of mans judgement, from whence all contrarie and different opinions do arise. Neither is this so strange a matter, that a councell of warre shoulde so much varie in case of deliberation, when as manie especiall points of militarie discipline remaine yet vndecided: haing the authoritie of the great Commanders of all ages, to ratifie the truthe on either part; whereof I could alleage many examples. But concerning the issue and euent of our deliberations, what can be more truly said then that of the Poet?

*Et male confulit premium est prudentia fallax,
Nec fortuna probat causas sequiturque merentes;
Sed vaga per cunctos nullo discrimine fertur:
Scilicet est aliud quod nos cogatque regatque
Maius, & in proprias ducat mortalia leges.*

Not.

Notwithstanding, forasmuch as our wisdom is not so subiect to fortune, but that it may comprehend within it self, the good direction of most of the occurrences, which fall within the course of our busynesse; or if we must needs miscarrie, yet it somewhat helpeth our ill fortune to thinke, that we went vpon best probabilities; it shall not be amisse to set downe som rules for the better direction of a mature consultation. Wherein we are to understand, that as all our knowledge ariseth from some of our senses, and our senses comprehend only particularities, which being carried vnto the apprehension, are disposed into formes and degrees, according as they either concur or disagree in their seuerall properties: from whence there arise intellectuall notions, and rules of Art; wherein the science of the said particulars consisteth: so he that intendeth to debate a matter, with sound deliberation, must descend from confused conceptions & a knowledge in general, to the exact distinction of particular parts, which are the occurrences to be directed, and the materiall substance of every action: he therfore that can giue best direction, either by experience, or iudicious discourse, cōcerning such particularities as are incident to the matter propounded, can best advise which is the safest way to avoide the opposition of cōtradiciting natures. But to make this somewhat plainer, I wil alleage 2. examples: the one moderne in case of consultation; the other ancient, and may seeme not so pertinent to this matter, in regard it is a meete Apologie: yet forasmuch as it freely censureth the quality of particular circumstances, it may giue great light to that which we seek after.

The moderne example is taken out of Guicherdin, from the warres which Lewis the French King had with the Pope and the Venetians, concerning the State of Ferrara & the Duchie of Millan: wherein there arose a controversie among the French Capaignes, whether it were better to go directly to seek the Enemy, who albeit were lodged in a strong & secure place, yet there was hope, that with the vertue of Armes and impotency of artillerie, they might be dilodged, and driven to a retreit: or otherwise, to take the wate either of Modina or Bologna, that so the Enemy for feare of losing either of those townes, might quit their holde, and by that meanes Ferrara should be freede from the warre. Monsieur Chaumont the General of the French, inclined to the former advise: But Triomice, a man of great authoritie and experience, haing beene an executioner in 18. battailes, reasoned thus in particulars to the contrary. We debate (saith he) to go seek the Enemy to fight with him; and I haue alwaies heard great Capaignes holde this as a firme principle; Not to attempt the fortune of a battell, vnesle there be either an offer of an especiall aduantage, or otherwise, compulsion by necessitie. The rules of warre give it to the Enemy that is the inuader, and hath vndertaken the conquest of Ferrara, To seek to assaile and charge vs; but to vs, to whom it is sufficient to defende our selues, it cannot bee but impertinent to vndertake an action, contrary to all direction and discipline of war. I am of opinion, which is confirmed by evident reason, that there is no possiblitie to execute that deuise, but to our harmes & disaduantage: for, we cannot go to their Camp but by the side of a hil, a streight and narrow way, where all our forces cannot bee imployed; and yet they with

Lib. 9.

OBSERVATIONS VUPON CÆSARS

small numbers wil make resistance, hauing the opportunitie of the place fauourable to their vertues : we must march by the rizing of a hill, one horse after another; neither haue we any other way to draw our Artillery, our baggage, our carts and bridges, but by the streight of the hill : and who doubteth not but in a way so narrow and combrous, every artillerie, every cart, or every wheel that shall breake, will not stay the Army a whole hour at the leaſt? By which impediments every contrary accident may put vs to disorder. The Enemy is lodged in covert, prouided of victualls and forrage; and we must incampe all bare and naked, not carying with vs that which ſhould ſerue for our neceſſarie nouitiae; but expect the things to come after, which in reaſon ought to goe with vs. To attempt new enterprises, whereof the victory is leſſe certaine then the perill, is contrary to the gravity and reputation of a Leader; and in actions of the war, thofe enterprises are put to aduenture, that are done by will & not by reaſon. Many diſſiculties may compell vs to make our abode there, two or three dayes; yea, the ſnowes & rains ioined with the extreamity of the ſeafon, may ſuffice to detain vs: how ſhall we then do for victualls & forrage? What ſhal we be able to do in the wars, wanting the things that ſhould glue vs ſtrength & luſteneſſe? what is he that conſidereth not, how dangerous it is to go ſeek the Enemy in a ſtrong Camp, & to be druien at one time to fight againſt them & againſt the diſcommodity of the place? If we compel them not to abandon their Camp, wee cannot but be inforced to retire; a matter of great diſſicultie in a country ſo wholly againſt vs, and where every little diſfauour will turn to our great diſaduantage, &c.

And thus proceeded that graue diſcourse, in the diſcouerie of the particular occurrences, incident to that enterpriſe; which being laid open to their conſufed iudgements, did maniſtly point at the great diſaduantages, which were to be uergone, by that attempr.

The other example is of more antiquitie, taken out of Tacitus, and concerneſt the arraignment of certaine Senatours, for the friendſhip that had paſt beſtween Seianus and them. Amongſt whom M. Terentius thus anſwered for himſelfe; according as it hath of late beene publiſhed by traſlation:

It would bee peraduenture leſſe behoouefull for my eſtate to acknowledge, then to denie the crime I am charged with: but hap what happe may, I will confeſſe that I haue been Seianus friend, and that I deſired ſo to be, and that after I had obtained his friendſhip I was glad of it. I had ſeen him ioyn officer with my father, in the gouernment of the pretorian cohort: and not long after, in managing the Cittie affaires, and matters of warre: his kinſmen and allies were aduanced to honour: as euerie man was inward with Seianus, ſo he was graced by Cæſar: and contrariwise, ſuch as were not in his fauour, liued in leare, and diſtressed with pouertie. Neither doe I alleadge any man for an example of this; all of vs who were not priuie to his laſt attempts, with the dan-
ger of my only eſtate I will defend: not Seianus the Vulſinensis, but a part of the Claudian and Julian family, which by aliānce he had entred into; thy ſonne in law Cæſar, thy companion in the Consulſhip, and him who took vp on him thy charge of admiſſing the Common-wealtheſt, wee did reuerence and

SABINV'S AND COTTA



and honour. It is not our part to iudge of him, whom thou doest exalt aboue the rest, nor for what considerations: to thee the highest iudgement of things the gods haue giuen; and to vs the glory of obedience is left. VVee looke into those things which wee see before our eyes, whom thou doest enrich, whome thou doest advance to honours, who haue greatest power of hurting or helping: which Seianus to haue had, no man will denie. The Princes hidden thoughts, or if he go about anie secret drift it is not lawfull to found, and dangerous; neither shalt thou in the ende reach vnto them. Thinke not only, Lords of the Senate, of Seianus last daie; but of sixteene yeares, in which we did likewise fawne vpon and court Satrius, and Pomponius; and to be known vnto his freed men and partners, was reckned for a high fauour. What then? shall this defence be general, and not distinguisched, but a confusione made of times past, and his later actions? No: but let it by iust boundes and tearms be diuided: let the treasons against the Common-wealth, the intentions of murderring the Emperour bee punished; but as for the friendships, dueties, pleasures and good turns, the same end shall discharge and quit thee, O Cæsar, and vs.

The constancie of this Oration preuailed so much, that his Accusers were punished with exile. And thus wee see how particularities decide the controversie, and make the waie plaine to good direction.

CHAP. XI.

The Romaines take their iourney towardes the next legion; and are set vpon by the GALLEs.

Cæsar. *S*onne as the day light appeared, they set foorth of their Camp (like men perswaded that the counsell had been giuen them not by an Enemy, but by Ambiorix an especiall friend) with a long tailed march, and as much baggage as they were able to carrie. The Galleys understanding of their iourney, by their noise and watching in the night; secretly in the woodes some two miles off layed an Ambuscado, in two severall places of aduantage, and there attended the comming of the Romans; and when the greatest part of the troupes were entred into a vally, sodainely they hewed themselves on both sides ihe vale, pressing hard uppon the rewarde, and hindering the formost from going vp the hill; and so began to charge vpon the Romans in a place of as great disadvantage for them as could bee. Then at length Titurius, as one that had prouised for nothing before hand, began to tremble, ranne up and downe, and disiofed his cohorts, but so



fearefully and after such a fashion, as if all things had gone against him, as it happeneth for the most part to such, as are forced to consult in the instant of execution.

OBSERVATION.

Tnow plainly appeareth, by this negligent and ill ordered march, and the vnlooked for encounter which the Galles gave them, that fear had ratified in the judgement of Sabinus the smooth suggestion of Ambiorix, with an approbation of a certaine truth; and layed that for a principle, which a discourse free from passion would haue discerned to be but weake, and of no probabilitie: which so much the more amazed Titurius, by how much his apprehension had erred from the truth, and betrayed good counsell to a course full of danger; which as Cæsar noteth, must needs fall upon such, as are then to seek for direction when the businesse requireth execution. I haue handled already the inconueniences of disappointment; and therfore at this time will but bring it only into remembrance, that wee may take the greater care to prevent an accident of that nature: wherein, as the best remedie for an euill is to foresee it, according to the saying, *Praevisuere pereunt mala*; so the greatest miske in an euill, is when it commeth unthought of, and besides our expectation; for, then it falleth vpon vs with a supernaturally waight, and affrighteth the mind with a superstitious astonishment, as though the diuine powers had preuented our desingnements, within irremediable calamitie, and cut off our appointment with a contrarie decree: although peraduenture the thing it selfe carrie no such importance, but might be remedied, if we were but prepared with an opinion, that such a thing might happen.

It were no ill counsell therefore, what resolution soever bee taken, to make as full account of that which may fall out to croise our intentions, as that which is likely to happen from the direction of our chiefeſt projects; and so we ſhall be ſure to haue a preſent minde in the middeſt of our occaſions, and ſeele no further dan- ger, then that which the nature of the thing inforceth.

CHAP.

CAP. XII.

The Romans cast themſelves into an Orbe; and are much diſcouraged.



Vt Cotta, who had before thought that these things might happen by the waie, and for that cauſe would not bee the authour of the iournay, was not wanting in any thing that concerned their common ſafetie: for, both in calling vpon the ſouldiers and incouaging them, hee executed the place of a Commanduer, and in fighting, the dutie of a ſoldier. And when they found, that by reaſon of the length of their troup, they were not able in their owne perſons to ſee all things done, and to giue direction in every place; they cauſed it to be proclaimed, that they ſhould all forſake their baggage, and cast themſelves into an Orb: which direction, althoſh in ſuch a caſe be not to be reproched; yet it fell out illfauouredly: for, it both abated the courage of the Romans, and gaue the Enemy greater encouragement, inaſmuch as it ſeemed that that course was not taken, but vpon a great ſcarce and in extremitie of perill. Moreover, it hapned, as it could not otherwife chooſe, that the ſoldiers went from their Ensignes, to take from the cariages ſuch things as were moſt deare vnto them: and there was nothing heard amonſt them, but clamours and weepings. But the Barbarous Galles were not to learne how to carrie themſelves: for, their Commanders cauſed it to be proclaimed, that no man ſhould ſtir out of his place; for the preie was theirs, and all that the Romans had laide aparte, was referred for them: and therfore let them ſuppoſe that all things conſiſted in the victory. The Romans were equal to the Galles, both in number of men and valour; and albeit they were deſtitute of good Captaines, and of good fortune, yet they reſped in their manhood all the hope of their ſafety: and as often as any cohort ſiſed out, they failed not to make a great ſlaughte of the Enemy on that part.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



Hauſe alreadie handled the nature of an Orbe, with ſuch properties as are incident to a circle; wherein I ſhewed the conuenience of this figure, in regarde of ſafe and ſtrong imbaſtaling: I will now adde thus much concerning the vle thereof, that as it is the beſt manner of imbaſtaling for a deſenſive ſtrength, and therfore neuer vſed but in extremitie, ſo we muſt be very carefull, that the ſodaine betaking of our ſelves to ſuch a reſuge, do not more diſmaie the ſouldiers, then the aduantage of that imbaſtaling canne benefit them.

Cæſar.

OBSERVATIONS Vpon CÆSARS

them. For, vniuersall a Leader be carefull to keepe his men in courage, that their hearts may bee free from despaire and amazement, what profit can there arise from any disposition or body souer, when the particular members shall bee senselis of that duty, which belongeth vnto them? For, order is nothing but an assistance to courage, giuing means to manage our valour with aduantage. In the warre of Africke wee reade, that Cæsars legions being incircled about with great multitudes of enemies, were forced to make an Orb; but he quickly turned it to a better vse, by aduancing the two Cornets two contrary waies; and so diuided the Enemy into two parts; and then beate them backe, to their great disadvantage.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

 Neede not stand vpon this order which the Galles heeretook, concerning pillage, that no souldier should forfiske his station, or disfank himself in hope of spoile; which is a thing that from the very infancie of warres hath often changed the fortune of the day, and sold the honour of a publike victorie, for private lucre and petty pilfering. Amongst other examples, let that which Guichardine reporteth of the battell of Taro, suffice to warne a well directed Armie, as well by the good which Charles the eighth of that name, King of France, receiued at that time, as by the losse which the Italians fel by that disorder, not to seek after pillage vntill the victorie be obtained.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

 He insufficiency of these Commanders, whereof Cæsar now complaineth as the onely want, which these Romans had to cleare them selues of this daunger, bringeth to our confideration that which former times haue made a question: which is, whether it were the vertue of the Roman Leaders, or the valour of their souldiers, that enlarged their Empire to that greatness, and made their people and Senate, Lords of the world? Polybius waighing the causes of a victory, which the Carthaginians gained of the Romans, by the counsell and good direction of one Zantippus a Grecian, hauing before that time received diuers ouerthrows, during the time of those warres in Africke; concluded, that it was more in the worthinesse of the Commanders, then in any extraordinarie vertue of the souldiers, that the Romans achieved so many conquests. And besides the present example of Zantippus, he confirmed his opinion with the proceedings of Hannibal, who from the beginning of the second Punicke warre, stil gained of the Roman Empire, enlarging the territories of Carchage, and streightening the iurisdiction of mightie Rome, vntill it had got a Leader matchable to that subtle Carthaginian, and found a Scipio to confront their Hannibal. To this may be added that famous

COMMENTARIES, LIB. V.

193

famous battell betweene the olde Romans, and the last Latines; wherein both parties were equally ballanced, both in number and qualitie of their souldiers, hauing both the same Armes, the same vse of their weapons, and the same discipline, as if it had been in a Ciuitall warre. Neither could Fortune tell by the presence of their Armies, where to bestow her fauour, or where to shew her disfaine; but that the worthinesse of the Roman Leaders, brought the oddes in the triall, and made Rome great with the ruine of the Latines. Whereby it appeareth, how much it importeth the whole fortune of the Armie, to haue a Leader worthy of the place which he holdeth: forasmuch as nothing doth make a greater difference of inequality betweene two equall Armies, then the wisedome and experience of a graue Commaunder, or the disabilitie of an vnskilfull Leader; which are so powerfull in their severall effects, that there is greater hope of a heard of Harts ledde by a Lion, then of so many Lions conducted by a Hare.

CHAP. XIII.

Ambiorix directeth the Galles how they might best fight with aduantage, and frustrate the weapons of the Romaine souldiers.

  HE which thing when Ambiorix perceiued; he commanded his men to throwe their casting weapons afar off, and keepe themselves from comming neare at hand, and where the Romans charged them, to give way: & againe, as they saw them retire to their Ensignes, then to pursue them. Which comauandement was so diligently obserued by the Galles, that as oft as any cohort falled out of the Orbe to give an assault, the Enemie gaue backe as fast as they could; and in the meane time there was no helpe, but that part must be left naked and open to the inconuenience of casting weapons: and againe, as they retired to their place, they were circumuerted, as well by them that had given place unto them, as by such as stood next about them. And if they went about to keep their ground, they could neither helpe themselves by their manhood, nor standing thicke together, auoide the darts that such a multitude cast vpon them: and yet notwithstanding these inconueniences, besides the wounds which they had received, they stood still at their defence; & hauing so spent the greatest part of the day (for they had fought eight houres together) they committed nothing dishonourable, or unwoorthie of themselves.

Cesar.

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THE OBSERVATION.

Haue spoken alreadie of the manner of the Roman fight, consisting altogether in good disposition of imbattailing, and in firsme stan- ding, and buckling at handy-blowes: as may appeare by this cir- cumstance, where Ambiorix forbiddeth his men to buckle with them, but to giue backe & follow on againe, as the lightnesse of their Armes gave them opportunitie. In like manner, in the first booke of the Ciuill wars, in the battell betwene Cæsar and Afranius, it appeareth, that Cæsar his sol- diers were bound to keepe their array, not to leaue their Ensignes, nor without a waig tie occasion to forfiske their stations appointed them: whereas the Af- franians fought thin, and scattered heere and there; and if they were hard laid vnto, they thought it no dishonour to retire and giue backe, as they hadlearned of the Portugals, and other Barbarous Nations.

CHAP. XIIII.

The Romans are ouerthrowne.

Hen T. Baluentius, who the yeare before had beeene Primi- pile of that legion, a valiant man, and of great authoritie, had both his thighes daried through with a lavelun; and Q. Lucanius, of the same order, valiantly fighting to suc- cour his sonne, was slaine: and L. Cotta the Legate, as hee busily encouraged all the Cohorts & Centuries, was woun- ded in the mouth with a sling. Titurius mooued with these things, as he beheld Ambiorix asafarre off encouraging his men, sent C. Pompeius unto him, to intreat him that he would spare him and his soldiery. Ambiorix answered, that if he were desirous to treat, hee might: for, hee hoped to ob- taine so much of the people, to save the soldiery; but for himselfe, he shoulde haue no harme at all: for the assurance whereof, he gaue him his faith. Titurius im- parted the matter to Cotta, who absolutely denied to goe to an armed enemie, and continued resolute in that opinion. Titurius commanded such Tribunes & Centurions that were present, to follow him; and when hee came neare to Ambiorix, beeing commaunded to cast away his Armes, he obeyed, and willed those that were with him, to doe the same. In the meane time, while they treated of the conditions, and Ambiorix began a solemne protelation of purpoe, Titurius was by little & little incompassed about and slaine. Then, according to their custome, they cried victory; and taking vp a howling, charged the Romaines with a fresh assault, and routed their troupes. There L. Cotta fighting valiantly, was slaine, with the most part of the soldiery with him. The remnant retired into their Campe, amongst whom L. Petrosidius the Eagle-bearer, when hee sawe him selfe ouercharged with enemies, threw the Eagle within the Rampier, and fighting with

with a great courage, before the Campe, was slaine. The rest, with much adoe in- dured the assault vntill night, and in the night, beeing in despaire of all succour, slew themselves every man: a few, that escaped from the battell, came by un- knowne waies through the woods, to Labienus, and certified him how all things had fallen out.

OBSERVATION.

And thus haue we heard of the greatest losse, that ever fell at any one time vpon Cæsar his Armie, from the time that he was first Procon- full in Gallia, vnto the end of his Dictatorship. For in the two over- throwes at Diurachium, he lost not aboue 1000 men, and in that at Gergouia, not so many: but heere, fifteene cohorts were cut in peeces, which amounted to the number of 7000 men, or thereabout. Whiche maketh cowardice, and ill direction the more haefull, in regard that the great victorie, which his valour obtained in Pharsalia, cost him but the liues of two hundred men.

The resolusion of such as returned to the Campe, witnesseth the exceeding valour of the Roman soldiery, if a valiant Leader had had the managing there- of; or if Cotta alone had beene absolute Commanduer, there had beeene great hope of better fortune in the successe. But heere it happened as it commone- doth, that where there are many that are equall sharers in the chiefe authoritie, the direction, for the most part followeth him that is more violent in opinion then the rest: which beeing a proprietie rather of passion then of judicious discouer, forreth a cosent against the temporall opposition of a trice dicerising understanding; and so consequently it falleth out, that one coward, haing place and authoritie in the Councell, doth either infect or annihilate the sound deliberactions of the rest of the Leaders: for, his timorousnesse sticketh alwaies to extremities, making him rash in confutation, peremptorie in opinion, & base in case of perill; all which are enemies to good direction, and the onely instruments of milcheiuing fortune.

CHAP. X V.

Ambiorix hasteth to besiege Cicero, and stirreth vp the Aduatichi, the N. cruij, and so raiseth a great power.



Ambiorix tooke such spirits vnto him vpon this victory, that with his horsemen he went immediatly unto the Aduatichi, beeing the next borderers vpon his kingdome, vwithout intermission of night, commaunding his footmen to follow him. The Aduatichi beeing stirred vp to Commotion, the next day after hee came to

the Neruij, exhorting them not to let slip this occasion of taking to themselves, perpetuall libertie, and revenging them of the Romaines for the wrong they had received. He told them that two Legates were alreadie slaine, and a great part of the Armie overthowne: it was now no great matter, suddenly to surprise the legion that wintered with Cicero; to the performance whereof, he offered himselfe to be their assistant. These remonstrances easily perswaded the Neruij, and therefore they dispatched speedy messengers to the Centrones, Grudij, & other people under their dominion, and raised very great forces; and with them they hasted to the Campe where Cicero wintered, before any inkling of the death of Titurinus was brought unto him.

O B S E R V A T I O N .

C He ambitious and working spirit of Ambiorix, that could attempt to raise the bafeness of a small and ignoble State, to so high a point of resolution, that they durst aduenture vpon the Romaine legions, beeing feuled in the strength of their Empire, by the memorie of so many victories in Gallia; wanted now no meane to make an ouverture to avniuersall commotion, propounding libertie & reuenge to the Galles (two the sweetest conditions that can happen to a subdued people) if they would but stretch out their hands to take it, and follow that course which his example had proved sure, and easie. Which may serue to shew, that hee that will attempt vpon doubtfull and vnsafe Principles, will take great aduantage from a probable entrance, and make a small beginning a sufficient meane for his greatest desfignes.

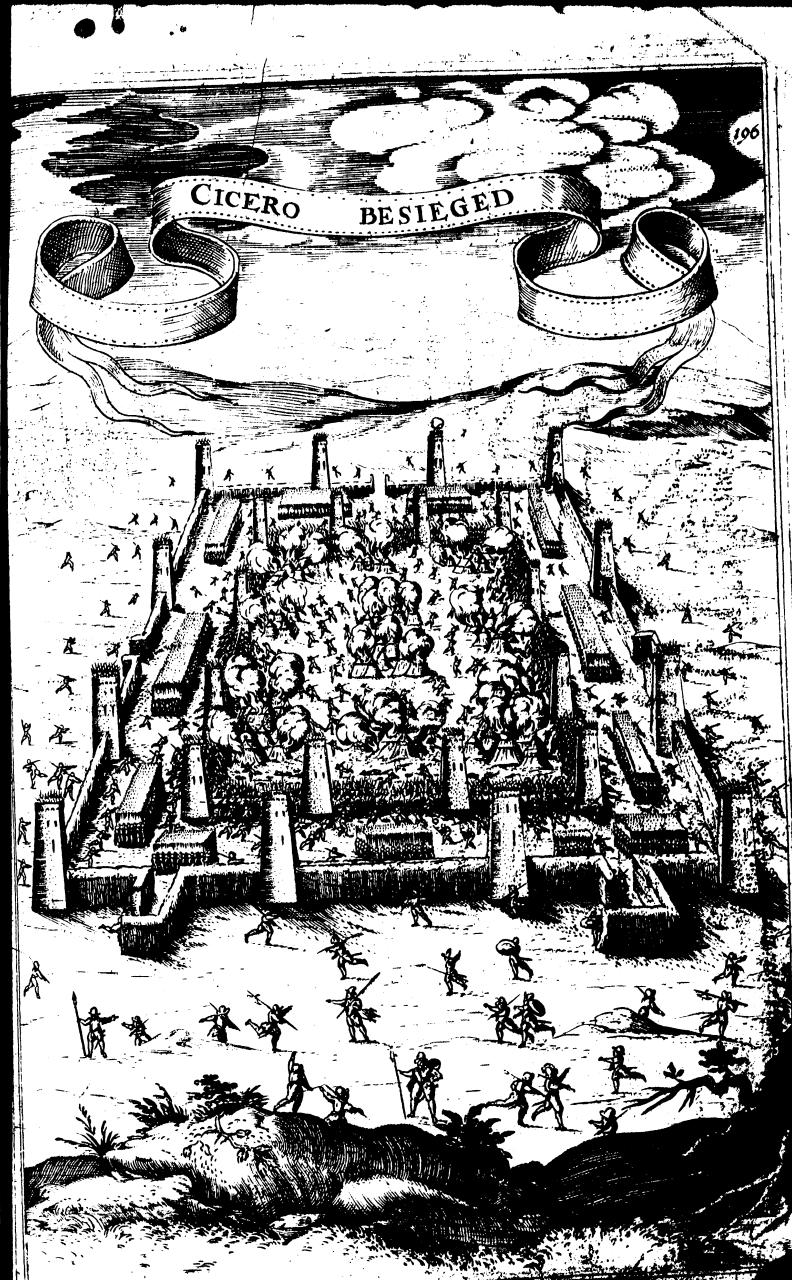
CHAP. XVI.

Cicero defendeth his Campe from the surprise
of the Neruij, and preparath himselfe
against a Siege.



T happened to Cicero also (as it could not otherwise chuse) that many of the soldiery, that were gone into the woods for timber and manition, were cut off by the sudden approach of the Enemies horsemen. These being circumuerted, the Eburones, Neruij, and Aduatuci, with all their confederates and clients, began to assault the Campe. The Romans beooke them speedily to their weupons, and got upon the rampier, with much adoe sped vwell in that action, to be victors ever after.

Cicero



Cicero dispatched Letters with all speede to Caesar, promising great rewards to him that shoulde carie them: but all the waies were so fore-laid, that the Messengers were taken. In one night there was built in the Campe one hundred and twenty towers, of such timber as was brought in for fortification; and whatsoeuer wanted of the rest of the worke, was perfected.

The enemy the next day, with a farre greater power assaulted the Campe, and filled up the ditch: the Romans made the like defence, as they had done the day before; the like was continued diuers daies after. The Romaines made no intermission of their work at any part of the night, nor gaue any rest either to the sick or the wounded. What soeuer was needfull for the next daies assault, was prouised in a readinesse the night before; a great number of stakes hardened in the fire were prepared, and many murall piles were made; the towers were floored in their stories; Pinacles and Parapets were set vp of hurdles: and Cicero himselfe beeing sickly, and of a weake constitution, tooke not so much leasure as to rest himselfe in the night time: so that the souldiers of their owne accord, compeld him by intreatie, to spare himselfe.

O B S E R V A T I O N.

Q His Q. Cicero, is said to be the brother of Marcus Cicero, the famous Oratour, & to him were the Letters sent which are found in his Epistles, directed *Quinto fratri*. In this action, his cariage deserved as great reputation, in the true censure of honour, as euer his brother did for his eloquence, *pro Rosfis*. And if it had beene the others fortune to haue performed the like seruice, he would haue made it the greatest exploit that euer Roman had achieued by Armes. Wherein particularlie may be commended, the diligence and industry which was vled, in raising so many towers in so small a time; for prouiding the night before, such things as were necessarie for the next daies defence; for making so many stakes hardened in the end with fire, for the defence of the rampier; and for the store of these murall piles, which resembled the forme of the ordinary pile, but were farre greater and waighier, in regard they were to be cast from the rampier, which gaue them such aduantage, by reason of the heigh, that being cast by a strong and well practiced arme, they were very effectuall and of great terror.



CHAP. XVII.

The Neruij propound the same things to Cicero
which Ambiorix had done to Sabinus;
but are rejected.

HEN the Princes and chiefe Commaunders of the Neruij, which had any entrance of speech, and cause of acquaintance with Cicero, signified their desire to speak with him: whiche beeing granted, they propounded the same things they had used to deceiue Sabinus; all Gallia were in Arms; the Germans were come ouer the Rhene; Caesar and the rest were besieged in their wintering Campes; Sabinus & his men were cut in peeces; notwithstanding, they carried this mind to Cicero, that they refused nothing but their wintering among them; they might depart in safetie whither they would, without disturbance or feare of danger. Cicero onely made this aunswere: that it was not the custome of the people of Rome, to take any article or condition from an armed Enemie; but, if they wrould lay their Armes aside, let them use his furtherance in the matter, and send some to negotiat it with Caesar; there was great hope, in regard of his iustice and equitie, that they shoulde not returne unsatisfied.

THE OBSERVATION.

He first attempt, which Ambiorix made vpon the Camp of Sabinus and Cotta, was but short; but heere, what with the pride of the former victorie, and the great multitude of the assaillants, they continued it longer, in hope to carrie it by assault: for, the first assault of a place, especially, when it commeth by way of surprise, is of greater hope to the assaillant, and of greater danger to the defendant, then such as afterward are made in the sequell of the warre: for, after the first brunt, the heat of the enemy is much abated, as wel through the nature of a hot desire, which is most violent in the beginning, & afterward groweth cold & remisse, as also with the harness and perill which they meet with in the encounter; and on the contrarie side, the defendants hauing withstood the first furie, wherein there is most terrour and distrust, grow more confident and better assured of their manhood, and in experiance of their strength, stand firme against any charge whatsoeuer.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

The Neruij besiege Cicero, with a ditch and
a rampier, and worke meanes to set fire on
their Tents.



He Neruij disappointed of this hope, caried a ditch & a rampier round about the Camp; the rampier was 11 foote high, and the ditch 15 foote deepe; which they had learned of the Romaines, partly by beeing conuersant among them certaine yeeres before, and partly by the prisoners and captiues which they had taken; but they had no iron tooles fit for that purpose, but were driven to cut vp turfe with their swords, and gather earth with their hands, and carie it away with their Mantles and Gaberdines. Whereby may be gathered, what a multitude of men there were at the siege; for, in lesse then three hours, they finished the fortification of fifteene miles in circuit. The daies following, the enemy built towers to the height of the rampier, prepared great hookes and strong penthouses, or safeguards of boords and timber, according as the captiues had giuen them instruction. The seauenth day of the siege, beeing a verie windie day, they cast hot bullets of clay out of slings, and burning darts vpon the cabines of the Romans, which after the manner of the Gales, wwere thatched with strawe: these cabines were quickly sette on fire, which by the violence of the wind was caried ouer all the Campe. The enemy pressing forward with a great clamour, as though the victorie were alreadie gotten, began to bring their Turrets and Teytudines to the rampier, and to scale it with ladders. But such was the valour of the Roman soldiers, that albeit they were scorched on all sides with fire, and ouer-charged with multitude of weapons, and saw all their wealth burned before their face; yet no man forsooke the rampier, or scarce looke backe at that which had happened, but they all fought valiantly, and wwith an exceeding courage.



OBSERVATION.

His one example may serue, to shew the excellencie of the Roman discipline, and the wisedome of the first founders of that Art: for, they perceiving that the fortune of warres consisted chiefelie in the mastering of particular occurrences, trained their soldiern in that forme of discipline, as might struggle with inconueniences, and strong oppositions of contradicting accidents; and so ouerwage all difficulties and hinderances, with a constant perseveration & a courage invincible. For, the great attempting spirit of an ambitious Commander, that feeketh to ouertoppe the trophies of honor, with the memory of his exploits, will quickly perish by his own direction, if the instruments of execution be weaker, then the meanes which lead

Cesar.

lead him to his desligiments. For, where the waight is greater then the strength, the engine will sooner breake, then lift it vp. Let a discreet Leader therefore so leuell his thoughts, that his resolution may not exceed the abilitie of his particular meane: but first let him be well assured what his souldiers can doe, before he resolute what he will doe: or otherwise, let him so inable them by discipline and instructions, according to the example of the old Romans, that their worth may answere the heighth of his desires, and follow his aspiring mind, with a resolution grounded upon knowledge and valour; and so making their abilitie the ground of his desligiments, he shall never faille of meanes to perfore what he intendeth. The want of this consideracion, hath within these late yeeres, repaid our Commandours in many parts of Christendome, with losse and dishonour, when as they measure the humour of their poore needie and vndisciplined souldier, by the garbe of their ambitious thoughts, & so laid such projects of difficultie, as were verie vnstable in the particulartie of occurrences, to that which their souldiers were fit to execute.

CHAP. XIX.

The æmulation betweene two Centurions, *Pulfio*
and *Varenus*, with their fortunes in
the encounter.



HERE were in that legion two valiant men, *Titus Pulfio*, & *L. Varenus*, Centurions, comming on apace to the dignity of the first orders: these two were at continuall debate whiche of them shold be preferred one before another, and euerie yeere contended for place of preferment, with much strife & emulation. *Pulfio*, at a time that the fortification was very sharply assaulted, called to *Varenus*, and asked him why he now stood doubtfull? or what other place hee did looke for to make triall of his manhood? This is the day, saith he, that shall decide our controwersies. And when hee had spoken these words, he went out of the fortification; and where he saw the Enemie thickeft, he fiercely set upon them: then could not *Varenus* hold him selfe within the rampier, but followed after in a reasonable distance. *Pulfio* cast his pile at the enemy, and strooke one of the multitude through, that came running out against him. He being slaine, all cast their weapons at him, giuing no respite or time of retrait. *Pulfio* had his target strooke through, and the dart stuck fast in his girdle. This chance turned aside his scabberd, and hindered his right hand from pulling out his sword; in which disaduantage the enemy pressed hard upon him. *Varenus* came and rescued him: immediatly the whole multitude, thinking *Pulfio* to bee slaine with the dart, turned to *Varenus*, who speedily tooke him to his sword, and came to hand stroakes; and hauing slaine one, he put the rest somewhat back. But as he followed overhastly upon them, hee fell downe: him did *Pulfio* rescue, beeing

beeing circumuerted and in danger; and so both of them hauing slaine manie of the enemy, retired to their Camp in safetie, to their great honour. Thus Fortune caried as well the contention, as the encounter of them both, that being Enemies, they neverthelesse gaue helpe to save each others life, in such sort, as it was not to be iudged which of them deserved greatest honour.

OBSERVATION.

Cæsar insertereth this accident of the two Centurions, as worthie to be related amonght the deeds of Armes contained in these Commentaries: wherin we are first to obserue the grounds of this quarrell, which was their continual strife for place of preferment, which they fought after, by shewing their valour in time of danger, and approching their worth by the greatnesse of their desert; a contention worthy the Roman discipline, and may serue for a patterne of true honour full of courage, accomplished with vertue. For these *Simulatates*, which desire of honour had cast between them, brought forth emulation, which is the spur of vertue, far from enemite or hauing contention: for, the difference between these two qualities, is, that enemite hunteth after destruction, and onely reioiceth in that which bringeth to our aduersary vtter ruine, dishonor, or ill achievement: but emulation conrendeth only by well deserving, to gaine the aduantage of another mans fame, that vseth the same meanes to attaine to the like end; and is alwaies mixed with loue, in regard of the affinitie of their affections, and the sympathy of their desires, not seeking the ouerthrow of their Competitor, but succouring him in time of danger, and defending him from foule and vnfortunate calamite, that he may still continue to shew the greatnesse of his worth, by the opposition of inferiour actions, which are as a lesser scantling of desert, to measure the estimation of the others honour.

A vertue rare and vnknowne in these daies, and would hardly find subiects to be resident in, if she should offer her helpe in the course of our affaires, or sue to be entertained by the crooked dispositions of our times: for, we can no sooner conceiue the thoughts that breed emulation, but it turneth prelenty to hatred, which is followed to the uttermost of our malice, & resteth better satisfied with the miserable end of our opposed partner, then with thousand of Trophies deuerely erected to our honor. Whiche maketh me wonder, when I looke into the difference of these and those ages, whether it were the discipline of that time, which brought forth such honest effects of vertue, to their glory and our ignominie, hauing learned better rules then were knowne vnto them; or whether the world weakened with age, want strength in these times to bring-forth her creatures in that perfection, as it did in those daies; or what other cause hath made our worst affections so violent, and our better faculties to remisse & negligent, that vertue hath no part in vs but words of praise, our whole practise beeing consecrated to actions of reproach. The iniuries, murthers, scandalous carriages of one towards another, which in these daies are so readilie offered and

OBSERVATIONS UPON CÆSARS

and so impatiently digested, will admit no satisfaction but private combate; which in the first Monarchies, was granted only against strangers, and forraigne enemies, as the onely obiects of Armes and wrath, and capable of thatiustice, which the private sword should execute: for, they well perceived, that these sngle battels, were as sparkles of ciuill discord, and intestine warrs: although not so apparant in the generall view of their State, yet as odious in particular, and as dishonourable to good government. And if there were a true record of such, as haue been either slaine or wounded within these fortie yeres, either in this kingdome, or in France, or in Germanie, by this licentious and brutish custome; I make no question, but they would amount to a number capable of that fearefull stile, which is attributed to Ciuill warrs.

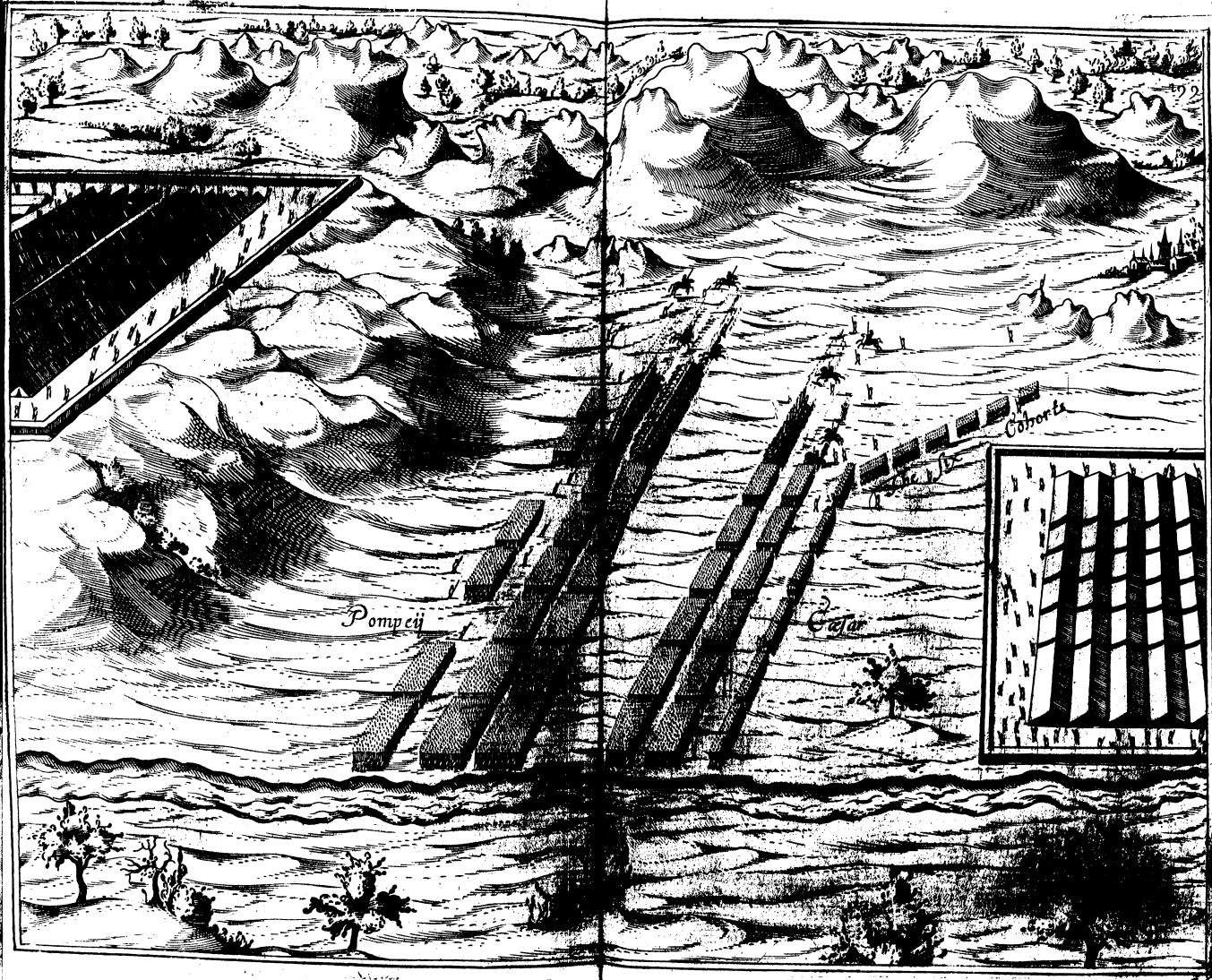
Neither is there any law, how rigorous or hard souer, that can give relief to this disorder, but the restraint will draw on as great enormities, and as vntolerable in a good government. Rotaris, King of the Lumbards, forbade his subiects this manner of combate: but shortly after, he was constrained to recall the Edict, for the avoinding of greater euils: although he protested the thing to be both inhumane and barbarous. The like Edict was published in France, by Philip the Faire; but was within two yeres revoked againe, at the instant request of his subiects, in regard of the murthers and assassinats committed in that kingdome.

The onely remedie that I find to take effect in this case, was that of late time, which the Prince of Melphe in Piemont, inuented to prevent this ciuill: for, perceiving how ordinary quarrels and bloodshed were in his Campe, he assignd a place betweene two bridges, for the performance of the *Duelum*, vñth this charge; that hee that had the worst, should alwaies be slaine, and cast from the bridge into the water: the danger ioyned with dishonour (which by this Decree attended such as vndertooke private combate) made the souldiers wiser in their cariage, and put an end to their sedition and ciuill discords. But that which is yet worst of all, is, that custome hath now made it so familiar, that euerie trifle seemeth sufficient to call the matter to a private combate: a crosse looke calleth another mans honor in question; but the word Lye, is of as great consequence, as any stabbe or villanie whatsoever. Wherat we may wel wonder how it happeneth, that wee feele our selues so much exasperated at the reproach of that vice, which wee so ordinarielie commit: for, in the custome of these times, to cast vpon vs the lye, is the greatest iniurie that wordes can doe vnto vs; and yet there is nothing more frequent in our mouth. It may be a propertie in our nature, to stand chieflie in the defence of that corruption vnto which we are most subiect.

I speake not this to qualifie the foulenesse of this vice: for, I hold a Lyer to be a monstre in nature; one that contemneth GOD, and feareth man, as an ancient Father faith; but to shew the crookednesse of our disposition, in disdaining to acknowledge that faulte, which we so commonly commit. But I would faine learne, when honour first came to be measured with wordes: for, from the beginning it was not so. Cæsar was often called to his face theefe, and drunkard, without any further matter; and the libertie of inuictiues, which

great





great personages vied one against another, as it beganne, so it ended with words. And so I think our lie might too; for, I take him that returneth the lie, and so letereth it rest, vntill further proofe, to haue as great aduantage in the reputation of honour, as the former, that first gaue the disgrace.

CHAP. XX.

Cicero findeth meanes to aduertise Cæsar of this Accident; who hasteth, raiseth the siege, and putteth the Enemy to a great slaughter.

 *S* the siege grew daily hotter & sharper, and specially, for that the greatest part of the souldours were laid vp wth wounds, and the matter brought into a few mens hands that wvere able to make any defence; so they sent out Letters and Messengers the more often to Cæsar: of whom, some wvere taken, and in the sight of our souldours, tortured to death. There was one within the place besieged, of the Nation of the Neruji, called Vertico, of honest parentage; who in the beginning of the siege had fledde to Cicero, and caried himselfe faithfully in that seruice: this man did Cicero chuse, per wading him with hope of libertie, and other great rewards, to carie Letters to Cæsar; wchch he tooke, & having tied them up in his Dart, tranelled as a Gall amongst the Galles, without any suspition, & so came to Cæsar: Of whom he under stood, how dangerously Cicero and the legi- gion wwas beset.

Cæsar, having received those Letters about the eleventh houre of the day, dispatched presently a messenger to M. Crassus, the Treasurer in the country of the Bellonaci, twentie five miles off; commanding the legion to set out at midnight, and speedily to come unto him. Crassus let out and came along with the Messenger. He sent another Post to C. Fabius, the Legat, to bring that legion to the confines of the Atrebati, through wchch he was to passe: And writ in like manner to Labienus; that if it stood with the conuenientie of the State, hee shoulde bring the legion to the territories of the Neruji: for, the rest of the Armie that were further off, he thought good not to expect. He drew fowre hundred horse or therabouts, from the nearest wwintering Campes. And beeing aduertised about the third houre (by the fore-runners) of Crassus comming, hee marched that day twentie miles.

Hee made Crassus Gouernour of Samarobrine, & gaue him one legion for the defence thereof; in regard that the baggage of the whole Armie, the hostages of the Prouinces, the publique transaccons and Letters, together wth all the Corne whch hee had got for the prouision of the Winter, was left in that place. Fabius, according to his directions, without any delay, met him with the legion.

Labie-

Cambray.



Labiens, understanding of the death of Fabrius, and the slaughter of the Cohorts: and knowing also that the whole forces of the Treuiri were marching towards him; he doubted, that if his setting forward out of his winter station, should seeme as a stealing away, he should not be able to undergoe the charge of the enemy, who a late victory had made insolent: and therefore informed Cæsar by his Letters, what danger it would be to draw the legion from their wintering Camp; relating what had happened amongst the Eburones, and how that all the forces of the Treuiri, both horse and foote, lay but three miles distant from his Camp.

Cæsar, allowing of these reasons, howsoeuer his hope of three legions was fallen unto two; yet his whole trust was in celerite, as the onely meanes of all their safeties: and so by great iourneys, came into the confines of the Neruij; where he understood by the Captiues, how matters passed with Cicero, and what danger he was in. At what time he persuaded a certaine horsman of the Galles, by great rewards offered unto him, to carrie a Letter to Cicero; which he sent writ in Grecke Characters, least his purpos should be discovered, if the Letter had beene intercepted: aduising, that if he could not come to his presence, he should tie it to the string of a Dart, and so cast it into the fortifications. Hee aduertised them by his Letter, that he was on the way with the legions, and would be there instantly to raise the siege. The Gall, fearing some danger, followed the directions, and cast it into the workes by a Dart; which fell by chance upon a turret, and there stuck two daies before it was perceived: the third day, a souldiour finding it, tooke it downe, & brought it to Cicero; who read it publickly in the assembly of the souldiours, and put them all into exceeding great ioy. And at the same time, the smoake of their fires began a farre off to be discovered: which put them out of all doubt of the approach of the legions.

The Galles, beeing aduertised thereof by their Discouerers, left the siege and made towards Cæsar with all their power; which consisted of threescore thousand men or thereabouts. Cicero, finding himselfe at libertie, sough out the same Vertico before mentioned, to carry Letters to Cæsar: aduising him to be warie and diligent in his passage; signifying by those Letters, that the Enemy had left the siege, and turned all his forces towards him. Which Letters, being brought unto Cæsar about midnight, he certified his Partie of the contents therof, and prepared them by incouragement to fight. The next day, as soone as it began to be light, he remoued his Camp; and hauing marched about foure miles, he discovered the multitude of the enemy, beyond a great Valley and a River. It was a matter of exceeding danger to give battell to so great a number, in a place of disadvantage: yet, forasmuch as he knew that Cicero was freed of the siege, he thought he might the better forbear to make such haste: and therewpon sat downe, and in as indifferent a place as he could chuse, fortified his Camp. Which being of it selfe very little, as not haing scarce seauen thousand men, & those without any carriages: yet he lessened it as much as he could, by narrowing the vseall streetes thereof; to the end he might the better defend it, if happily the enemy might be drawne to ingage himselfe seriously in any attempt upon the same. In the meane time, hauing sent out Discouerers into all parts, he informed him selfe

selfe which way he might most conveniently passe ouer the valley.

The same day, after small encounters of the Caualrie at the water, either partie contained themselfes within their fortifications: the Galles, as expecting greater forces, which were not yet come; and Cæsar, that by a counterfet feare, he might draw the Enemy to the place where he was lodged on this side the valley, and so strike the battell before his Campe; and if he could not bring it so about, then upon discouery of the waies, to passe the Valley and the Riuere with leſſe danger. As it began to be day light, the Caualrie of the enemy came neere unto the Campe, and began to skirmish with our horſemen. Cæsar, of set purpose, comaued the horſmen to fall back, and to betake themſelves into the Campe: and withall, to fortifie their Campe on all ſides with a higher rampier, to ſtopen the Gates; and in doing of theſe things, to carry themſelves tumultuously, and with a fained ſhow of great feare. With which inducements, the enemy was ſo drawn on, that he brought ouer all his forces, and imbaſtailed them in an unequall and diſadvantageous place. Our men being drawne from the rampier (to make the matter more apparent) they were imboldened to come neerer, and to cast weapons from all parts into our works: ſending Heralds round about with Proclamation, That if any Gall or Roman would come ouer unto the before the third hour, he ſhould be taken into their ſafe protection; but, after that time, there was no hope of any ſuch reception. And they did ſo contemne our party, that wheras the Ports were ſhut vp for a bewe, with a ſingle rowe of turfes, to the end they might appear to be made vp in ſuch manner that they could not be broken open; ſome of them began to break downe the rampier with their handes, and others to fill vp the ditches.

Whiche Cæsar perceiving, ſailed out at all the Ports at once; & ſending out the Caualrie, put the enemy ſo ſuddainly to flight; that not one of them reſiſted by way of fighting: in ſomuch as he flew a great number of them, & put them all beſides their Armes. But because he feared to follow them farre, in regard of the woodes and boggs, that lay in their paſſage (beeing unwilling to hazard himſelfe upon the leaſt occaſion of danger) he returned with all his forces in ſafety; and the ſelfeſame day came to Cicero. Where he admired the towers, the mantelets and works, which were begun and prepared by the enemy: and drawing out the legions, hee found that the tenth man had not escaped without wounds. By all which circumstances he understood, with what danger & valour the busines had beene carried. He recommended Cicero & the legion, according to their merit; calleth out by name ſuch Centurions and Tribunes of the ſouldiours, as by teſtimonie of Cicero, were found to haue deserved extraordinaſily in that ſervice; informed himſelfe by the Captiues, of the certaintie of Sabinus and Cottas misfortune. The next day, hee ſpake publickly to the ſouldiours, opened the particulars of that matter, and then ſeasoned them with comfort and incouragement; ſhewing, that the loſſe which happened through the fault and temerity of a Legate, was to bee borne with better patience: and the rather, forasmuch as by the aſſiſtance of the immortall Gods, and by their owne vertue, the loſſe was redeemed, in ſuch a fashion, as neither the enemy did long ioy it, nor themſelves were long affiſted with griefe for the ſame.

O B S E R V A T I O N .

ED He passages in this Chapter, are of great varietie, and do giue occasion of much discourse: but that which is most remarkable, is, that to exceed in forces and troopes of men, may be a meane to bring a partie to an ouerthrow: for, an extraordinarie power doth alwaies beget an opinion sortinge to their owne desires, and can hardly thinke of anie other end, then that which luteh with securitie and victorious successe; which beeing crossed in any materiall circumstance, & put besidies the course of their intendments, whereby they fail of what they expected, doth consequentlie draw all the other way; and changeth hope into mishap: as it fared here with the Galles, vpon Cæsars suddaine salyng out of his Campe.

CHAP. XXI.

The commotions of the States of Gallia. Induci-
omarus, attempting great matters, was slaine,
and the Countrey quieted:


In the meane time, the report of Cæsars victory was caried to Labienus, with incredible speed, through the Countrey of those of Rheimes: insomuch, as being fifty miles distant from that place where Cicero wintered, and that the ouerthrow was giuen about three of the clock in the afternoone, there was a shott at the Campe gate before midnight; wherby the men of Rheimes congratulated Labienus for that victorie. The same vhereof beeinge caried to the Treuiri; Induciomarus, that purposed the next day to besiege Labienus, fled in the night time, and caried all his forces backe to the Treuiri. Cæsar remaunded Fabius, with the legion, into their wintier flations: He himselfe, with three legions, determined to winter about Samarobrune. And forasmuch as there were such commotions throughout all Gallia, himselfe resolued to abide with the Armie all the wintier: for, vpon the newes of the ouerthrowe of Sabinus, almost all the States of Gallia, did enter into a consultation of war; sent Messengers and Embassadours into all parts, to make overtures for future resolutions, and to understand in what place the war might best be set on foote; holding their Conuenticles by night, in secret and desert places: in such manner, as there passed not a day, during all that winter, vwhich brought not some newe care or doubt concerning Cæsar, least he shold be aduertised of these meetings and confpiracies, amonst these occurrences.

Bri **nicie.** It had intelligence frō L. Roscius the Legat, that great forces of those States and Citties of the Galles, that are called Armorica, were assembled together, to fight against him; and were come within eight miles of his Campe: but understanding of Cæsars victorie, they fell backe, in such a fashion, as though they meant

meant to flye away. But Cæsar, hauing called vnto him the Princes and chiefe men of every State; terrifing some, as seeming to understand their complotments, and perswading others, kept a great part of Gallia in obedience. Howbeit, the Senones (a strong people, and of great authority amonst the Galles) went about by a publique Decree to kill Cauarinus, whō Cæsar had set to be king ouer them (vvhose brother Moritasgus, at Cæsars comming into Gallia, and whose ancestors formerly, were posseſſed of that kingdom): whiche he perceiving, fledde away, and was prosecuted to the very borders, and so driven as vwell out of his priuate house, as of his kingdome. And hauing sent Embassadours to Cæsar, to satisfie him herein; whereas he comanded the whole Senate to come vnto him; they refused to obey his warrant: so much it preuailed amonst barbarous people, that there vvere some found that durst auouch the undertaking of a warre. Which made such an alteration in the minds of all men, that besides the Hedu, and the state of Rheimes, whom Cæsar had in great fauour and respect (the one for their ancient and perpetuall fidelite to the people of Rome, and the other, for their late seruices in the war of Gallia) there was almost no State free from suspicion. In somuch, as I knowe not vwell, whether it may not be wondered at or no; as well for many other reasons, as specially for that they greatly grieved, that they, who excelled all other Nations in deeds of Armes, had now lost their reputation so farre, as they were forced to beare the yoke of the people of Rome.

The Treuiri and Induciomarus, lost no time of all that Winter, but sent Commissioners beyond the Rheine, soliciting the Citties, and promising monies with confident assurance, that the greatest part of our Armie was already cut off; and that which was left, was but a small remainder of the same: and yet for all that, no people of the Germanes could be perswaded to passe the Rheine. For, hauing twice made triall to their cost, in the warre of Ariouitius, & in the passage of the *Teuchtheri, they would tempt Fortune no further.

Induciomarus, cast downe from his hope, did notwithstanding traine and gather forces, got horses from the bordering States, and with great rewards, drew vnto him banisht and condemned men, from all parts of Gallia; and did there-by get such an opinion throughout all that Continent, that Embassadours came flocking vnto him from all quarters, and sought his fauour both in publique and priuate. When he understood that men made to him of their owne accord, and that on the other side, the Senones and Carnutes were instigatid with a remembrance of their offences; and on the other side, the Nervii and Aduataci, made prouision of war against the Romaines, and that hee shold not want voluntarie forces, if he did but once goe out of his confinnes; hee gaue order to call a Councell of Armes: which, according to the manner of the Galles, was alwaies the beginning of a war: beeing such, as constrained all the men that were of yeeres, by the common law of the Land, to assemble together in Armes: and hee that came last, was in the sight of all the rest, put to death with exquisite torture. In that Councell, hee tooke order to proclame Cingetorix the chiefe of the other faction, and his sonne in law (who, as we haue before declared, had followed Cæsar, and not left him in any of those seruices) a Traytor to the State, and that his goods shold be confiscated.

That beeing done, he published in the Councell, that he was sent for by the Senones and the Carnutes, and many other States of Gallia: whether he meant to go, through the territories of the inhabitants of Rumes; & that he would harry and waste their country. But first, his purpose was to take the Camp of Labienus, and accordingly gave order what he would haue done. Labienus, being in a Camp exceedingly fortifed, as well by Nature as by Art, did not feare any danger that might happen to him selfe, or the legion; but rather studieth not to let passe any occasion, to carry the matter handsonly, and to purpose. And therefore, being aduertised by Cingetorix and his allies, what speech Induciomarus had deliuered in the Councell, he sent Messengers to call the confining cities, and commaunded horsemen to be sent unto him by a certaine day.

In the meane time, Induciomarus rid vp and downe almost euery day, vwith all his caualrie under his campe; sometimes to view the site thereof, otherwhile to parlee, or else to terrifie the souldier: & his horfmen, for the most part, would cast their weapons within the rampier. Labienus kept all his men within the forfifications, and did what he could to make the enemy beleue that hee was sore afraid. And, as Induciomarus came daily with greater contempt to the camp, one night, hauing taken in the caualry of the bordering cities, which he had formerly sent for, he kept all his party (by good guarding) vwithin his campe, with such diligence, that their reception could not possibly be bruted abroad, or caried to the Treuiri. In the meane time, Induciomarus, according to his wonted custome, approched neare the campe, and there spent a great part of the day: the horfmen cast their weapons, and with words of high reproach, called out our men to fight; vwithout any word giuen in aunswere by them. And a little before the evening, as they dispersed them selues and departed; vpon a suddaine, Labienus let out all the caualry at two Ports, commanding them, that after the Enemy was put to flight (which he saw would necessarily happen) that every one shoulde make after Induciomarus: and that no man shoulde so much as wound any other Enemie, before they saw him slaine; Being very unwilling, to give him time to escape, while the souldiours were ingaged with the rest: and propounding great rewards to the that slew him. Fortune made good that direction: for, as all made after one; Induciomarus was surprised in the foord of a Riuier, & slaine; & his head was brought backe into the campe: the horfmen returning, slew as many of them as they could take. This thing beeing knowne, all the forces of the Eburones and Neruy, which were met together, departed home: and after that time, Cesar had Gallia better settled in quietnesse.

OBSEERVATION.



S the misfortune which befell Sabinus and Cotta, put all Gallia into troubles and commotions; so the head of Induciomarus, reduced all into peace: According as it is said of the Spaniard; that In some cases, one man is worth a thousand.

And thus endeth the fist Commentarie.



THE FIRST BOOKE OF Cæsars Commentaries of the *Ciuill Warres.*

THE ARGVMENT.

His Commentarie containeth the Motions and Contentions at Rome, concerning Cæsars giuing vp his government: The rent in the State, vpon the disagreement of the Senate: How either side bestirred themselues, to seize vpon the Provinces. Pompey got the East, and Cæsar the West part of the Empire; and defeated Afranius and Petreius in Spaine.

CHAP. I.

The Senates affection on Cæsars behalfe.

MATTERS beeing deliuered by Fabius, to the Consuls from C. Cæsar, it was hardly obtained by the extreme importunitie of the Tribunes, to get them read in the Senate: but to consult thereof, or to bring the Contents in question, would not be graunted. The Consuls propounded busynesses concerning the state of the Cittie. L. Lentulus, Consull, protested his assistance shoud not be wanting, neither to the Senate nor to the Common-weale, if they would speake their mindes freely and boldly: but if they respected Cæsar, and had an eye to his fauour (as in former times they vsually had) he would then take a course for him selfe, and not regard the autoritie of the Senate; neither wanted he meanes of entrance into Cæsars friendship and good acceptance. To the same effect spake Scipio, that Pompey was resolued to be ayding to the Common-weale, if the Senate wold stand to him: but if they temporized, and dealt coldly, in vaine hereafter shoud they seeke ayde from him, albeit they instantly desired it. This speech of Scipios, seemed to come from Pompeis

B.

Pompeis

Observations vpon the first

Pompey's owne mouth, he himselfe being absent, and the Senate at that time kept within the Cittie. Some others spake more temperately; as first, M. Marcellus, who thought it not convenient, that the Senate shoud bring these things in question, vntill they had made a levie of souldiers throughout all Italie, and inroled an Army; by whose protection, they might safely & freely determine what they thought fit: As also M. Calidius, who thought it requisite, that Pompey shoud goe to his Prouinces and Gouernments, to remoue all occasions of taking Armes: For, Caesar hauing two legions newly taken from him, feared that Pompey kept them neare about the cittie to his prejudice. And likewise M. Rufus, varying some few words, declared himselfe of Calidius opinion. All these were bitterly reprooued by L. Lentulus the Consull; who utterly denied to publissh what Calidius had sentenc'd. Marcellus feared with these menaces, retracted his opinion. And so, what with the clamor of the Consull, the terrorre of the present Armie, and the threatening us'd by Pompey's faction, most of the Senators were compelled against their will, to allow that which Scipio thought fit: which was, that by a certayne day, Caesar shoud dissolute and dismisse his Armie; which if he did refuse to doe, that then he openly shew'd himselfe an Enemie to the Commonweale. M. Antonius, and L. Cæsarius, Tribunes of the people, did oppose this decree. Their opposition was instantly spoken vnto; and many sharpe & hard censures were ginen vpon the same: for, according as any one spake most bitterlie, and cruelly, so they were most highly commended by Cæsars Enemies.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

AS the former Commentaries doe carie in their front the ensignes of honour, displaying the militarie valour of the Romaine people, in the Continent of Gallia, and other Kingdomes of warlike Nations: so are these Relations branded in the forhead with a note of Infamie, and titled with the direfull name of Ciuell warre; An odious and detested cause, ill befitting the integritie of that State, or the excellencie of the Actors, which are chief in this Tragedy; who neglecting all that might either enlarge the Empire, or repaire Romes honour for the losse of Crassus, chose rather to imbrew their ambitious swords in the blood of their owne Countrey: Eagle against Eagle, and Pile against Pile, in a warre which could challenge no Triumph. If it be now demanded as formerlie it was,

Quis furor ò Cœus? qua tanta licentia ferri?

Was it Pompeis Ambition, or Cæsars high Thoughts, that bereft the State of libertie, with the losse of so many Romaines? It were besides the scope of these discourses, to lay an imputation vpon either of those Worthies; the one beeing chiefe Assistant to the Empire, when she put off her Consularie Government, and the other sittig sole at the helme, directing a course to fetch in many Cæsars. Only this I may truly say with Tacitus; That Ciuil wars were never set on foote by iustifiable causes. Yet for the Readers better direction, and for opening the truth of this storie (which is more to be regarded then

Commentary of the Ciuell Warres.

then either Socrates or Platons friendship) it shall not be impertinent to fetch the causes of this warre a little higher in a word then these Commentaries doe afford them.

The histories of that age do all intimate, that whē Rome had ennobled Pompey with her seruice, & stiled him by imployments with the title of Greatnes, as a satisfaction for the iniurie done vnto his father; he (forgetting the rights of a State, which chalengeth the renowne of other mens labours, and suffereth no subiect to be Copartner therein, further then by approbation of seruice & obedience) assumed to himselfe the honour due to the Common-weale, and became proude of that which was none of his: in which conceit, the ambition of his spirit kept no measure, but over-valued his merits so far, that he thought himselfe rather a Soueraigne then a servant; so easilie are men bewitched when the fauour of a State hath once made them absolute, and put it selfe vnder the awe of priuate commaund. In this height of greatnesse & authoritie, he made way for Caesar, his father in law; hauing a spirit as subiect to ambition, and as capable of publique dignities, as any one amongst all the Patrician Families. And vpon the ending of his first Consulship, in the yeere of Rome 695, obtained the government of Gallia Transalpina, and likewise of that other Gallia which they called Cisalpina, containing the Countries that lie betwene the Alpes and the little Riuere Rubico, together with Slaunia, and fourre legions of souldiers for the tearme of five years. At the expiration wherof, his charge was continued, by the like fauour and mediation of Pompey, and the assistance of Crassus, for five yeares longer, with a redoubling of his forces. But after that Crassus was slaine in the Parthian warre, and that Iulia, Cæsars daughter, whō Pompey had maried, was deceas'd (wherby Caesar stood single, without any tie of alliance, or other counterpoise of a third partie, to hold them balanced at the same weight as they stood while Crassus liu'd) Pompey, jealous of thole victories and passages of Armes which Caesar had atchived by his valour, and impatient of any partner in point of Lordship; found meaneas first to draw two legions from him, vnder colour of the Parthian warre; and afterwards, got a Decree of Senate, to send him a successor before his time was expir'd: and withall, to retурne as a priuate person to Rome, to render an account of his Actions during his imployment. Which Caesar taking as an assurance of his downesall, gaue huge summes of money to gaine Paulus Aemilius, one of the Consuls, and C. Curio, a Tribune of the people, to resist this Decree. Howbeit, the succeeding Consuls beeing both his enemies, and haing no hope of repealing the same, hee intreated in the end, that hee might hold only Gallia Cisalpina, and Illiricum with two legions, vntill hee shoud obtaine the Consulship; which was the effect of these Letters deliueryed by Fa-bius. And beeing denied by Pompey's faction, in these partiall and tumultuous assemblies of the Senate, caused him to forfeit his loyaltye to the State, verryfying the olde saying; That oftentimes an iniurie maketh way to a greater fortune.

3

Amicus Socratis, amicus Platos; Magis amica veritas, Aris, 1. Ethic.
Pomp. Mag.

Constantine was so ielous thereof, that he published an Edict, that the honour of all victories shold be attributed to him, al-though they were achiuied 100. leagues off.

*Fonte cedit ma-
dico, parsusque
impellitur vnde
punctus Rebico-
nus, et Gallica
tertius times, ab
Antonyo distin-
guat arua colo-
niis, Lucan. 1.
Fa-fa trilobus do-
minis communis
focetis Roma.*

*Pompeius, Ce-
sar, et Crassus.
Nō sola futuri
Crassus etat bel-
li studius mora.
Nolla sancta
fides Regni, En-
tibus.*

*Nec quemquā
lani ferre posse
Cæsare prior,
Pompeiusque pa-
rem, Lucan. 1.
Ardua res hec
sophia non
trahere moreis.
Martial.*

*Sapientia for-
tune locum fecit
inuria. Seneca*

Epi. 91.

Obseruations vpon the first

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

Concerning the opposition of the Tribunes, it is to bee understood, that the people eaten vp with vsurie, and other grieuous exactions, forsooke both the Cittie and the Campe, when the State had war with the Dolci and the Equi; and taking themselues to a Mountaine neare vnto Rome, would not retorne from thence, vntill the Senate had given order for their grieuances. In which transaction it was agreed, that there should be Magistrates chosen out of the body of the people, to counterpoise the power of the Senate, and to restraine the boundlesse authoritie of the Consulls: which office, was reckoned in the number of their holiest things; never to be violated either in word or deed, but the offender should redeeme it with the losse of his life. Their whole power consisted in letting & hindering. As, when either the Senate, or any one Senator, went about a matter, which might be prejudiciall to the people in generall, or to any one of the cōmūnalitie in particular; Then did the Tribunes interpose their authority, to frustrate and avert the same: which was auailable, albeit the matter was gaine laid but by one Tribune only. By which intervention, they kept the Senate in awfull moderation, and were alwaies profitable to the State, but when they happened vp. on factious and turbulent persons; howbeit, their power was bounded with the walls of Rome, and extended no further then the gates of the Cittie. Their doores were never shut, but stood open night and day, for a refuge to such as should flee to them for succour: neither was it lawfull for them to bee absent from Rome a whole day together. The robes of their Magistracie were of Purple; as Cicero intimateth in his oration *Pro Cuentio*. This Tribunitian power, began about the yeere of Rome 260; was supprest by Sylla; restored by Pompey; and vterly taken away by the Emperour Constantine.

If it be demanded what kind of Common-wealthe this Romaine government was; it is to be vnderstood, that vpon the expulsion of their Kings, the soueraintie rested in their Consulls. For, as Luic faith, there was nothing diminished of kingly government, saue onely for the better establishing of libertie, that the Consular dignitie was made Annall. But that held not long, for Publicola imparted this souerainty to the Communalitie; making it lawfull to appeal from the Consuls to the people. Whereby the Consular souerainty was dissolved, and the people tooke occasion to oppoſe themſelues againſt the Fathers. Hence grew the reciprocall invectiues betweene the Senate and the Tribunes; and when the Consull ſent a Seriant to the Tribune, the Tribune would lend a Purſeuauant to the Consull. And ſo the Common-wealthe halteſſe betweene an Aristocracie and a Democracie, vntill at length the voaſſe of the Communalitie, drew it to a perfitt Democracie, and made their Acts of Senate of no value, vniſleſſe they were ratifiſed by the people: Howbeit, the Senate, affording alwaies many famous and eminent Men, ſuch as haueing enlarged the boundes of their Empire, and kept on foote their auncient valour,

and

Commentary of the Ciuell Warres.

and were the flower of that people, which Cyneas called a towne of kinges, were conſequentlie ſo engaged in the businesſe of the State, that matters were for the moſt part, carried as they ſtoode affected; as appeareth by this paſſage of Cæſar.

Cyneas interrogatus a Pyrrho quid Romæ ſit? Refudat, Regū vrbem ibi videtur. Iusti. I. 8.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

 Hirdly, we may obſerue, that violence and partialitie, are the bane of all conſultations: espéciallie, when the common good is ſhadowed with private reſpects. And albeit, the grauitie of the Romaine Senate, ſcarce exceeded all that can be ſpoken of other Counſells of State, rectifying the inordinate affections of any Catiline that would lift vp his head higher then his ſellowes: yet heere it ſuffered equitie and indifference to bee ſuppreſſed with faction, giuing way to violence, which gouerneth all things vntowardlie; and with cordes of private hate, oftentimes draweth the Common-wealthe into vter deſolatiōn. For preuentiōn whereof, the Athenians ſwore their Senatoris, to make the common good the chiefelie ſcope of all their counſels: Implying therby that private reſpects are alwaies offeniue to publicke ends; and the State euer ſuffereth, when fauour prevaileth againſt the common profit.

Tully, going about to direct a Counſellor in this behalfe, onely wiſheth a man to deliuer ſincere what hee thinketh of any matter, althoſh hee happen to ſtand alone in his owne conceit: for, the iſſue of a buſineſſe, dooth not ſo much conerne a Counſellor, as to ſpeakē truely his opinion thereof. And to that end, the conſume of the Romaine Senate was, that the youngſteſt & ſtuck as came laſt in place, ſhould declare themſelues firſt; that they might not bee forſtaſſed in their opinions, nor put beſides that they would haue ſpoken: together with the equalitie, which is made of their voyses: for, thinges firſt ſpoken, do alwaies ſtikke laſteſt in our apprehenſions. And for that cauſe, Theodorus (a Grecce Tragedian) would neuer ſhew himſelue on the ſtage after any other Actor; as holding the firſt paſſages to affeſt moſt the ſpectaſtors. Notwithſtanding which conſume, it is reported, that Cæſar, in fauour of Pompey, after their new made alliance, would take his voice firſt, thereby to anticipate the opinion of others that ſhould follow.

The Emperours (as it ſeemeth) tooke what place they pleaſed; for, Tyberius in Marcellus cauſe ſaid, that he would ſentence openly, and vpon oath, that other men might doe the like. Wherevnto Cn. Pifo replied; What place wilt thou take to declare thy ſelue, Cæſar? for, if thou ſpeakē firſt, I knowe how to follow; if laſt, I am affeſt I ſhall diſſent from thy opinion. But that which is moſt blameable in matter of counſell, is, when they come to the Senate houſe as to a prize of flatterie. VVherein L. Pifo is deſeruedly com‐mended, for that hee neuer willinglie ſheweth himſelue of a ſeruile opinion; but when neceſſtie forced him, hee tempered it with wiſedome. Neither is it

B. 3.

the

Arif. 7. polit.
17.

Suet. in vita Iulij Cæſar.

Tacit. 1. Annal.

Tacit. 6. Annal.

Faction in a Councell, is an enemy to the publicke good.

Nam male ciuitatis ministrat impetus, et stimulat pueri raro prouincias, oly pestinatio in publicum extitit. Tac. Annal.

Atheniensis Se- ptert. iurabat se preeſcie populu confutari. De- moſt. c. 7. Near. 1. Philippi.

Arif. 7. polit.

Suet. in vita Iulij Cæſar.

Tacit. 1. Annal.

the least mitchiet, that the condition of Ioueraintie is such as will hardly indure repreoſe; but muſt be disguised, as Appolonus corrected Lyons, by beating dogges before them.

CHAP. II.

The Senate proceede against Cæſar,
with all eagerneſſe.

HE Senate, riſing a little before night, were all ſent for to Pompey. He commended them for what they had done, and confirmed them for after reſolutions, reprehended ſuch as ſhewed themſelves indiſtant, and ſtirred them up to more forwardneſſe. Many which were of Pompeis former Armies were ſent for, upon hope of reward & aduaancement. Many of the two legions which lately came from Cæſar, were commaundered to attend; in ſomuch, as the Cittie swarmed with ſoldiers. Againſt the election of new Magiſtrates: C. Curio called out the Tribunes of the people: All the Consul friends, the kinsfolks & allies of Pompey, and ſuch others as had any former enmyty with Cæſar, were coptelled into the Senate. By the preſence & opinioſe of theſe men, the weakeſt were terrified, the doubtfull conuinced, & the moſt part were cut off from giving abſolute and free voyses. L. Piso the Cenſor, and L. Roſcius the Praetor, offered themſelves to goe to Cæſar, to aduife him of theſe things; re quiring but ſixte daies ſpace to returne an aunſWERe. Others thought it fit, that Embaſſadors ſhould be ſent to Cæſar, to give him notice of the pleaſure of the Senate. To all theſe was oppoſed what the Conſull, Scipio, and Cato thought fit. Cato was incited through former enmytie, and ſpecially, by the repule of the Praetorſhip. Lentulus, out of a conſideration of his great debts, hoping to comauand an Armie, to gouerne Provinces, and to receive the liberal acknowledgements of Kings, whom he ſhould thereby procure, to be ſtiled with the Title of friends to the people of Rome; in ſomuch, as he would not ſtik to boſt in priuate, that hee was like to proue a ſecond Sylla, or whom, the ſoueraine comauand of the Empire would be conuerſed. Scipio was drawnen on by the ſame hope, of hauing the gouernment of a Province, or the comauand of an Armie; which by reaſon of his alliance he thought to ſhare with Pompey (beeing other wife affeard to be caſled into iuſtice) as alſo through flattery and oſtentation, both of himſelfe, and other great friends, which were able to ſway much, as well in the course of iuſtice, as in the Common-wealtheſt.

Pompey, in his particular, was much prouoked by Cæſars enemis, and ſpecially, for that hee could indure no man to be his equal. Hee was alienated altogether from Cæſars friendſhippe, and had reconciled himſelfe to their common Enemies; the greatest part of whom, were by his meaneſ gained to Cæſar,

caſis re-
trouab.
offic. C. L.
remouit
pari in-
dico. Pa-
t. 11.

in the time of their alliance: as alſo by the diſhonour which he had gotten by taking thoſe two legions from their tourney towards Asia and Syria, and uſing the for the aduaancement of his owne particular: which things mooued him to draw the matter to Armes. For theſe reaſons, all things were caried impetuouſlie and confuſedly; neither was there leaſure giuen to Cæſars friends to aduertife him thereof; nor yet to the Tribunes, to avoide the danger which was falling upon them, or to uſe their right of opposition which L. Sylla left unto them: but within ſeven daies after they were entred into their office, they were forced to ſift for their ſafetie; notwithstanding that the moſt turbulent and ſeditious Tribunes of former times, were neuer put to looke into their affaires, or to gine account of their actions before the eight Month. In the end, they tooke themſelves to that extreame and laſt Act of Senate, which was neuer thought upon, but whi the cittie was upon the point of burning, or in the moſt deſperate estate of the Common-weale. That the Conſuls, Praetors, Tribunes of the people, and ſuch as had beeſe Conſuls, and were reſiant neare about the cittie, ſhould endeouer that the Common-weale might not be indangered. This Act was made the ſevenieth of the Ides of January: ſo that the ſine first daies, in which the Senate might ſit, after that Lentulus was entred into the Conſulſhip (excepting onelie two daies for the generall assembly of the people) moſt heauie & cruell Decrees were made, againſt the authority of Cæſar, and againſt the Tribunes of the people, famous and worthy men; who there-upon fledde preſently out of the cittie. Cæſar beeing then at Rauenna, attended an aunſWERe to his eafe and moſt demands, if by any reaſonable courſe matters might be drawne to a peaceable end.

Commentary of the Ciuill Warre.

Ne quid repub-
lici instrumenta ca-
pitali.
Conſeruare ſunt
dies Commeſſi-
tutes, per quos ſe-
natus habet non
poterat. Cic. L.
ſtrati.

ſit gratia oneri,
ſe uito in que-
ſſu habetur.
Jac.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Tis the condition of humane nature, to make good that which once it hath auouched, although the matter be of ſmall conſequence in particular, & tendeth rather to infamie then to profit; neither will it eaſilie be reclaimed by moties of reaſon, but is rather incited thereby (per Antiperiſtaſin) to perſiſt in wilfulneſſe, then to harken to that which is more conuenient; especially, when either ieaſouis or reuenge doe implice an advantage: for, then partialitie keepeſ no meaſure; but to iuſtifie an errore, runnes headlong into all extremitieſ, and ſleth to the laſt reſuge of deſperate and deplored caſes, to make diſordered paſſions ſeeme good diſcretion. Which euidently appeareth by Pompeis faction, in refouling of that deſperate Act of Senate, which was neuer thought of but in moſt eminent danger. For, as in foule weaſer at ſea, when a ſhippe rideþ in a dangerous road, and through the violence of the tempeſt, is vpon the point of ſhipwreck, the Mariners are wont to caſt out a ſheeſ Anker as their laſt reſuge: lo had Rome anciently recouerte to this Decree, at ſuch times as the Commonwealtheſt was in eminent and extreame calamitie; whether it were by enemies abroad, or by ſerpents in their boſome at home. Linie ſpeaking of the warre

Supremalex
Salus repub-
lici.

Obseruations vpon the first

notice as any thing belides. Neither may the alleement of mens abilities bee omitted: which was ordained that every man might beare a part in the seruice of the State. In which respect, Seruius Tullus is commended, for rating men according to their wealth; whereas before that time every man paid alike: for, men are taken to bee interest in the Common-weale according to their meane. The laft and basest sort of Cittizens, were named *Capite censi*, and were fet in the Subsidie at 375 peeces of money. Such as were not alſed, had no voice in the Common-weale.

The ſecond and chiefest part of this office, was in reforming maners, as the ground-plot and foundation of euery Common-weale; to which end they had power to inquire into euery mans life. If any one had plaid the ill husband, and negleſtad his Farme, or left his Vine vntrimmed, the Cenſors tooke notice of it. If a Romaine knight kept his horſe leane, it was a matter for them to looke into. They deposed, or brought in, new Senators. They reviewed all de- greeſ and conditions of men: aduaunced this man from a meane Tribe to a more honourable, and pulled another downe. They had the care of buildings, repairing of high waies, with other publique works; and were reputed of the beſt rank of Magiſtrates in Rome. L. Roſcius had formerly bin one of Ceſars Legates in Gallia: as appeareth in theift Commentary, *Tertiam in Eſſeo, L. Roſcio*. The Praetor was Judge in cauſes of controuerſie, & diſſerences be- tween partie and party; and was as the Caddy amonſt the Turkes.

CHAP. III.

The Senate prepareth for warre.



HE next day after, the Senate assembled out of the Cittie: where Pompey (according to ſuch inſtructions as he had for- merly giuen to Scipio) extolled their conſtancy & magnan- imity; acquainted them with his forces, conſiſting of ten legi- ons in Armes; and further auſſured them, he knew of a cer- taine, that Ceſars ſouldiers were alienated from him, and would not be drawne either to defend or follow him. And vpon the auſſuranceſ of theſe remontrances, other motions were entertained: As firſt, that a leue ſhould be made throughout all Italy. That Faſtus Sulla ſhould forthwith be ſent as Proprætor into Mauritania. That mony (ſold he deliuered out of the Treuariet) to Pompey. That king Iuba might haue the title of friend & conſederate to the pe- ple of Rome; which Marcellus contradicting, ſtopp the paſſage thereof for that time. Philippus, Tribune of the people, countermaunded Faſtus commiſſion: other matters were paſſed by Act. The two Consulay, and the other Praetor- an Prouinces, were giuen to priuate men that had no office of Magiſtracie. Syria fell to Scipio, and Gallia to L: Domitius. Philippus and Marcellus, were purpoſely omitted, and no lottes cast for their imployement. Into the other Prouinces were ſent Praetors, without any conſent or approbation of the

Commentary of the Ciuell Warres.

the people, as formerly had beece accuſomed: and hauing performed their or- dinary vynes, they put on their Military garments, and ſo tooke their journey. The Conſuls (which before that time was neuer ſcene) went out of the Cittie, & had their Seriants priuately within the Cittie, and in the Capitoll, againſt all or- der and aient cuſtome. A leue was made ouer all Italie: Armes and furni- ture was commaunded: Money was required from Municipall townes, and ta- ken out of Temples and religious places. All diuine and humane Rights were confounded.

Paludati exciit.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

SHe negleſt of Ceremonies and formeſ in matter of State, is the ru- ine and abolifhment of a Common-weale. For, if it hold generallie true which Philosophers ſay; That the forme giueth being to what- ſoever ſubſtiteth, and that every thing hath his name from his fati- on and making: then it muſt neceſſarily follow, that the life and perfection of a State, dependeth wholly of the forme; which cannot be negleſted but with hazard of conuſion. For, complements and ſolemnities, are neither *Minima* nor *Maxima* (as ſome haue imagined) either ſuperfluities, which may bee ſpared, or trifles of small conſequence. But, as the fleſh couereth the hollow de- formitie of the bones, and beautiſt the body with naturall graces: ſo are ce- remonies, which aient cuſtome hath made reuerent, the perfection and life of any Common-weale; and doe couer the nakedneſſe of publique actions, which otherwile wold not be diſtinguished from priuate busynelſ. And ther- fore the negleſt of ſuch ceremonieſ, as were vniually obſerved to ennable their actions, was as iniurious to the ſafety of the Empire, and as evident a demon- ſtration of faction and diſloyaltie; as the allotment of Prouinces to priuate per- sons, or whatoer elſe they broached, contrarie to the fundamentall rights of the publique Weale.

Concerning which, it is to be underſtood, that no man was capable of thoſe g̃overnments, but ſuch as had borne the chiefel offices and places of charge. For, their manner was, that commonly vpon the expiracion of their offices, the Conſuls and Praetors did either caſt lots for the Prouinces, which they caſt *Sortiri prouincias*, or did otherwile agree amonſt theſelues how they ſhould be diſpoſed: and that they teamd, *Comparare prouincias*. Linie toucheſt both the one & the other; *Principio inſequuntur anni cum Conſules noui de Pro- vincijs retulifent, primo quoq; tempore, aut cōparare inter eos Italiam et Ma- cedoniam, aut sortiri placuit*. Howbeit, ſometimes the people (whoſe aſſent was alwaies neceſſary) interpoſed their authorie, & diſpoſed the ſame as they thought expedient. But ſuch as had neuer borne office of charge in the State, were no way capable of thoſe dignities, nor thought fit to comand abroad, hauing neuer ſhewd their ſufficiencie at home.

For the maner of their ſetting forward out of Rome, after they were aſigned to imployement, it appeareth by infinite examples of histories, that they firſt went into the Capitoll, & there made publick ſacrifices & ſolemn vynes, either

The maner of their ſetting forward to their gouern- ments.

Cinatatio, en- ce, crenatio, ful- la queque popu- li domino. At- kin. in Cet- ifypon.

The maner of diſpoſing of the Prouinces and gouern- ments.

Sortiri Pro- vinciā, compa- rare Prouinciās. Lib. 43.

The maner of their ſetting forward to their gouern- ments.

to build a Temple, or to doe some other worke worthy good fortune, if their designs were happily atchiued; which they called *Vota nuncupari*. And hee that had made such a vow, stood *votariuſ* vntill his busines forded to an issue: and after he had attained his desire, he was *votidamnatus*, vntill he had aquit-
ed himſelfe of his promife.

Touching their habite exprefſed in this phrase, *Paludati exēunt*, it appear-
eth, as well by auncient Sculptures, as Medallies, that *Paludamentum*, was a
cloake vled and worn by men of warre, whether they commanded in cheife,
or as Lieutenants and Centurions; and was tied with a knot vpon their left
ſhoulder. Feſtus calleth all militarie garments, *Paludamenta*. And Varro gi-
uing a reaon of that name, faith; *Paluda à Paludamentis, ſunt hac inſignia et*
ornamenta Militaria; Ideo ad bellum, cum exiſt Imperator, ac Lictores mutant
veſtem, et ſigna incinerunt, Paludatus dicitur proficiſci: qua, propterea quod
conſpicuntur, qui ea habent, et Palamſunt, Paludamenta dicitur. The colour
of this cloake, was either purple or white. And therefore it was held a preſage
of ill fortune, when at Carres, a Cittie in Mesopotamia, one gaue Cratius a
black cloake inſtead of a white, as hee went to loſe the battaile to the Parthi-
ans.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

He Romaines, not contented with the ſpacious circuit of the ſunne, bounding their Empire with the Eaſt and the West, but for want of Regions and Countreys, ſearching the vntnes and depth of the ſea; did ſildome acknowledge any other ſoueraintie, or leue a partie worthy their amitie, in any remote angle of the then knowne world. But if any Prince had been ſo fortunate, as to gaue the fauour and estimation of a friend or a confederate to the State, it was vpon ſpeciall and deſerued reſpects, or at the iſtance of their Generals: broad, enforcing the woorthines of ſuch Potentates, and the aduantage they might bring to the ſervice of the Empire. Whiche appeareth by that of Liue, concerning Vermina, king Syphax ſonne, that no man was at any time acknowledg'd either a king or a friend by the ſenate and people of Rome, vntiſle firſt he had right well deſerued of the Common-weale.

The manner of this acknowledgement, is likewife particularly exprefſed by Liue, in another place ſpeaking of Scipio. The day following (faith hee) to put king Mafsinifla out of his griefe and melancholie, hee ascended vp to his Tribenall, and hauing call'd an aſſembly of the ſouldiers, preſented him before them; where he firſt honoured him with the appellation of king, accompa-
ni'd with many faire praifes: and then gaue him a crowne of gold, a cupped
gold, a chaire of State, a ſcepter of luorie, and a long robe of Purple. To which
agreeth that of Cæſar: That Arioouſtus was by the Senate ſtiled by the name
of King and Friend, and preſented with great and rich gifts; which happened
but to few, and was onely gaue by the Romaines to men of great deſert. How-
beit,

beit, ſuch as had gouernments and imployments abroad, did oftentimes make profit of giuing this honour: whereof Cæſar taxeth Lentulus in the former chapter. And in this ſenſe was king Iuba brought in queſtion, to bee called by the Senate, a Friend and Associate to the State of Rome.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

Souching the franchises and liberties of the townes of Italy, and o-
thers in the dominions of the Romaine Empire, called *Municipia*; it is to be noted, that according to Gellius, thofe were called *Muni-
cipiſ*, that beeing gouerned by their owne lawes, and their owne
Magiſtrates, were neuertheleſſe indow'd with the freedom of Rome. And
therefore Adrianus marauiled, that the Italicenses and Vticenses, did rather
deſire to bee Colonii, and ſotioſe to the obedience of ſtronne & ſtrange lawes,
then to liue in a Municipal state, vnder their owne Rights and Customes; and
as Feſtus addeth, with the vſe of their peculiar rites for matter of religion, ſuch
as they anciellly uſed, before they were priuiledged with the immunitiess of
Rome.

For the better vnderſtanding whereof, we are to obſerue, that there were de-
grees and diſſerences of Municipal townes; for ſome had voices with the Ro-
maine people, in all their elections and ſuffrages: and ſome others had none at
all. For, Gellius in the ſame place, faith, that the Cerites obtained the freedom
of the Cittie, for preſeruing the holy things of Rome, in the time of the warre
with the Galles, but without voice in elections. And thence grew the name of
Cerites Tabule, wherein the Cenlors inroled luch, as were by them for ſome
iuft cauſe deprived of their voices. And the Tuſculani, beeing at firſt received
into the liberties of the Cittie, according to the admiſſion of the Cerites, were
afterward, by the free grace of the people, made capable of giuing voyses.

The meaneſs of obtaining this freedom, was firſt and ſpecially by Birth: when in it was required (as may be gathered by Appius Oration) that both the
Parents, as well the mother as the father, ſhould be free themſelues. Howbeit,
Vlpius writeth, that the ſonne may challenge the freedom of the State, when-
in his father liued and was free. So that the father being of Campania, & the
mother of Puteolis, he iudgeth the ſonne to belong to Campania: According
to that of Canuleius; That the children inherite the condition of the father, as
the head of the Family, and the better rule to direct in this behalfe. Neuerthe-
leſſe, Adrianus made an *Act of Senate* in fauour of Iſſue; That if the wife were
a ciuiten of Rome, and the husband a Latine, the children ſhould be Romaine
Ciuitens. And the Emperor Justinian, cauſed it likewife to be decreted, that
the other beeing a free woman, and the father a bond-man, the ſon ſhould
be free. Such as were thus borne free, were called *Cines originary*.

The ſecond meaneſs of obtaining this freedom, was by Manumission, or
ſetting bond-men at libertie: for in Rome, all men freed from bondage were
taken for Ciuitens; and yet rankt in the laſt and meanelſt order of the people.

Obscurations vpon the first

The third meaneas, was by gift, or cooptation; and to Romulus at first enlarged and augmented Rome; Theseus, Athens; Alexander Magnus, Alexandria, sited at the out-lets of Nilus; and Richard the first, London; by taking all such strangers into the freedome of the Cittie, as had inhabited there for tenne yeeres together. The Emperours were profuse in giuing this honour. Cicero floures Cæsar, for taking whole nations into the freedome of the City; and Anthony gave it to all that lived in the Romaine Empire. Wherevpon, as Vidian wittene steth, Rome was cal'd *Communis Patria*. Popular states were more sparing in this kind; as may be deemeed by the aunswere of one of the Corinthian Embassadours, to Alexander. Wee neuer gaue the freedome of our Cittie (saith he) to any man but to thy selfe and Hercules. And vntill Herodotus time, the Lacedemonians had neuer admitted any, but onely Tisamenus and his brother.

The priuiledges of this freedome were great; for, the Cittizens of Rome were held to be *Maiestate plenos*. Is the best man of Gallia (saith Tully) to be compared with the meanest Cittizen of Rome? And hence came that law, requiring, that the life of a Citizen should not bee brought in question, but by the generall assembly of the people. Verres hauing condemned one Colsanus, a Romaine Cittizen in Sicilia, Tully vrgeth it as a matter vnufferable: *Fatinus est (inquit) vinciri Cinem Romanum, scelus verberari, prope parricidium necari, quid dicam in crucem agi?* wth many the like examples: besides the possiblitie they were in, if their sufficiencie were answerable accordinglie, to become great in the State; and consequently, Commanders of the Empire.

CHAP. IIII.

Cæsar tasteth the affection of the Souldiers.



Cæsar understanding of these things, called the souldiers together, and acquainted them with all the iniuries which his Enemies from time to time had done vnto him; complaining that Pompey was by their practice and meanes alienated from him, and drawne through envy of his good fortune, to partialize against him; notwithstanding that he had alwaies affected his honour, and endeououred the aduancement of his renowne and dignitie: Lamenting likewise the presidencie which the time had brought into the State; that the Tribunes authoritie should be opposed and suppressed by Armes, which former ages had by force of Armes reestablished. For, Sylla hauing stript the Tribuneship, naked of all rights and prerogatives, yet left it the freedome of opposition: But Pompey, who would seeme to restore it to the dignity fr̄ which it was fallen, did take away that power which was onely left vnto it. The Senate neuer resolved of that Act, That the Magistrates should take a course for the scie of the Common-weale, whereby the people were necessarily summoned to Armes;

Commentary of the Ciuill Warres.

Armes; but in times of pernicious lawes, vpon the violence of the Tribunes, or the mutinie and secession of the people, vven the Temples & high places of the Cittie were taken and held against the State: which disloyalties of former ages, were expiated and purged by the fortune and diaster of the Saturnines and the Gracchi. But at this present, there was no such matter attempted, so much as in thought: no law published, no practise with the people; no tumult; no departure out of the Cittie. And therefore adhorteth them; that forasmuch as vnder his leading and command, for nine yeeres together they had most happily carried the government, sought many prosperous and victorious battells, settled all Gallia and Germanie in peace; they would now in the end, take his honor into their protection, and defend it against the malice of his aduersaries. The souldiers of the xiij. legion whch were present (for them onely had hee called out in the beginning of the troubles, and the other legions were not as yet come) cried out instantly, That they were ready to undertake his defence against such wrongs, and to keepe the Tribunes of the people from iniurie.

Wherof *Lex Agraria* was the chiefest.

Plutarch saith, he had the but 500. foot, and 200. horse on that side the Alpes: which amounteth to the iust number of a legion.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

S P publicke-weales and Societie are chiefly supported and maintained by iustice: so likewise, such as liue in the ciuill communite of the same, and injoy the benefit of a well qualified gouernment, doe take themselues interested in the maintenaunce of iustice, and cannot endure the tyrannie of wrongs: vniuersall happily (as every man is partall in his owne caste) they be the authors thereof:clues. The first dutie of iustice, which is, *Ne cui quis noceat*; did Cæsar make the theame of his Oration to the souldiers; aggravating his particular iniuries, by opening and enforcing the malice of his Aduersaries: and making the State a partie in his sufferings, through the oppresion and defacing of the Tribuneship; which in times of libertie, and iust proceeding, was sacred and inviolable.

These remonstrances were apprehended by the souldiers, as matters speci-ally concerning their dutie; holding theselues, either bound to redresse them, or otherwise to be guiltye of betraying their parents, countrey, cōpanions & friends. Some report, that one Lælius, a Primipole of Cæsars Armie, making aunswere to this speech, gaue assurance of the souldiers good affection; which the rest approved with a generall acclamation. Howbeit, the argument lay couched in a Sophisme, pretending Cæsars right, but concluding the ruine of the State.

Cic: 1. officio.

Nobis in iustis quā propulare manūcū. Xe-
mophōn Cyrop.
lib. 1.

Injustis primū mōnū s̄t ne cui quis noceat. Cic.
lib. 1. de officiis.

Qui non defen-
dit me oblitus
s̄t p̄tēt mōrē,
tam s̄t in vīto,
qui si parentes,
s̄t amicos, aut
patriam, aut
ōmēs defrāt. Cic.
lib. 1. off.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

Econdly, we may obserue, that as discord and dissension, renting a-
sunder the bonds of ciuill communite, are the bane of florishing
and opulent Citties, and make the greatest Empires examples of
Mortalitie: so by the same rule of discourse, it is also true, that the
mutuall

Oplulent ci-
uitatis venenū
editio, magna
imperia, morta-
lia reddit. Lys. lib. 2.

Obseruations vpon the first

mutuall respects or well qualifid friendſhip, are as expedient, both for the ſaſtening of the ioynts of a publicke State, & for keeping the particular parts in due temper and proportion, as either treasure, or Armies, or any other thing required therewto. Hence it is that Cicero ſaith, that wee haue as much neceſſity of friendſhip, as of fire and water: and that he that ſhould goe about to take it from among men, did indeauour (as it were) to take the lunne out of the heauen; which by heate, light, and influence, giueth life vnto the world. And as men are eminent in place and authoritie, and haue vſe of many wheeles for the motion of their ſeverall occasions; ſo haue they the more neede of amitie and correſpondencie, to ſecond the multiplicitie of their deſires, and to put on their buſineſſes to their wiſhed ends.

CHAP. V.

Cæſar taketh Arminium, receiueth and aunſwerteth messages from Pompey.



Cæſar hauing ſounded the minds of the ſouldiers, went di- rectly with that legion to Arminium: and there met with the Tribunes of the people that were fled vnto him, ſent for the rest of their legions, from their wintering Campes, and gaue order they ſhould follow him. Thither came young L. Cæſar, whose father was a Legate in Cæſars Camp. And after ſome ſpeech of the occaſion of his coming, acquainted Cæſar, that Pompey had giuen him a message in charge to be deliuere unto him: which was, that he deſired to cleare himſelf to Cæſar, leaſt he might peradventure take ſomething to be done in ſcorne of him, which were commaunded onely for the ſervice of the State; the good whereof he alwayes preferred before any priuate reſpect: and that Cæſar likewiſe was tied in honour to lay aside his indignation and affection for the Common-wealtheſ ſake: and not to be ſo transported with anger and diſſaine of his Adverſaries, as he ſeemed to be; leaſt in hoping to bee avenged of them, he ſhould hurt the publicke weale of his Country. Hee added ſomewhat more of the ſame ſubiect, together with excuses on Pompeys behalfe. Almoſt the ſelfe ſame diſcourse, and of the ſelfe ſame things, Rofcius the Prator dealt with Cæſar, and ſaid that hee had received them in charge from Pompey: whi- though they ſeemed no way to ſatisfie or remoue the iniurieſ and wrongs com- plained of; yet hauing got fit men, by whom that which he wiſhed might be im- parted to Pompey, he praied the both, for that they had brought vnto him what Pompey required, they would not thinke it much to returne his deſires to Pompey; if happily with ſo little labour they might accord ſo great diſſerences, and free all Italy from feare and danger. That he had euer held the dignitie of the Common-weale in high regard, and dearer then his owne life. Hee greeued much,

Commentary of the Ciuiti Warres.

that a benefit giuen him by the people of Rome, ſhould be ſightliſt wreſted fro him by his aduerſaries; that ſix months of his gouernment were to be cut off, & ſo he to be calle home to the Cittie: notwithstanding the people had commaunded at the laſt creation of Magiſtrates, that there ſhould regard be had of him, althoſh absent. Neuertheleſſe, for the Common-wealtheſ ſake hee could be con- tent to undergoe the loſſe of that honour. And hauing writ to the Senate that all men might quit their Armies, he was ſo far from gaining the ſame, that con- trariwise a levie was therewpon made throughout all Italy; and the two legions which were drawne from him, under a preteſe of the Parthian warre, were ſtill retained about the Cittie, which was likewiſe in Armes. And to what tended all this, but his deſtruction? And yet notwithstanding, hee was content to condi- ſcend to all things, and to indure all inconveniences, for the cauſe of the Pub- lique weale. Let Pompey goe to his gouernment and Proninces; let both the Ar- mies be diſcharged; let all men in Italy lay downe their Armes; let the Cittie be freed of feare; the assemblies of the people left to their anciēnt libertie; and the whole gouernment of the State remitted to the Senate and people of Rome. For the better accomplishment whereof, under well advised and ſecure condi- tions, let an oath be taken for due keeping of the ſame: or otherwiſe, let Pompey approache neerer unto him; or ſuffer Cæſar to come neerer to him, that theſe coniouerſies might happily receive an end by confeſſion.

Rofcius, hauing this message, went to Capua, accompanied with L. Cæſar; where finding the Consuls and Pompey, he deliuere unto them Cæſars pro- poſitions. They hauing conſulted of the matter, made an anſWER in writing, and returned it by them to Cæſar, wherof this was the effect; That he ſhould returne into Gallia, quitt Arminium, & diſmiff his Army: which if he diſ, Pompey would then goe into Spaine; in the meane time, vntill aſſurance were giuen that Cæſar wold perform as much as he promiſed, the Consuls & Pompey wold not forbeare to levy ſouldiers. The condiſion was too unequal, to require Cæſar to leaue Ar- minium, and to returne into his Pronince; and Pompey to hold Proninces & legions belonging to other men: to haue Cæſar diſmiff his Army, and he to raiſe new troupeſ; to promiſe ſimply to goe to his gouernment, but to aſſigne no day for his departure: in ſomuch, that if hee had not gone vntill Cæſars time of gouernment had expired, he could not haue been blamed for diſſiſing his promiſe. But for aſmuch as they appointed no time for a confeſſion, nor made any ſhew of comming neerer, there could no hope be conceiued of peace.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

 Aſcar, lying at Ravenna, within his gouernment of Gallia, and vnder- ſtanding how matters paſt at Rome, according as Plutarch reporteth, commaunded diuers of his Centurions to goe before him to Arminium, without any other armour then their ſwords; and to poſſeſſ themſelues thereof with as little tumult as they could. And then lea- ving the troupe about him to be commaunded by Hortensius, he continued awhiile day together in publicke fight of all men, to behold the ſencing of the

D.

Plutarch: in ri-
ta Cæſari.

Sword-

Obseruations vpon the fift

Sword-players. At night nee bathed his body, and then kept company with such as he had bidden to supper; and after a while rose from the table, wishing every man to keepe his place, for he would instantly come againe. Howbeit, hauing secretly commaunded some of his followers to attend him, in such manner as might giue least suspiccion, hee himselfe tooke a Coach which he had hired; and making shew of going a contrary way, turned suddenly towards Arminium. When hee came to the little riuver Rubicon, which diuided his government from the rest of Italie, he stood confounded through remorse of his desperate designde, and wist not whither i were better to returne or goe on: but in the end, laying aside all doubtfull cogitations, he resolued vpon a desparate Adage, importing as much as *Fall back, fall edge*. And passing over the Riuer, neuer staid running with his Coach, vntill he came within the Cittie of Arminium: Where he met Curio & Antonius, Tribunes of the people; and shewed them to the fouldiers, as they were drouen to flic out of Rome, disguised like slaves in a Carriers cart.

It is said, that the night before he passed ouer this Riuer, hee dreamed that he lay with his mother in an vnnaturall senise; but of that, hee himselfe maketh no mention. This Cittie of Arminium, is now called Rimini, and standeth in Remania, vpon the Adriaticke sea, in the Popes dominion. The Riuer Rubicon, was anciently the bounds of Gallia; over which, Augustus caused a faire bridge to be built, with this inscription;

IVSSV. MANDATV-VE. P.R. COS. IMP. MILI. TIRO. COMMIL-
TO. MANIPVLARIS-VE. CENT. TVRMÆ-VE. LEGIONARI-VE.
ARMAT. QVISQVIS. ES. HIC. SISTITO. VEXILLVM. SINITO. NEC
CITRA. HVNC. AMNEM. RVBICONEM. DVCTVM. COMMEA-
TVM. EXERCITVM-VE. TRADVCITO. SI. QVIS. HVIVSCE. IVS-
SIONIS. ERGO. ADVERSVS. FECIT. FECERIT-VE. ADIVDICA-
TVS. ESTO. HOSTIS. P.R. AC. SI. CONTRA. PATRIAM. ARMA-
TVLERIT. SACROSQUE. PENATES. E. PENETRALIBVS. AS-
PORTAVERIT. SANCIO. PLEBISCI. SENATVS-VE. CONSULT-
VLTRA. HOS. FINES. ARMA. PROFERRE. LICEAT. NEMINI.
S. P. Q. R.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

If this manner of proceeding be brought into dispute, and the reasoun required why Cæsar kepe not himselfe in the prouince of Gallia, where he might haue held his government according to his owne desire, or otherwise haue drawne his adversaries to buckle with the strength of those conquering Legions; and so brought the businesse to a shott end, with as great probabilitie of good successe, as by any hazard of vndertaking: It is to bee vnderstoode, that in causes of this nature, which sil-
done admittie anie treatie of accord, hee that striketh first, and hath the advantage

Commentary of the Ciuill Warres.

advantage of the forehand, is well entered into the way of victorie: for, the rule is of old, that if an enemy hath a designde in hand, it is farre more safe to begin first, and by way of preuention, to giue the onset on him, rather then to shew a readinesse of resisting his assaults. For, if blowes (of necessitie) must be way-makers to peace, it were a mistaking to be either wanting or behind hand therin; besides the gaine which attendeth this advantage. For, hee that stands affected to deny what is iust, and of right due, doth neverthelesse grant all things which the sword requireth; and will not sticke to supply all vnjust refusals, with as great an over-plus of what may be demanded. For which cause, Cæsar staid not the comming of his whole Army; but began with those forces which were ready at hand: and so preventing all intendments, hee put his aduersaries to such a straignt, that they quitted Italie for feare, and left Rome (with whatoever was sacred or precious therein) to the mercy of them whom they had adiudged enemies to their Countrey.

Magis terror em-
natur, ut inva-
dere volunt pri-
or occursas, quid
ut te expugna-
rum sumisces.
Thucyd. lib. 6.
Arma tenenti
omnia dat, qui
est a negat.
Lucan. lib. 1.

CHAP. VI.

Cæsar taketh diuers Municipal Townes.

OR which regard, he sent M. Antonius with five cohorts to Arctium: but he himselfe staid at Arminium with two legions, and there intended to inroll new troopes; and with seuerall cohorts, to ke Pisaurum, Fanum, and Ancona. In the meane while, being advertised that Thermus, the Praetor, did hold Tignium, with five cohorts, and fortified the place, and that all the inhabitants were well inclined towards him; he sent Curio thither with three cohorts, which he had at Pisaurum and Arminium. Vpon notice of whose comming, Thermus (doubting of the affection of the towne) drew his cohorts forth of the Cittie, and fled. The fouldiers by the way went from him, and repaired home-ward. Curio was there received with the great contentment and satisfaction of all men. Vpon notice whereof, Cæsar conceiuing hope of the fauourable affections of the Municipal townes, brought the cohorts of the 13 legion out of their guarisons, and marched towards Auximum; a towne held by Atius, with certaine cohorts which hee had brought thither with him: and hauing sent out diuers Senatours, made a levie of men throughout all the Countrey of Picenum.

Cæsar.
Half a legion
being about
2500 men.
Pisaurum.
Pef. or. Ital.
Fanum.
Ancona.
Tignium.

Cæsars comming beeinge knowne, the Decuriones of Auximum repaired to Atius Varus, accompanied with great troopes of people; told him that the matter concerne a not him at all: for, neither themselues, nor the rest of the Municipal townes, would shew their gates against such a Commander as Cæsar was, that by great and worthy seruice had so well deserued of the Common-wealth:

Auximum.
Atius Varus

Picenum.

Obseruations vpon the first

and therefore advised him to consider what might ensue thereof, and the danger which might befall him in particular. Varus, beeing throughly wakened at this warning, drew out the Garrison which he had brought in, and so fled away: and being overtaken by a few of Cæsars first troopes, was compelled to make a stand; and there giuing battell, was forsaken of his men. Some of the sooldiers went home, and the rest came to Cæsar. Amongst them was taken L. Puppius, Centurion of a Primipile order, which place he had formerly held in Pompeys Army. Cæsar commended Atius sooldiers; sent Puppius away; gave thanks to them of Auximum; and assured them of a mindfull acknowledgement on his behalfe for this seruice.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

 Mongst other things which serue to inable our iudgements, and do make men wife to good fortune: that which is gathered from similitude or likenesse of qualitie, is not the vniuersall ground of our discourse; but oftentimes giueth more light to guide our passallge, thorough the doubtfullnes of great enterprises, then any other help of reason: for, he that will attend an overtute from euery particular, and tarry for circumstancess to accomplish all his purposess, & make no vse of instances to better his advantage, shall never wade faire in busynesses of moment, nor atchieue that which he desirereth. Which Cæsar well obserued, for, vpon the accidental discouerie of the disposition of one towne, hee thereby tooke occasion to make triall how the rest stood affected: and either found them or made them answerable to his hopes.

Concerning these places taken by Cæsar, it is to be vnderstood, that *Pisaurum* is sited on the Adriaticke sea, and belongeth to the Dutchie of *Vrbine*; a towne famous of old, by reasoun of the prodigious opening of the earth, and swallowing vp the inhabitants before the battell of *Actium*, some few yeeres after it was thus taken by Cæsar.

Fanum was so calld of a faire Temple which was there buit to Fortune. *Tacit. Annal. 10. Exercitus Vespasiani ad Fanum Fortune iter sifit.* It is a small towne on the same sea, and belongeth to the Pope.

Ancona is a famous towne vpon the Adriaticke sea, sited vpon a boaw-like promontorie, which taketh in the sea betweene two forlands; and so maketh one of the fairest Hauen of all Italie, as well for largenes as for safetie. From whence riseth that common saying, exprefsing the rarenesse and singularity of three things: *Vnus Petrus in Româ*, noting the beauty of Saint Peters Church: *Vna Turris in Cremona*, the excellent workmanship of a steeple there: And *vnum Portus in Ancona*, which is this Hauen. The Emperour *Traian*, to give it more shelter, and keepe it from the furie of the wind, raised the top of the Promontorie in fashion of a halfe moone, with a mount made of great Marble stones: and made it Theater wise, with deccents and degrees to goe to the sea; together with an Arke triumphall in memorie thereof. The towne is now vnder the Pope.

THE

Ital.
Pisaurum.
Anto.

ital.

Ancona.

Commentary of the Ciuell Warres.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

 His word *Decurio* hath a double vnderstanding: for, Romulus ha-
ving 3000 foote, and 300 horse, diuided them into three Tribes, &
euery Tribe into ten Curies, containing 100 foote men and tenne
hortmen. Whereby *Marcellinus* concludeth, that *Decuriones*, et
Centuriones à numero cui in Militia praeerant dicebantur. But *Vegetius* is more
particular in this point. A Companie of footmen (saith he) was called a *Centurie* or *Maniple*: and a troope of horse was called *Turma*, of *Ter-denos*, con-
tayning 30 men, whereof the Captaine was named *Decurio*. In which seruile
Cæsar speakeith; *Ea res per fugitivos L. Aemylj Decurionis equitum Gallorum
hostibus nunciatur*. But in this place it hath another signification: for, the Ro-
maines, when they sent any Citizens to people and inhabite a place, they
chose out every tenth man; such as were found most able, and of best sufficien-
cie, to make and establish a publique Councell: whom they called *Decuriones*;
according as *Pomponius* and other Civilians vnderstandit. So that these *De-
curiones* were the Senate of that place.

Decuriones.

Lib. 2. cap. 24.

Lib. 3. de bell. Gallico.

CHAP. VII.

Lentulus flieth in great feare out of Rome.
Cæsar commeth to Corfinium.

Cæsar.



These things beeing reported at Rome, the Cittie was sud-
denly strooke into such a treuour, that when Lentulus the Con-
sill came to open the Treasurie, and to deliuer out money to
Pompey according to the *Act of Senate*, he fled out of the
Cittie, & left the inner chamber of the Treasurie open. For,
it was reported (although vnruly) that Cæsar was neere
approaching, & that his Canalerie was hard at hand. *Marcellus*, the other Consul,
together with most of the other Magistrates, followed after. Pompey, departing
the day before, was gone to those legions which he had taken from Cæsar, & had
left in Apulia to winter. In the meane while, the inuolvement of sooldiers ceaſed
within the Cittie. No place seemed ſcure betweene that and Capua. There they
began ſirſt to assemble and affre themſelues; imprefling for ſooldiers, ſuch as
by Julius law were ſent thither to inhabite. And the Fencers which were there
trained and exercized by Cæsar, for the entertainment of the people of Rome,
were by Lentulus brought out, ſet at libertie, mounted upon horses, & comau-
ded to follow him. But afterwards, vpon advise of his friends (every mans iudge-
ment diſallowing thereof) he diſperſed them heere and there throughout Cam-
pania, for their better ſafetie and keeping.

Sanctio Ae-
ratio.

Capua.

Lex Iulia.

D 3.

Cæsar.

Obseruations vpon the first

Pompey.

Caesar.

Aemilius.

L. Mum.

Camerinum

Domitius

Albania

Corfinium.

Abanc.

Marat.

Peltia.

5000 men.

Cesair, dislodging from Auximum, marched throughout all the Country of Picenum, and was most willingly received by all the Prefectures of those Regions, and relieved with all necessaries which his soldiery stood in need of; insomuch as Commissioners were sent unto him from Cingulum, a towne which Labinus had founded, and built from the ground at his owne charges, promising to obey whatsoeuer he commaundered: wherevpon he required soldiery, & they sent them accordingly. In the meane time, the twelfth legion overtooke Cesair, and with these two he marched directly to Asenium, a towne which Lentulus Spinther held with ten Cohorts: who, vnderstanding of Cesars approche, left the place; and labouring to carry the troops with him, was forsaken by the greatest part of the soldiery: and so marching with a few, happened by chaunce upon Vibullius Rufus, sent of purpose by Pompey into the Country of Picenum, to confirme and settle the people. Vibullius, being aduertised how matters went there, tooke the soldiery, and so dismissed him of his charge: gathering likewise from the confining Regions, what cohorts hee could get from his former inrolments; and amongst others, entertained L. Hirius, flying with sixe cohorts out of Camerinum, whereof he had the keeping. These being all put together, made 13 cohorts; and by long marches, he made towards Domitius Aeneobarbus, who was at Corfinium, telling him that Cesair was at hand with two legions. Domitius had raised twenty cohorts, out of Albania, Marsia, and Peltia, adiacent Countreys. Asculum beinge taken in, and Lentulus driven out, Cesair made inquiry after the soldiery that had left Lentulus, and commaundered them to bee inrolled for him. And after one daies aboade for the prouision of Corne, he marched towards Corfinium. Vpon his approche thither, Domitius sent 5 cohorts out of the towne, to breake downe the bridge of the Riner, which was about three mile off. The vaungard of Cesars Armie, encountering with Domitius soldiery, drave them from the bridge, & forced them to retrait into the towne; wherby Cesair past ouer his legions, made a stand before the towne, & incamped himselfe under the walles.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Sample enga
ments in the
shape of
coins, &c.
Inventio
nem
in
Tunc
l. 2.

De op.

IT is well obserued by Guichardine, that Insolencie & Timiditie are never found alander, but doe alwaies accompany one another in the same subiect; for, the minde beeing the center of all such motions, doth according to every mans nature, give the like scopeto passions of contrariety, and extend them both to an equidistant circumference; as, if courage shall happen to dilate it selfe to Insolencie, then is doubtfullnesse in like manner enlarged to Cowardice; & will imbaste mens thoughts as lowe, as they did rise in heighth by insuiting. For which cause it is aduised by such as treat of Morality, that men be well warie in admitting dilatation of passions, or insuflating them to fli out beyond the compasse of reason, which containeth the measure of Equabilitie, commended by Cicero, to be obserued throughout the whole courte of mans life. Lentulus the Consull may be an instance of this

Commentary of the Ciuill Warres.

this weakenes, and leare others moderation by shunning his intemperancie. For, in question of qualifying the rage of the broiles, & sorting of things to a peaceable end, his arrogancie was incompatible with tearmes of agreement, and overswaide the Senate with heedlesse impetuositie. And againe, when his authoritie, and Consular grauitie shoud haue settled the distractred Comons, and made good his first resolution, his over-hastie flying out of the Cittie, did rather induce the people to belieue, that there was no safetie within those wals, nor for so small a time, as might serue to haue shut the Treasurie at his heeles; and so became as abieet, as before hee shewed himselfe insolent.

Concerning these words (*Aperto sanctiore aerario*) it is to be noted, that *Aerarium* was their publique Treasurie; and by the appointment of Valerius Publicola, was made within the Temple of Saturne: whereof diuers men make diuers conjectures. Macrobius saith, that as long as Saturne continued in Italie, there was no theft committed in all the countrey: and therefore his Temple was thought the safet place to keepe money in. Plutarch thinketh rather, that the making of the Treasurie in that place, did allude to the integritie of the time wherein Saturne raigned; for, avarice and deceit was not then knowne amongst them. S. Cyprian is of an opinion, that Saturne first taught Italie the vse and coynage of money; and therefore they gaue the keeping thereof to his Dictrie. Howsoeuer; it is manifest, that not onely the publique Treasure was there kept, but also their Records, Chartes, Ordinances and Edictes: together with such bookees as were for their immeasurable greatness, called *Libri Elephantini*; containing all their Acts of Senate and deedes of Armes, atchieued by the Commaunders abroad, as also their militarie Ensignes which they fetched alwaies from thence when they went into the field: and there likewise did such Embassadours as came to Rome, enregiester their names, as Plutarch affirmeth.

It was called *Aerarium Aes*, signifying Bras; for that the first money vfed by the Romaines was of that metall, vntill the yere of Rome 485, as Pliny witnesseth; when they began first to coyne pecces of siluer marked with the letter X, whereof they tooke the appellation of *Denarium*, as valuing ten asles of bras, which before they vfed for their coyne; and euery of the saide asles waighted 12 ounces. Touching their order obserued in their Treasurie, for their disposing and laying vp of their moneys, we must understand, that as bodies politique require necessarie and ordinary treasure to be imployed in such manner, as may best concirre with the publique honour and weale of the same: so there must be speciall care to prouide against vnusuall and extraordinarie calamities, which are not remoued but by speedy and effectuall remedies. According to which prouidence the Romaines disposed of their treasure, and tooke the twentieth part of their receipt, which they called *Aurum vice/simarium*, and referred it apart in an inner chamber; where it lay to priuiledged, that it was a capitall crime to touch it, but in extreame and desperate necessity: as in time of warre with the Galles, or in a sedition and tumult of the people. Luiu affirmeth as much, where he saith, *Catera expedientibus que ad bellum opus erant consilibus, aurum vice/simarii, quod in sanctiore aerario ad ultimos casus seruaretur, prompti placuit, prompta ad quatuor Millia pondo auri.*

Aerarium.
Plutar. in vita
Publicola.
Aerarium po-
populus Romanus,
in aede Saturni
habuit. Plinus.

Libri Elephan-
tinii.

Signa ex Aera-
riu prompta fe-
uentur ad Du-
tatorum. Liv.
lib. 4.

Lib. 3. cap. 33.

Aurum vice/si-
marium.

Observations vpon the first

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

Such as affect offices and dignities in a State, must ever have meanes to court Souerainty, according as may best suite with her Politia, either as she is espoused to a Monarch, or left in trust to a Multitude. Hence it was, that the Romaines to gaine the fauour of the people, & to make way for their owne ends, were very sumptuous in setting forth shewes and spectacles, of diuers sorts and fashions; and specially of Gladiators or Fencers, as best fitting a Romaine disposition, & more pleasing then others of any kind. *Equidem (faith Tully) existimo, nullum tempus esse frequentioris populi, quam illud Gladiatorum, neque concionis ullius, neque verò ullorum Commitiiorum.* And in another place; *Id autē spectaculi genus erat, quo omni frequentia, atque omni hominum genere celebratur, quo multitudo maximi delectatur.*

Their manner was to keepe great numbers of these Fencers, in some conuenient and healthfull townes of Italie, as at Rauenna, & Capua (which were as Seminaries of these people) and there to traine them vp in the scie of fencing, vntill they had occasion to vse them in their shewes, either at their triumphall entries into the City vpon their victories, or at the funeral solemnitie of some personage of memorie; or otherwaise at their feasts and iollities.

*Quin etiam exhilarare viris convivia cade
Mos olim, et misere epulis spectacula diva.*

They fought commonly man to man, at all aduantage, and were sildome excused, vntill one of the two lay dead vpon the place. Neither was he then quitted that had slaine his companion, but stood liable to vndertake another, and so a third, vntill he had foiled sixe or seauen Combattants. And if his hap were to preuaile so often, he was then honoured with a Garland wound about with ribands of wooll, which they called *Lemnisci*, and receiuied of the Praetor a great knotted staffe, called *Rudis*; which he afterward carried about with him as an ensigne of libertie. These bloody spectacles continued vnto the time of Constantine the great; and were by him prohibited, as likewise also by Arcadius and Honorius; and vtterly abolished after the raigne of Theoderick, king of the Gothes. Let him that would looke further into the fashions of these shewes, read what Lipsius hath written concerning the same. That which I obserue heerein, is, the vse which the State made heereof: for, howsoeuer these fights and solemnities were sette forth for the compassing of priuate ends; yet neuerthelesse, the Common-weale drew benefit from the same. For, a multitude beeing of a fickle and mutabile nature, are no way so well settled with contentment of the time, or kept from nouelties and innovations, as with publick shewes and entertainments: which are as staies to their affections, that they swarue not from the government by which they liue in ciuill consociation. So we read how the Grecians instituted, as popular entertainments, their Olympian, Nemean, Iltmean, and Pythian Games; The Romaines, their Apollinary, Secular, Gladiatory, and Hunting shewes, with Tragedies and Comedies: and

all

Commentary of the Ciuill Warres.

all for the satisfaction of the people. Wherin, howsoeuer the Grecians seeme more judicious, for inventing such Games as might both exercise and entertaine the people, yet the Romaines failed not of the end aymed at in these spectacles; which was, to inure them to bloud and slaughter, and to make the dreadlesse in cases of horrour.

But, to leaue all shewes of this nature, as either too little for earnest, or too much for pastime; it shall suffice to note, that these publique entertainement are so farre expedient as they consist of pleasure and comelinesse: for, as their chiefe end is to pleasure and content the people; so their manner must be directed by lawfullnesse and honestie. In which respect, a Tragedy is more commendable then a Comedy; forasmuch as few comicall arguments doe sympathise with honestie.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.



O be great, and of a large proportion, doth not take away casualties of inconuenience; nor can it giue a priuiledge, to free things from distemperature: tall men are as subiect to Feavers, as others of lesser stature; and great Empires as easilly disturbed, as the states of pettie Princes.

*O faciles dare summa Deos, cademque tueri
difficiles!*

Lucan. lib. 1.

It is easier to attaine the end of high desires, then to keepe it being got: and better is the assurance of seeking, then of possesing. The Romaine people that had over-awed the world with Armes, & left no kingdom unvoiled with the fear of their legions, were as much dismayed at a subiects disloialtie, as was possible for a meane State to be amuzed vpon an alarum of any danger. And that City which suffered no enemie to approche neer her confines, but in the condition of a Captiue, was not trusted as able to giue her owne people safety.

*sic turba per Urbem
Principiti lymphata gradu, velut unica rebus
Spes foret afflctis patrios exceedere muros,
Inconsulta ruit.*

Lucan. lib. 1.

Parare, et quare arduū tueri difficulter. Ltr. lib. 37.

The aduantage is, that kingdomes of great command, haue great helps in cases of disturbance; but are otherwaise as subiect to apprehensiōs of distrust, as those of lesser power to resist.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

Cæsar goeth on with the siege of Corfinium, and taketh it.

DOMITIUS, being thus ingaged, sent out skilfull men of the Country, with promise of great reward to carie Letters to Pompey, intreating and praying, that he would come and relieve him; for, Cæsar, by reason of the straigtnesse of the passages, might with two Armies bee easily shut up: which opportunity if he neglected, himselfe, with above 30 cohorts of souldiers, besides a great number of Senators and Romaine Knights, were in danger of running a hard fortune. In the meane time, hee exhorted his men to courage and resolution; placed his* Artillery on the walles; assigned euery man his quarter to bee made good; promised in publique assembly of the souldiers, four akers a peece to each man out of his owne lands and possessions: and the like rateable parts to the Centurions and Enocates. Meane-while, it was told Cæsar, that the inhabitants of Sulmo, a towne distant seauen miles from Corfinium, were desirous to receive his commandments, but that they were restrained by Q. Lucretius, a Senatour, & Atius Pelignius, that kept the towne with a garrison of seauen cohorts. Whereupon, he sent thither M. Antonius with five cohorts of the seauenth legion: whose Ensignes were no sooner discovered by thofe of the towne, but the inhabitants and souldiers came all out, to gratulate and welcome Antonius. Lucretius and Atius conuained themselues ouer the wall. Atius beeing taken to be sent to Antony, desired to be sent to Cæsar. Antony returning the same day, brought Atius & the souldiers that were foundin Sulmo, to Cæsar, whom he tooke to his Army, and sent Atius away in safetie.

Cæsar, the three first daies, made great workes to fortifie his Campe; caused store of corne to be brought from the townes next about him; and there determined to stay the coming of the rest of his forces. Within the space of those three daies, the eight legion came unto him, with 22 cohorts newly inrolld in Gallia, together with CCC. horse, which the King of Noricum had sent unto him. Vpon the arrival of which forces, he made second Camp on the other side of the towne, and appointed Curio to commandit. The rest of the time was spent in compassing the towne with a Rampier and with Castells: the greatest part of which worke beeing finisched, it chaunced at the same time, that such as were sent to Pompey, returned. The Letters, beeing read, Domitius dissembling the truth, gaue out in the counsell of warre, that Pompey would come speedily to succour them: and therefore wifhed that no man shoulde be dismayed, but to prepare such things as were of use for the defence of the towne; and hee himselfe conferring secretly with some of his familiar friends, consulted how he might escape away. But forasmuch as his looks agreed not with his words, and that his cariage seemed more troubled and timorous then vsuall, & likewise his secret conferences,

Commentary of the Ciuell Warres.

as also his avoiding of publique concells and assemblies, as much as hee could, the matter coulde bee no longer dissembled. For, Pompey had writ backe, that hee woulde not hazard the cause, by drawing it into such tearmes of extremite: neither was Lomitius ingaged in the keepeing of Corfinium by his aduise or consent; & therefore, if by any meanes he could, he shoulde quit the place, and bring the forces unto him: But the siege was so straight, and the workes did so gird the towne, that there was no hope of effecting it. Domitius purpose being knowne abroad, the souldiers within the towne, about the beginning of the euening forsooke their stations, and drewe themselves apart, and therevpon had conference with the Tribunes of the souldiers and Centurions to this effect: That they were besieged by Cæsar, and the fortifications almost finished; their Generall Lomitius (in hope and confidence of whom they were engaged in that place) setting aside all matters whatsoeuer, was bethinking himselfe how hee might escape and flee away: and in regard thereof, they were not to neglect their owne safetie. The Marsi at first began to differ from the rest, vpon that point; possest themselves of that part of the towne which seemed to be strongest: and such a dissencion thereby grew amongst them, that they had almost gone to blowes. Howbeit, understanding a while after (by messengers which past to and fro betweene them) of Domitius purpose to flee away, whereof formerly they were ignorant, they agreed together, and with one consent brought Domitius out into open publique; and sent some to Cæsar, to let him know, they were ready to open the gates to receive his commandements, and to deliuer Domitius aliuine into his hands. Vpon advertisement whereof (albeit Cæsar found it a matter of great consequence, to gaine the towne with as much speed as he could, and to take the souldiers into his Campe, least either by large promises and gifts, or by entretyning other purposes, or otherwise through false bruits or deuided messages, their mindes might happely be altered, as oftentimes in the course of war, great and eminent chances & alterations do happen in a smal moment of time; yet for that he feared least the night time might gaine occasion to the souldiers vpon their entrance to sack & pifer the towne) hee comending those that came vnto him, sent them back againe, & willed that the gates & the walles shoulde be kept with a good guard. He himselfe disposed the souldiers vpon the worke, which hee had begun; not by certayne spaces and distancies, as he had accustomed the dayes before, but by continuall watches and stations, one touching another round about all the fortifications. Moreover, he sent the Tribunes & Captaines of the horse about, and willed them to haue a care that there might be no ruptures or fallies, and that they shoulde looke to the priuate slippings out of particular men. Neither was there any man so heauie or dull, that suffered his eyes to be shut that night; for, so great was the expectation of what would ensue, that no man thought of any other thing, then of what would happen to the Corfinians, to Lomitian, to Lentulus and the rest. About the fourth watch of the night, Lentulus Spinther spake from the wall to our souldiers that had the watch, and signified that hee would willingly haue leaue to come to Cæsar: which being graunted, he was sent out of the towne, attended with some of Domitius souldiers, who left him not vntill he came in sight of Cæsar. With him he dealt concerning his life, & praid him

Obseruations vpon the first

him to pardon him; put him in mind of their former familiarity; acknowledged the fauours received from Cesar, which were very great; namely, that by his meane, he was chosen into the Colledge of Priests; that vpon the going out of his Pratorship, he obtained the prouince of Spaine; and in his suit to be Consull, hee was much assysted by him.

Cesar, interrupting his speech, told him, that hee came not from his government to hurt any man; but to defend himselfe from the iniurie of his aduersaries; to restore the Tribunes of the people to their dignitie, that were thrust out and expell'd the Cittie; and to put himselfe and the people of Rome into liberty, which were opprest with the partialties of a few factious persons. Lentulus, being reassured vpon this answere, prayed leaue to retурne into the towne; and the rather, that this which he had obtained touching his owne safety, might giue hope to the rest: amongst whom, some were so affrighted, that hee doubted they would fall into some desperate course; and having obtained leaue, hee departed. Cesar, as soone as it was day, commannded all the Senators and Senators children, together with the Tribunes of the souldiers, and the Romaine Knights, to be brought out vnto him. Of Senatours, there were L. Domitius, P. Lentulus Spinther, Vibulius Rufus, Sex: Quintilius Varus, the Treasurer, L. Rubius; besides Domitians sonne, and many other young men: with a great number of Romaine Knights and Decurions, whom Domitius had called out of the Municipal Townes. These beeing all brought forth vnto him, were protected from the insolencies and iniurie of the souldiers. Moreover, he spake a few words vnto them, concerning the ill requitall on their behalfe, for the great benefites hee had done unto them; and so sent them all away in peace.

The gold which Domitian had laid vp in the publique Treasury, being brought vnto him by the two chiefe Magistrates or Bailiefes of Corfinium, he redelivereu to Domitian; least hee shoule seeme more continent in taking awaymens lues, then their moneys: although he knew, that this money was part of the publique treasure, and deliuereu out by Pompey to pay souldiers. He commannded Domitians partie to be sworne his souldiers. And that day remouing his Camp, went a full daies march through the confines of the Marmurci, Frentani, & Larinati, and came into Apulia.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

No man is true, that a friend is not sole tied to the respects of right; but doth give more advantage by offices of good indeuour, then by that which dutie requireth: so is it dangerous for a man to putt his fickle further into a haruest, then happily may deserue thankes of the owner. Neither can it be cleared from imputation of follie, to care an other mans busines, with hazard and perill of our own fortune. Howbeit, the Current & drift of things, doth oftentimes so ingage both our persons and affections, either in the maine action it selfe, or in some circumstancies of the same, that we cannot avoid the hazard of rebuke, if our indeuours doe not sorte with

Latin
part of
Sicilia
in quam
dicitur
Regia.

Studia
sive
ad
admiranda
sive
privata
sive
S. S. de
bello Italicis.

Commentary of the Ciuill Warres.

with his liking that is to approoue them. VVhereof Domitius may be an instance; who, taking Corfinium on the behalfe of the State, was neuerthelesse disfavoured in his merit, and consequentlie, brought into extremitie of danger, for his over-forwardnes in the seruice of his Country. Such libertie hath foyntie, either to take or leaue, when the event shal not rise answerable to a good meaning.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

Non a partie is fallen into an exigent, it hath no better remedie for relief then that of the Comick, *Redimas te captum quam queas minimo*; which is not understood, that we shoule cleare the head, and leaue the rest of the members to misfortune: for, that were to draw a double mischefe on the whole bodie. But the head is to escape with as little prejudice to the other parts, as by wisedome and vertue may be gained; and so much the rather, least in seeking to purchase safetie with hazard of the other members, it draw the whole destruction vpon it selfe; as it fell out with Domitius: Who, going about to fie out of the towne, and to leaue such forces as by his meanes were imbarke in that caufe, was iustly made the sacrifice of their peace. Sulla deserued better to be followed by men of adventure: for, beeing mooued to escape himselfe away by night, and to leaue his troopes to such fortune as Iugurth vpon advantage shoule put vpon them; answered, *Etiam si certa pessis adfaret, mansurum potius, quam proditis quos duebat, turpi sua, incerta ac forsan paulo post morbo interitur a vita parceret*. And therefore, if a Commander shall at any time goe about to betray his forces, with hope of his owne safetie, the issue will bring out either his dishonour, or his confusion.

*Salust. de bello
Iugurth.*

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

Such as vndertake great desaignes, doe likewise project the meanes of atchieuing the fame, & doe propound vnto themselves such prin-ciples to be obserued, as they take to be speciaill way-makers to the fortune they reach at; from which grounds they seldome or neuer swarue. As appeareth by this of Cesar; who ayng at the souerainty of that Empire, and knowing no way so direct to leade him therewnto, as to clime vp by the steps of Mildnes, and to make his Aduersaries debtors to his clemency, he left aside his Maximes of war, to hold firme that principle; and did forbeare to gaine a towne of great importance, with that speed which occasio & opportunitie did affoord him, and to take the troopes into his Campe, for the preuention of such chaunces and changes, as doe happen in a small moment of time; least his souldiers entering into the towne, after the shutting of the euening, might take leaue of the night time to make forfeiture of his mercie.

Observations vpon the first

It shall therefore be well-becoming the wisedome of a Leader, to haue alwaies respect to the principles of his Meanes, and to distinguish between that which is fit and that which is more fit, in the native cariage of his busynesse.

THE FOVRTH OBSERVATION.



Concerning this *Colligium Pontificum*, the Colledge of Priestes; we are to note, that Numa, the founder of the Romaine Commonwealth, for the preventing of partialities and factions in that State, which at that time consisted of two Nations or Tribes, did breake the whole bodie into manie small parts and fractiōes, making his diuision by Artes and Occupations; whereby he ordained, that all Minstrels or Trumpeters should bee incorporated into one Brotherhood: and that in like manner, Goldsmithes, Carpenters, Diers, Shoemakers, Cottiers, Tawyers, Belfounders, Potters, & all other trades & Sciences, shoule haue their peculiar body or Fraternitie; appointing them feasts, assemblies, and seruices, according to the worthines of each mysterie, as Plutarch hath obserued in the life of Numa.

Valerius Maximus maketh mention of the Colledge of Pipers or Minstrels. And Plinie, in like manner, mentioneth the Colledge of Coppersmithes. Cicero taketh notice of the colledge or companie of Marchants, which he calleth *Collegium Mercurialium*; for that of old time, the nimble tongued Mercurie was believed in, as the Guider and Protector of Marchants. The priuileges & customes where-with these Fraternities were endowed, are set downe by Caius, the Ciuilian. There are certaine Colledges at Rome, saith hee, incorporated by Act of Senate, and establisched with good ordinances and constitutions, hauing certaine things in common, in imitation of the publique weale: And as Scenola further noteth, with power to make lawes, for the better government of such Colledges and Societys; so the same be not contrary to the fundamental lawes of the State. After the same manner, the Priestes had their peculiar Colledge or corporation; & at the first institution were but foure in number, and all of Parician families, vnto the yeere of Rome 454: at what time there were foure of the Commons chosen, and added to the former number; whom Sulla increased to 15, as Dio; witnesseth. And these were called *Collegium Pontificum*, wherof this *Pontifex Maximus* was president: one of the absolutest dignities of Rome; as being for tearme of life, and of greatest and divine authority. Which generall distribution of the Romanes into trades and mysteries, doth not vniſtly bring into remembrance, that which is vfull amongst the Turks, who by their law, are al bound to be of an occupation; not excepting the Grand Signior himselfe. For, hee that now vpholdes the Ottoman familie, by the name of *Sultan Acmet*, is a professed maker of rings, which the Turks doe wear on their thumb when they shooote, to let the string go easily without hurting them: and his father Mahomet was a Fletcher, and made arrowes. In like manner, all his Courtiers are of trades and occupations; and every man is called by the title of his Artas; he that was lately Visier Baffa to the present Sultan, was called by the name of *Natcaſh Basha*; the Visier Painter, beeing indeed

the

Commentary of the Ciuill Warres.

the Sultans Painter; neither are they alhamed to acknowledge as much: for, opening Letters which were sent into Turkie out of Christendome, that were limmed about the Margin, said, he could paint as well as that himselfe.

THE FIFT OBSERVATION.



HE fist thing which I obserue out of these passages at Corfinium, is the retoring back of such monies to Domitian, as were brought vnto Caesar by the Officers of the towne, and which he knew to be of the publique treasure of the State. Which howsoeuer may seeme admirable to the hearers of these times, wherein there is but this one rule for matter of mony, *Vnde habet as querit nemo, sed oportet habere*: Yet such as will lay a sure foundation of honour, and thrive in the courses which they follow, must not be ignorant, that there is nothing more requisite to gaine opinion & reputation in the carriage of any publique busynel, then to bee cleare of the least suspition of couetousnes. Neither is there any meanes that will sooner win a multitude, to believe in those thinges which are set abroad by publique Authoritie, then those two virgin vertues, Abſtinenſe & Continenſe: especially when they are found in Princes and chiefe Comaunders, that can other wife iuftifie their actions with fouveraintie & vneconuolement. Nor on the other ſide, did euer Apollo give out truer Oracle then that, which faide; that there was no meanes to ruine Sparta but by Auarice.

In which ſense, C. Pontius, the Samnite, wifched, that the Gods had refuſed him to times wherein the Romanes would haue beeene corrupted with gifts: for, then he would ſoone haue ſene an end of their Commonwealth. And certaintainely, that Empire could neuer haue tolled ſo high, nor continued ſirme to many ages, had not her foundation been laid by men of admirable temper in this kind: Such as was Paulus Aemilius; who hauing ſacked Macedonia, and brought as much wealth into the publique Treasuries, as gaue an end to Tributes and Subſidies, was no way the richer (but in honour) for all that hee had taken. And ſuch alſo was Scipio Africanus; that of all the wealth of Carthage, brought nothing into his private houſe, but a high and triumphant Name, as a merit of his vertues and deeds of Armes: Leauing behinde him this Oracle, as a document to following times: That covetous Capitaines are good to no one but to the Enemie. And to conclude, ſuch was M. Curius, who hauing triuſhed of the Samnites, the Sabines, and Pyrrhus, refuled a great mafs of Gold, which was offered him by the Samnites: eſteeming it more honourable, to comaund them that had Gold, then to haue Gold of his owne. Howbeit, ſuch is the frailetie of humaine nature, that for the molt part, men haue alwaies ſuffered their deſire of money, to increaſe with their wealth, although it were to their ruine and deſtruction. VWhich Caesar well diſcerned, as appeareth by that whiche he wrot to Oppius, touching this accident: *Hec noua fit vincendi ratio, ut misericordia et liberalitate nos muniamus*.

*Caput autem, in omni pro-
ratione negotiis, et muneri Pub-
lici, et amicis, et
petitorum etiam
minimis ſuſcio.*
*Nigra autem, concorde facilis
honestus, et
multitudinis
poffit, y querit
pub. pte, int.,
quam abſtinen-
tia et continen-
tia. Cicero.*

Cic. lib. 1. Officii.

*Imperatores
mancribus hi-
mantes, Hoplitas
int'peneſt, Appam, de bell.
Hippam.*

Cic. Cato Maior

THE SIXT OBSERVATION.

Pon occasion of Cæsars calling vnto him, out of the towne, *Senatores, senatorumque filios, Equitesque Romanos*, it shal not seeme impertinent, to note the degrees and conditions of state whereof the Romaine people consisted. For the better clearing wherof, it is to be understood, that by that notable transaction at Comitium, betweene Romulus and Tatius, it was agreed; that both those Nations should dwell together at Romulus towne, which after his name, shoulde bee called Rome: and that the inhabitants thereof, shoulde be named *Quirites*, after the name of Tatius Cittie. Howbeit, speciallie they were diuided into three Tribes, whereof they which were of Romulus partie, were called after his name, *Ramnenses*; those that came with Tatius, *Tatienes*; and the third Tribe *Lucerentzes*, of *Lucus*, a Groue: so farfmuch as they beeing neither of Romulus retinew, nor yet of the Sabines, were neverthelesse met together at that place, from diuers parts, as at a Groue where commonly assemblies were made to offer sacrifice, and to perorme their heathenish solemnities.

Each of these Tribes were diuided by Romulus into ten Curiae; and so made the number of 30 Curiae. And out of each of these Curiae, he chose 3 persons, such as by their presence and sufficiencie, seemed fittest, and most worthy; which amounted to ninetie. To whom, out of eury Tribe hee further added three, and one more of his owne choosing, to make the number vp a hundred; whom he established as his Counsell or Senate: by whose aduise he resolued of all matters of consequnce, either concerning peace or warre, as Dionitus Halicarnassus noteith. Howbeit, Plutarach saith, they were sildome assembled but to vnderstand the Kings pleasure: and had no other preheminence in the Common-weale, sauing they were the first that did knowe what was purposed. Howsoever; they were stiled by the name of *Senatores, quasi seniores*, as thereby qualifid to be admitted to Counsell: and in the same lense they were called *Patres*.

The Senate beeing thus established, Romulus selected out of eury of those Curiae ten young men, and so made vp the number of three hundred for a guard to his person: who for their readinesse and nimblenesse were called *Celeres*; all mounted on horsebacke: whence grew their *Ordo Equestris*, or band of Romaine knights, which were the meane betweene the Senate and the people; and as a Seminarie to supply the Senate; for, out of them were the Senators taken. The rest, that were not of these two Orders, were comprehended vnder the name of the Commons, or Populacy. Wherby it appeareth, that Rome consisted of three estates; Senators, Knights, and the Commons; according to that of Aufonius;

Muria Roma triplex; Equitatu, Plebe, Senatu.

Touching the number of Senators, it is further to be noted, that Tarquinius Priscus, to gaine the fauor of the people, tooke 100 of the Commons, & added them to the Senate, who were called *Senatores minorum Gentium*. And Brutus hauing

Commentary of the Ciuell Warres.

hauing reduced it to a Common-weale, mad the vp three hundred out of the band of Knights; and from that time they were called *Patres conscripti*. Neither were they at all times limited in that number: for, the seditious *Gracchi* added 300 more vnto them: and Julius Cæsar admitted vnto the Senate all manner of persons. In which regard, Augustus (as Suetonius saith) *Senatores affluentem numerum, deformi, et incondita turba (erant enim super mille, et quidam indignissimi) ad modum prislinum et splendorem redigit.*

Concerning a competencie of wealth, to make a man capable of the place of a Senator; we may obserue, that in the raigne of Sennius, the King, hee that was worth a thousand asles (which are about 300 pound sterling) was eligible. But the ritches of the Empire increasing, a Senators wealth was rated at nine thousand pound, according to Suetonius; *Senatorum sensum ampliavit, ac pro ostentorum milliū summa duodecies H-S taxavit, supplevitque non habentibus.* The wealth of a Romaine Knight, was rated at three hundred three score, or there abouts.

This Corfinium, was the chiefe towne of the Pelignians, and stooide in the center of Italie, where all the confederate people assembled when they consulted of warre against the Romaines, for their right of Burgeshippe, or freedome of the Citie, which was then denied them: which war was called *Bellū sociale, Maricū, and Italicū*. There is now nothing remaining of that towne but the ruines, as a marke of the place where it anciellty stood vpon a Plaine, commonly called Pentina, or Sant Peligno.

Patres conscripti.

Suetonius, 35.

Suetonius, 41.

Corfinium.
Strabo, lib.6.

CHAP. IX.

Pompey goeth to Brundusium: Cæsar maketh
meanes to treat with him.

Cæsar.

Pompey, understanding of those things which had past at Corfinium, departed from Liceria, and went to Canusium, and from thence to Brundusium; causing all the power hee could to be raised by new musters and inrolements, arming shepheards and slaves, and mounting them on horsebackes, of whō he made some 300 horse. In the meane time, L. Manlius, the Prator, fled from Alba with sixe cohorts; and Rutilius Rupus, Prator, fled from Taracina with three cohorts, who desyring a farre off the Caualrie of Cæsar, commaunded by Binius Curius, for taking the Prator, turned their Ensignes towards Curius, and ioyned with him. In like manner, the daies following, diuers other cohorts came in as they marched, some to the foote troopes, and some to the horse. Cn: Magius of Cremona, maister of the workes, and of the munition in Pompeys Army, was taken on the way, and brought backe to Cæsar: whom he sent backe againe to Pompey, with commission to treat with him to this effect; For a much

Observations vpon the first

asmuch as there had yet happened no opportunity of meeting or conference, hee was now determined to seek him at Brundusium; for, it much importeth the common-weale, and every mans safety in particular, that they two might conser together. Neither could things bee so well handled, vpon so great a distance of way, where the articles of treatie must be caried to and fro by a third partie, as when they met face to face to conclude of the conditions.

This message being first giuen, he came to Brundusium with sixe legions, four legions of old souldiers, and the other raised by new inrolements, or made vp as he came along the Countrey: for, he had presently dispatched Domitians cohorts from Corfinium into Sicily. At his comming, he found the Consuls gone ouer to Dyrrachium, with the greatest part of the Armie, and Pompey remaining at Brundusium with twentie cohorts. Neither could hee certainly bee informed, whither he remained at Brundusium to make good the towne, whereby he might the easier be maister of the Adriaticke sea, and commaund both the utter parts of Italy, and the Regions of Greece, and so to keep the warre on foote on the one side and on the other, or whether he staid there for want of shippings. Howsoever, he would not endure, that Pompey shold thinke hee could not be forced to quit Italie; and therefore resolued to stop vp the mouth of the Hauen, & to take away the use thereof, which he went about in this manner: Where the mouth of the Hauen was narrowest, hee raised great mounts of earth on either sideneare unto the shoure; for, there the Sea was shallow: but going further into the deepe, where no such mounts could be raised, hee placed double flottes of wood, right against the same mounts, of thirtie foote square; and at the corners cast ouer Ankers to fasten them. These flottes beeing thus placed, hee then added other flottes of the same scantling, and covered them with bawin and earth, so the end men might come readily vpon them to defend them. Hee armed them in front and on each side, with hurdles and gabions; and on every fourth flotte, made a towre of two stories high, the better to defend them from violence of shippings, and from burning.

Against this worke, Pompey sent out great shippes of burthen, which he found in the Hauen, armed with towres of three stories high, full of munition, & all sort of weapons, to hinder and disturbe the same. So that every day they fought a faire off each with other, with slings, arrowes, and other casting weapons. Which busynesse Cæsar so carried, as being willing not to let fall the conditions of peace, if happily it might be effected. And albeit hee greatly wondered that Magius, whom hee had sent to Pompey, did not returne againe; and that this Treatie so often attempted, did hinder much his desaignes: yet hee thought it fitte by all meanes to perfeuer therein: and therefore sent Caninius Renilus, one of his Legates, and an inward friend, and neere allied to Scribonius Libo, to speake with him, commaunded him to perswade Libo to mediate a reconciliation, and that Cæsar himselfe might speake with Pompey. It might be, that therevpon, both of them would yeeld to lay downe their Armes vpon euall conditions: the greatest part of which honour would redound to Libo, if by his intercession the warre might take an end.

Libo, having heard Caninius, went straight to Pompey; and within awhile returninge,

Commentary of the Ciuell Warres.

returning, told him: That forasmuch as the Consuls were absent, there could be nothing done touching an agreement. Wherevpon, Cæsar resolued to let fall the matter of Treatie, which hee had so often attempted, and to prepare for warre.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



His accident of taking Cn. Magius, hath made knowne an officer of great place and vfe in the Romaine Armie, of whom otherwise their Histories make little mention. For, howsoever there is found in these Commentaries, many particular descriptions of admirable and incredible workes; such as may seem to be made rather by Giants & Cyclops, then any labour of man; yet there is no mention of any *Præfector Fabrum*, or Maister of the workes in any of Cæsars Armies. Howbeit, Vegetius, expressing their singular care to haue in abundance all manner of prouisions requisite for an Armie, saith; That to every legion did belong Carpenteres, Bricklaiers, Smithes, Painters, & other Artizans, skilfull and fit to build lodgings for their wintering Campes; to make Engines and deuises for warre; such as were their portatiue, or ambulatorie towres, targets, motions, corflets, bowes, arrowes, darts, and piles: or whatsoeuer else might serue, either for offence or defence. Whiche Artificers were all knowne by the name of *Fabri*; and he that was Chiefe, and had the commandement of them, was called *Præfector Fabrum*. And in like manner, Plutarch sheweth, that there was such an officer; as also, that the place was giuen by the General; where hee saith, that Vibius a Sicilian, refused to lodge Cicero, as hee passed to exile, thorough Lucania; although that in his Consulshippe hee had beslowed vpon him the place of *Præfector Fabrum*. And albeit Cæsar maketh no mention of any such officer; yet Catullus dooth it for him, in such biting Trimetres as will not be forgotten:

*Quis hoc potest videre, quis potest pati
Disi impudicus, et vorax et Helluo,
Mamurram habere, quod comata Gallia
Habebat et ultima Britannia?*

Of which Mamurra, Plinie thus writeth; Cornelius Nepos, saith hee, wri-
teth, that Mamurra, a Romaine knight, borne at Formia, and Maister of the
workes vnder Cæsar, in Gallia, was the first that covered all the walles of his
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Lib. 2. cap. 11.

*Plutarch in the
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Lib. 36. cap. 6.

Observations vpon the first

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Commentary of the Ciuiti Warres.

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Lib. 36. cap. 6.

Observations vpon the first

that made the pillars of his houle of Iolide Marble, euen hewen out of the quarries of Catistus, or Luna: Thus farre goeth Pliny. Out of which may be noted, that exorbitancie in gaining, doth produce the like course in spending; and howsoeuer such commings in may be clofe and secret, yet the issuing out will proclame it in profuse and lauishing manner: and therefore, such as command in these places, and haue such meanes to intich them selues, had neede to be cleane fingered. Cæsar writing to Oppius, mentioneth the taking of this man, as a thing of some note. *Cn: Magium, Pompei Praefatum deprehendis scilicet, meo instituto vñs sum, et eum statim missum feci: iam duo Praefiti fabrum, in meam potestatem venerunt, et à me missi sunt.* Concerning the vse of these manuell Artes, and the prerogatiue they haue in well ordered States; it is to be noted, that without these, no Cittie can conueniently be built, fortisfied, or furnished with Armes. And therupon such Artizans, haue alwaies chalenged a place of chiefe regard in the Common-weale. Whence it was, that Vllices icorner not *cefabrum profiteri.*

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

PHE *Maxime proprium* of warre, is opposition; and that vniuersall, rather then any other kind of repugnancie: for, there is no sympathising condition betweene two enemie Armies, otherwise then by mutual exchange of *velle et nolle*, throughout the whole course of their intendements; as may be here obserued vpon Cæsars attiuall at Brundusium. For, finding Pompey to remaine there after the departure of the Consuls, and not certaintly informed of the reaon of his stay; least he should think he could not be forced to quit Italy, Cæsar went about to thrust him out headlong: or otherwise, if his purpose were to follow after the Consuls to Dyrrachium, Cæsars designe then was to shuc him in, and so to haue followed the rule of contradiction, by which fouldiers are directed in their atchicements.

Concerning the site of Brundusium, which hath euer been famous for the commodiousnesse of the Hauen, and the vsuall port where the Romaines tooke shipping for Greece; being but a hundred Italian miles distant from Apollonia in Epirus. We are to note, that the towne standeth vpon a Langer of earth, extended into the Hauen Peninsule-like from the maine land, resemblinge the neck and head of a Stagge, and in that regard is called Brundusium, of *stagnum*, which signifieth a Stagge: which Langer hath many crooked guts, or inlets of the Sea, capable of great shipping; besides the two maine Ports on either side of the towne, which with the rest of the Hauen, make the safest and fairest roade of that part of the world. The mouth of the Hauen where Cæsar made his flottes, is very straight; and opposite therewnto, some three miles distant into the Sea, standeth a small Iland, to abate the violence and rage of the waues. Now, to besiege Brundusium, it was requisite to take away the vse and benefit of the Hauen: which Cæsar attempted with such rare and artificall works (of mounts where the Sea was shallowle, and of flottes where the water





water was deepe; and thole made firme with earth, and fenced with hurdles & turrets) that the Reader may discerne it, by the description, to bee a Maister-peice of excellent invention.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

Tis truly said of old; That peace is not deare at any rate. Which Antiochus well vnderstood, when he bought it of the Romanes for twelve thousand Attick talents, and 540000 bushels of wheate: Etheeming it as the fountaine happynesse of mans fortune; and an extraordinary effect of those intelligent spirits, which guide the motions of the celestiall spheres, to keepe the elements in a disagreeing concord, and the sorte of men in the pathes of tranquillitie. Hence it is, that such as are instruments of so great a good, and shall thereby happen to redeme a Nation from horror and confusio[n], haue in all ages been crowned with honor & renoume, as the due rewardes of a Mediatour of Peace. And therefore Cæsar, perswading Libo to negotiate a cessation of Armes, and to worke in Pompey a disolucion to an agreement, propounded the honour which attended this seruice, and the merit of that endeouer which brought backe peace into the Empire.

*l.iii. lib. 8.
Dec. 4.*

CHAP. X.

Pompey leaueth Brundusium, and shippeth himselfe for Greece.

HE worke beeing halfe perfec[ted], and nine daies labour bestowed vpon it; the shippes that had transported the Consuls and the other part of the Armie, returned from Dyrrachium to Brundusium: and therupon Pompey beganne to fitt himselfe for a departure; Beeing induced therunto, either by the workes which Cæsar had begunne, or by a resolution formerly taken to quit Italie. And the better to retard Cæsars prosecution (least vpon his issuing out, the souldiers shoulde enter the towne) he mured up the gates, and stopt the enterances of the streets and passages; sunke ditches and trenches crosse the waies, & therin stuck sharp piles & stakes; and couering the same with light hurdles, leuelled it with thin & light earth: leauing onely two waies free, which went unto the Eauen, which he hedged in with a strong Palisado of huge sharpe Pilcs.

These things beeing thus prepared, he commauded the souldiers to get a shipp-board, without noise or tumult: and left vpon the walles, and in the towers here and there, some of the readiest Slingers and Archers, to bee called away vpon a warning

Cæsar.



Obscurations vpon the first

warning signes, when the rest of the soldiern were all shipp'd; appointing Cæsars to take them in, at an easie and safe place. The inhabitants of Brundufum, oppressed with the iniurys and contumelies of Pompeys soldiern, did fauor Cæsars partie; and understanding of this departure, whilst they were running up and downe, and busied about getting aboard, gave notice thereof from the top of their houles. Which beeing perceived, Cæsar (not to omit any opportunity of attieuing his purpose) commaunded ladders to bee prepared, and the soldiern to take Armes. Pompey a little before night weied Anker: and the soldiern keeping guard on the wall, vpon the watch-word giuen, were all called fro their stations, and by knowne passages repaired to the shippes. Cæsars soldiern with Ladders got upon the wall: but beeing admonished by them of Brundufum, to take heed of the blind ditch, they stood still. At last, they were brought a great compass about, and so came to the Hauen; and with skiffes and boates, fized two shippes with soldiern, which stuck by chaunce vpon the Mounts which Cæsar had made.

O B S E R V A T I O N S.

Mitarch in the life of Pompey

Herasmuch as this manner of Pompeyes departure from Brundufum, and the flight he vled to imbarke himselfe and his Armie without danger of Cæsars entering the towne, is commended for one of the best strategems of warre that euer he vled; Let vs a little consider the parts thereof, which present theselues of two sorts: the one consisting of the workes he made, to hinder and retard Cæsars entrance, if happe he should haue knowledge of his departure: and the other, in the cleaneleie conuiance of his men aboard, without noise or tumult; & the semblance he made of keeping the towne, by continuing watch vpon the walles, to the end ther might be no knowledge taken thereof. The workes were of three sorts. For first he mured and stopped vp the ends and enterances of streets and lanes, which might giue accessie to a pursuing enemie. And to that end alio, hee sun ditches, or trenches, crosse the waies and passages: which he stuck full of sharp stakes and Galthrops, and couered them with light and thin hurdles, that the Enemie might not espy them; And thirdly, hedged in the waies leading to the Port, with a strong Palizado of huge sharp piles: And so vsed both the Lions and the Foxes skin, to aviod the danger which might haue fallen vpon him. Cæsar happily had found meanes to attache them, as they were incombred in getting to their shippes, and disposing themselues to fie away. Which beeing an occasion that might haue given him great aduantage, was in this maner carefullie prevented by Pompey. Howbeit, this his quittting Brundufum, is censured but for a faultie resolution handsonlie caried: for, Cicero dooth much blame him for abandoning Italies; calling it a Themistoclean policy, to periwade his partie to forlase their Country, and to leaue the best of their pleasures, and the weakest of each sexe, to such miserie and desolation, as mooued pittie in those that considered but the condition of the dogges, and brutte beastes.

See. First. ad Atticam.

Commentary of the Ciuill Warres.

beastes; as it fell out at Athens, when Themistocles periwaded the Athenians to leaue their towne and Country, and betake themselves wholly to sea, to fight against Xerxes.

CHAP. XI.

Cæsar dispatcheth forces into Sardinia and Sicilie. Cato endeuour to keepe Sicily for Pompey.



Lebeit Cæsar well knew, that it much imported a speedy end of the busyness, to get shippes and passe the Seas after Pompey, after hee could ioynre himselfe with the forces of the transmarine parts; yet doubting the lets, and the long time before it could be effected, for that Pompey had taken with him all the shippes he could get, and therby left him for the present no meanes to follow after: it remained that hee attended shippes to be brought from remote parts; as, out of Gallia, from Ancona and the Streight: which at that time of the yeere, would require a long and troublesome passage. In the meane time, he thought it no way fit, that Pompeys old Army, & the two Provincees of Spaine, should be settled and assured; (one of them being deepe lieingaged to Pompey for many great and ample benefits) or that they shold haue time to raise new troopes, especially of horse; or that Gallia or Italie shold bee solicited or wrought from him in his absence: And therefore for the present, resolued to desist from making any further purfuite after Pompey, and to goe into Spaine; giuing order to the Duuumviri of all the Municipall townes, to provide shippes, and send it to Brundufum. He sent Valerius, a Legate, into Sardinia, with one legion; and Curio, the Proprator, into Sicily with three legions; commanding him, after he had possessed Sicily, to transport his Armie into Africca. Marcus Cotta governed Sardinia, and M. Cato Sicily. Tuberio shold by lotte haue held Africca.

The Caralitani, understanding that Valerius was to be sent vnto them, before he had left Italy, of their own accord thrust Cotta out of the towne. Cotta amased thereat, and perceiving withall, that the whole Province gane consent vnto it, fled prelenty out of Sardinia into Africca. Cato prepared and new trimmed the Gallics in Sicily, giuing order to the townes to build new, and prosecuting his direction with great diligence: Moreouer, by his Legats, mustered and inrolled Cittizens of Rome, in Lucania and Brutia, requiring rateable numbers of horse and foote from the towncs in Sicilie. Which thinges beeing almost accomplished, understanding of Curio his comming, he complained in publicke how he was abandoned and betrayed by Pompey; who, without any prouidence or preparation, had ingaged himselfe in an vnecessary warre: and yet beeing daunmented

Cæsar.

Basilissess.

Observations vpon the first

ded by himselfe, and the rest in the Senate, answered confidently, that hee was prouided of all necessaries fit for warre: And after he had thus publicklye complained, fled out of the Province. By which meanes, Valerius found Sardinia, and Curio Sicily, voide of government, and there brought their Armies.

Tubero, arriuing in Africke, found Atius Varus commandiug the Province, who (as wee haue formerly shewed) hauing lost his cohorts at Auximum, had forth-with into Africke; and of his owne authorite, possessed himselfe of the Province, which he found without a Gouvernour. He got together by new involments, two compleat legions, which hee raised by his knowledge and experience of the people of that Country, by reason hee had governed that Province as Protor some few yeeres before. Tubero, arriuing with his fleet at Vraca, was by Varus kept out of the towne and the Haven; neither would he suffer him to set his sonne aboore, which was sicke, but compelled him to wey Anker and depart.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

luteach in the
life of Pompey

THis Chapter maketh the first period of this warre, as it is taken from the beginning of these Ciuill broiles, vnto Pompeys forsaking Italie, which was begun and ended in the space of 60 daies: and also openeth the gate to second resolutions, which are prosecuted as the sequel of the Historie will manifest: Containing likewise the reasons, why Caesar made not present pursue after Pompey, as the hinges of the succeeding war, and the true causes of the consequents of the same. In the consideration whereof, albeit Caesar vnderstood the advantage of him that prosecuteth a receding enemie, and the hopes which might be thereby conceiued of a speedie end of that warre; yet hauing no ready meanes to accomplish his desire, thought it better to prevent such inconveniences as might haue fallen out vpon the same: and so to keepe his partie in a progress of their actiue thoughts, by clearing and assuring that Westerne part of the Empire, which Pompey had left vnto him by his departure; rather then to leaue an enemie on his back, or to admit a cooling and languishment of their resolutions, through expectation of shipping, to follow that course which otherwile had beeene without exception.

Tueri quæsita
difficil us est,
quam aquærere
quænam in ac-
quærendis gen-
tia præsidium
ex plus confort
quæ præsens vir-
tus tuus autem
quæsita, fine pro-
missa restitue-
no potest. D.
Tosiph. Zonaras.

Europa prima
et præstissima
mundi pars.
App. an.
Europa altera
naturæ omnium
gentium pars
consequitur
vix fulgerrima.
Plin. lib. 3. c. 1.

Commentary of the Ciuill Warres.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

Secundly, wee may obserue, in Cato, the effects of a Stoicall or sommall spirit, which are more valuable in the ensignes of peace, then in the difficulties of warre. For, howsoeuer hee made shew of beslirring himselfe, in rigging and trimming vp the Gallies of his Province, commanding more to be built, raising new troopes of horse & foote, and prosecuting his commands with purpose of an exact account: yet in the end, vnderstanding of Curio his comming, spent his furie in complaing of his friends, and laying the cause of those garboiles vpon him, whom by election and consent he had formerly set vp, to make head against such, as otherwise may be supposed would haue contained themselves in a better meaure of moderation.

CHAP. XII.

Cæsar goeth to Rome; and, calling a Senate, complaineth of the iniuries done vnto him.



These things beeing ended, that the soldiery might for the residue of the time bee a little eased and refreshed, Cæsar brought them backe into the next Municipal towns; hee himselfe went directlie to the Cittie: and haing called a Senate, hee laeth open the iniuries and wrongs offered vnto him by his Aduersaries; sheweth them, that he never sought honour in the State by extraordinary meanes, onely hee looked to haue enjoyed the full time of his Consulship, and there-with to haue been contented: which was no more then any Citizen might stand for. The Tribunes of the people had required, that consideration might be had of him in his absence, notwithstanding the opposition of his enemies, and Cato his bitter resistance; spending the time after his old manner, with long and tedious speeches: which if Pompey (beeing Consull) had disliked, why did he suffer that to passe which was enacted? But if then he did allow and like of it, what reason had he to hinder him from inyng a benefit whiche the people of Rome had bestowed vpon him? From that, hee fell to speake of his patience: which appeared, in that of his owne accord, hee moued that either party might quit their forces; which might haue bin very prejudiciale to his honour and dignitie: Declared what had beeene the malice and bitterness of his Aduersaries; who refused to doe that themselves, which they required of another man: choosing rather to imbroile and confound the whole State, then to forgoe the command of an Armie. Speake at large as well of the wrong done vnto him, by taking the two legions from him, as also for their hard and insolent dealing, in putting the Tribunes of the people by their place and authoritie.

Obscurations vpon the first

He forgot not likewise to relate the conditions which he propounded; the conference which he desired, and would not be graunted. In regard whereof, hee praid and required, that they would take the charge of the Common-weale, and give a helping hand to him for the government thereof. But, if they shoule upon any doubt or mistrust, refuse to ioyne with him, hee wold not much importune them, but wold take it into his owne handes; and in the meane time, let Commissioners bee sent to Pompey to treat of peace. Neither did hee respect what Pompey a little before had saide in the Senate (That to whom soever Embassadors were sent, to such seemed to be ascribed Authoritie and Preheminence; as, on the contrary part, such as sent them, manifested an apprehension of feare); for, these were arguments of perfidianitie. For his part, as he had gone beyond him in deedes of Armes and noble acts; so wold hee in like manner, endeouour to excell him in iustice and equitie.

The Senators were well pleased that Embassadors shoule be sent: but there was no man found that wold go; every man refusing in particular, for feare of Pompey: who, vpon his departure from Rome, had saide in the Senate, That hee wold hold him that staid at Rome, in the same condition with them that were in Cæsars Campe. So that three daies were spent in debate and excuses; L. Metellus, Tribune of the people, beeing drawne by Cæsars aduersaries, to protrait the time, and to hinder any matter which Cæsar shoule propound vnto them.

Metellus.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Eirst, wee may obserue, how irkeosome it is to humane nature, for him that hath tafted the sweetnesse of authoritie, to forgo the raines of command, and againe to iorlle his name in the list of common dutie; descending from the throne of soueraintie, to the condition of obedience, & to lose his eminencie in respecteles equalitie: especially, if the honour be Militarie, and of Martiell nature. For, that fasteneth on vs with a stronger hold, then any other power; beeing lesse capable of moderation, and waited on with the eyes and expectation of present and future ages. Whereby, men growe desperatly icalous of the opinion of the world, and cannot indure to quit themselves of that care, although they haue arraigned to the ful time of their deliuerance: but to be supplanted in the midst of so glorious a race, or to be pulled out of the seate of Magistracie, by an abortive miscarriage, is able to infrage an ambitious spirit, so faire beyond the bounds of modestie, that it will not spare any endeouour, to confound the greatest Empire, with irrecoverable calamities.

licitatis et
derationis di-
cumentum, Contra-
rium.

THE

Commentary of the Ciuell Warres.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

Econdly, wee may obserue the disposition of those Senators, that by their staying at Rome, became neutrall in that Faction; and there-vpon, refused either to take Cæsars commaundes, or to present themselves to Pompey, as Mediators of peace. Plutarch hath two reasons why the Senators would undertake no such matter of Commission as was required by Cæsar. The first is this which is heere expressed; every man fearing the displeasure of Pompey, who at his departure from Rome, had protested to hold them for enemies that went not along with him: where-as Cæsar censured their forbearance with better advantage to himselfe; and tooke their neutralitie as an argument of becoming his followers. The other reason which Plutarch auoucheth, is the opinion which the Senators had of Cæsars double dealing; as not carrying his hart in his mouth, but pretending that which he never meant. For, they could not be perswaded that his end was a cessation of Armes, or such a peace with Pompey as shoulde haue kept on foot their auncient libertie; but fought rather pretexts of good meaning, to colour his designe of making Rome his seruant. Howsouer; wee may not omit what is reported to haue happened betweene him and Metellus, more then hee himselfe speaketh of. For, going about to take Money out of the Treasure, hee was there stoulty refisled by this Metellus, of whom hee complaineth; alledging the Lawes and Acts of the State, forbidding any man to touch that Money, but in such times of extremitie as vvere therin expressed.

To which, Cæsar answered; That thole Lawes were onely made for time of peace: but now, Armes and warre required an other course of proceeding. Neuerthelesse, Metellus would not suffer him to breake open the doores, vntill Cæsar aduised him to be gone if he loued his life; for, it was easier for him to dispatch him then to speake it: and so entered and caried away the Treasure. VVhere-vpon, groweth that of Florus; *Censum et patrimonium populi Romani, antè rapuit quam Imperium.*

And Appian, deriding the scrupulositie of the auncient Romanes, that would not touch that Treasure but in extremitie of warre against the Celtes or Galles, saith; that Cæsar might lawfullie take it, for that hee had vanquished and subdued the Galles; vvhetherby the Romanes had no further caute to feare them.

*Denunciante Pompeio pro ho-
stibus se habitu-
rum qui recipi-
deris; et si pse-
udis et neu-
tralitatis partis, su-
orum filii nome-
ros, futuros pro-
municant. Sue-
tonis. 75.
Cicer. 10. E-
st. ad Attic.
Plutarch.
Lucan.
Appian.
Florus.*

*Non nisi per no-
trum rubis per-
ussa patet
tempa latu-
mulaque feris,
fus anguine sa-
ro, spelta, sap-
tor opes. Lucan.
I. 3.
Dignitate Cesa-
ri ira, nullus
honor facit.
Idem codem.*

CHAP. XIII.

Cæsar leaueth the Cittie, goeth into Gallia,
and treateth with the Mar-
sellians.

Cæsar, perceiving their resolution, after hee had spent there some few daies (that he might not lose any more time, and leaueth those things vndone which he purposly intended) he left the Cittie, and went into the further Gallia. Vpon his arriuall there, hee vnderstood that Pompey had sent into Spaine Vibullius Rufus, whom Cæsar had a little before taken at Corfinium and dismissed him: and that Domitian likewise was gone to take Marselleis, with eight Gallies, which he set out from Sicilia and Sardinia, and manned them with slaves, men in franchis, and his owne husbandmen. Sending, as messengers before, certaine young noble men of Marselleis, with whi Pompey vpon his departure from the Cittie had earnestly dealt, that Cæsars new fauours, might not put out of their remembrance the old benefits which hee had done unto them. Those of Marselleis, having received this message, shut their gates against Cæsar, called into the Cittie the Albicans, barbarous & mountaineous people (who of auncient time had held amitie with them, and dwelt vpon the hilles aboue Marselleis) brought Corne from all the adiacent Regions & Castles into the towne; set vp offices & forges to make Armes; repaired both their walles, their paue, and their gates.

Cæsar called out unto him some fifteene of the chiefe men of Marselleis, and treated with them, that the beginning of the warre might not growe from that towne; who shoulde rather follow the example of all Italie, then apply themselves to the will of any one man: nor omitting such other perswasion, as hee thought pertinent to a sound resolution. These men reported at Marselleis what Cæsar had delivereed, and by the common consent of the towne, returned this answer; That they under stood, that the people of Rome was diuided into two parts, neither was it in them to judge, or could they discerne which of the two was in the right. The Leaders of these two factions, were Pompey and Cæsar, both speciall Patrons and Benefactors to their Cittie; of whom, one had augmented the publique reuuenues of the State, and indowed it with the landes and territories of the Volgi, Arecomici, and the Helvij: The other, hauing conquered and subdued

* Cæsarius, gave it unto them; whereby their tributarie Incomes were much augmented; and therefore, as they were equallie bound to both for their fauours, so would they carie to both an equall respect, not ayding either of them against the other, or receiving them within their gates.

Whilst these thinges were in handeling, Domitius arrived at Marselleis vwith his shipping; and beeinge received in, was made Gouvernour of the Cittie, and

In this Cittie
vnto good
ende place
herselfe to Mars-
elleis.

Commentary of the Ciuell Warres.

and had the whole direction of the warre committed vnto her. By his appointment, the fleet was sent out into all Coasts; and such shippes of burthen as they found, they brought in: the nailes, timber, and tackling whereof, they tooke to mend and rigge out other shippes. What Corne fouuer was found in the Cittie, was brought in publique keeping; reseruing the surplus of victuall and prouision, for a fedge, as occasion should require.

Cæsar, prouoked with these iniuris, brought three legions to Marselleis, determined to make towres and mantelis ready for an assault, and to bulde twelue new Gallies at Arles: which were armed, rigged, finished, & brought to Marselleis, within thirtie dayes after the timber was cut downe. Of these he made D. Brutus Admirall, and left C. Tribonius to follow the siege.

O B S E R V A T I O N.

From the Marsellians we may learne, that it is farre easier to say well then to doe well; for, howsouer they were able to discerne the truth, and to give an awnswere to Cæsar, well-beseeming the fame and opinion of their literature and knowledge (beeing an Academicall little inferiour to the best, and in latter times more frequented by the Romanes, for the studie of Oratorie and Philosophy, then Athens, or any other such chiefe seate of the Mules); yet in their actions they disavowed all: taking vpon them most vnseasonably to arbitrate those differences, and to shew their opinion of the quarell, by taking part with one faction. Wher in their errore the more appeared, in that the partie grieved was not liable to their award, but rather had occasion to gaine thereby a double honor to himselfe; first, by foring them, and then by pardoning their rafhnes. And yet some VVriters doe thinke, they did no more then they were tied vnto by former treaties, and leagues with the Empire (which they tooke to consist in Pompeys partie) whereof they were loiall & zealous confederates; as appeareth by their loue, when Rome was taken by the Galles: for, hauing newes therof, and understanding of the composition which was to bee made to rai'e the fledge from the Capitoll, they prouided all the gold & siluer they could get, & sent it to Rome for that seruice. In regard whereof, they were indowed with manie Priviledges and Immunitiess, both in the Cittie, and elsewhere in the Empire. Howsouer, their hap being to respect more an exact obseruance of what had passed, then the fatall succeeding course of things, drew vpon them a sharpe and bitter warre; whereof they could not bee freed, but by submitting themclues to his mercy whom they had reieected. And thus wee see verified that of the Poet;

Quicquid delirant Reges plectuntur Achini.

VVhich implieth also how dangerous it is, for men of authoritie and imploiment, to be subiect to wilfull ambition. For, as their seruice is of great importance to government, when it is attended with well qualified affections; so are their motions as fearefull, which are carried with the violence of exorbitant

*Augusto duum
retulissima post
Maffiliis bona-
ram artiu fedes;
Taci. 3. Annal.
Strabo. lib. 4.*

*Cumque alijs fa-
miliis populi ster-
re paucent,
Phocas in du-
bis aucta offser-
vare inventus.
Non Gratiae le-
gitimate fidis, sig-
nataque iura, et
causis non fata-
sequi. Lucan. 1.3*

pallions: especially, considering the meanes they haue, either to misllyp the power of the State, or to giue way to such inconveniences, as may necessarily peruer all things but the ends they ayme at: besides the aptnes of a high spirit, not to doubt the truth of that saying which is attributed to Cæsar, *sicut lendum est ius, regnandi gratia violandum est.*

CHAP. XIII.

Cæsar hasteth into Spaine.



While these things were prepared and put in order, he sent C: Fabius, one of his Legates, with three legions, that had wintered about Narbone, before him into Spaine; commandinge him with all speed and diligence to take the passage of the Pyrenean hills, which were kept at that time with the forces of L: Afranius: and gaue order for the other legions which wintered further off, to follow after. Fabius, according to his directions, made haste, put the Garizon from the passage, and by great tourneys marched towards Afranius' Armie.

Vpon the arriuall of Vibullius Rufus, who (as it is formerly related) was sent by Pompey into Spaine, Afranius, Petreius, and Varro, Pompeys Legates (of whom the one governed the neerest Province of Spaine with three legions, the other, held the Country from the * forrest of Castile, to the riuers * Aua, with two legions; and the third commandea the Vetones and Lusitanians, with the like number of legions) did so dispose and diuide their charges, that Petreius was appointed to bring his legions out of Lusitanias, through the territories of the Vetones, and ioyn himselfe with Afranius: and that Varro, with his power, should keepe the further Province of Spaine. Which beeing so resolued & determined, Petreius hauing commandea the Lusitanians to leue horsemen, and other Auxiliarie forces; and Afranius likewise hauing made the like leuie, in the territories of the * Celiberi, * Cantabri, and the rest of the barbarous Nations bordering vpon the Ocean: Petreius came speedily through the Vetones to Afranius; and induced by the opportunitie of the place, by mutuall consent, resolued to keep the warre on foote neere about Ilerda.

There were with Afranius (as formerly hath been shewed) three legions, besides Targetters of the neerer Province, & Buckler-bearers of the further Province, some 80 cohorts, and of both Provinces about 5000 horse. Cæsar had sent his legions into Spaine, accompanied onely with sixe thousand Auxiliary forces, and three thousand horse, which had been with him in the former warres. And the Galles at his request furnished him with the like number, besides the nobles and valiantest among them, of whom hee had made particular choice to follow him in that warre. To these were added the better sort of the Aquitanians, and highlanders, borderers vpon the Province in Gallia. Hee was aduertised that Pompey

Pompey was on his journey, coming through Mauritania into Spaine; and that he would speedily be there with his legions: and therevpon, hee borrowed money of the Centurions and Tribunes of the souldiers, and gaue it to his Armie; whereby he gained two points: for, first he engageth the Captaines by that lone to indeuour his good successe; and secondly, bought the good affections of the souldiers by largesse and distribution. Fabius omitted no opportunity, to get the fauour of the Citties neere about him: which he labored a swel by Letters as Messengers, & had already made two bridges ouer the riuier * Sicoris, distant one from another about foure miles, and ouer these bridges sent out his men to forrage; for he had spent all that was to be found on this side the riuier. The same thing, and vpon the same occasion, did the Leaders of Pompeys Armie; and oftentimes their Cauallry met & incountred together. And as it hapned, that 2 legions going out to forrage according to their daily custome, and had paſſed the riuier, the carriage & the Cauallry following after, vpon a ſudden (by the ouerpeſting of horses, and ſwelling of the water) the bridge brake; and the rest of the Cauallry was ſecluded & cut off from the legions. Which Petreius and Afranius perceiving, by the hurdles and planks that came downe the riuier; Afranius, preſently by the bridge which was adioyning to the towne & his Camp, put ouer 4 legions, and all his Cauallry, & went to meet with Fabius his 2 legions. Vpon whose approche, L: Plancus that commanded the legions, being constrained by neceſſity, tooke the upper ground, diuiding his men into two Battalions, & making their fronts to ſtand 2 contrary waies, to the end they might not be circumvented by the horſemen. And although the number were very farre unequall, yet hee valiantly withſtoode very violent charges of the enemy. The Cauallrie beeing thus ingaged, the Ensignes of two legions were defried afar off, which Fabius had ſent by way of the further bridge, to ſecond theſe other two, ſuſpecting that which was come to paſſe, that the Commanders of the aduerſe Army, would take the occaſion and benefit of this accident, to cut off our partie. Vpon whose approche, the battell ceaſed; and the legions on either ſide were brought backe into their Campes.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

HE first obſeruation may be taken, from this deſigne of Cæſars vpon Spaine, beeing at that time vnder the gouernment and command of Pompey; The ſtanding or falling whereof, did much import the ſuccesse of that warre: for which reſpect it was, that when Cæſar could not buckle with the perſon of his enemy, hee vſed all meaſes to bear downe his authoritie, at the next in degree to his elſeſe and beeing, and moſt concerning his honour and reputation. For, if he tooke from him those Provinces, which the State had commandēd to his charge, and left him no interest in the obedience of ſuch, whom he might in a ſhort challenge for his owne people; what aſſurance could the other parts of the Empire haue in his protection? or what coulde hee elſewhere expect of that which theſe refuſed him?

The

Hesperis inter,
Sicoris non vlti-
mum Annis,
Saxus ingenti,
quem ponit Am-
pli clitor arcu,
Hiberas paſſa-
ras aquas.
Lucan. lib.

Plancus ſue
Platinis, & Pla-
nitie pedum,
ſplayſt.

Obseruations vpon the first

The excellencie of a General, is that perfection of iudgement commended by Aristotle, inabling him to discerne, *quid primum*, or what is most materiall in that varietie of vndertaking, which falleth out in following a warte. And if that cannot with any conuenience be attained, then to know the next point of importance, and so consequentlie to distinguish the degrees of difference, as they stand ranked in the order of iudicious proceeding.

For the effectuall prosecuting of which designe, let vs take a shott view of their forces on each side, according as we find them mustered in this chapter; that by the inequalitie of their troopes, we may judge of the want or sufficiencie of their directions. Afranius, as it is said in the storie, had three legions, and Petreius two legions, together with 80 cohorts of Auxiliarie forces, supplied vnto them by the two Prouinces of Spaine; which cohorts equalled the number of eight legions: and so in all, madethirteene legions. And according to the vsuall rate at that time of 5000 in a legion, amounted to 65000 men, together with 5000 horse; which came to seauentie thousand men, or therabouts. To confront so great an enemy, Cæsar had fve legions, 12000 Auxiliarie troopes from the Galles, and peraduenture 1000 Euocati: which according to the former rate of a legion, did rise to 35000, or 40000 men at the most. Whereby the one exceeding the other, well neere in a double proportion of strength, and yet failing in corepondencie of successe, calleth the verity of that proverbe in question, *Ne Hercules contra duos*. Besides, the inequalitie of the place, where the triall was to bee made, being wholly denoted to the greater partie; which is a matter of no small consequence. For, hee that maketh warte in a Countrey, absolute in favouring the enemy and confronting his purposes, had need of more forces then the aduerse partie, or better fortune in his proceedings. And therefore Fabius, to prevent such mischieves as might grow by that advantage, fought all meanes to draw some of the townes to his fauour; and to make himselfe friends for his better support and securitie, according to that which was said of old; That warre cannot be made without some peace.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

Secundly, wee may obserue the meanes he vsed, to secure himselfe of the loyaltie of his Armie, and whollie to ingage the soldier in his fortune. For, the money hee borrowed of the Tribunes and Centurions, was a speciaall Tie of their affections to his seruice; forasmuch as no man wisheth ill to him, by vvhile welfare and prosperitie he hopeth to thrive; for, so (wounding himselfe through another mans bodie) the hurt would fall vpon his owne head: but rather delieth much an accomplishment of his hopes, as may make himselfe partaker thereof. And on the other side, the largess he made vnto the souldiers, did to oblige their indeuour to his purposes, that they were thereby readie to performe as much as warlike Lælius had promised in his owne perfon, on the behalfe

Rabes, futh,
that the Cœli
or wheth' all
good to his
Debtors.

Lælius.

Commentary of the Ciuill Warres.

behalfe of the rest.

*Petore si fratris gladium, iuguloque Parentis
Condere me iubeas, plenaque in viscera partu
Coniugis, inuita peragam tamen omnia dextra.*

Iucan. li. 1.

*Vni antro non
sulit mus.*

*Quicquid fieri
potest, quicquid su-
turum cogite-
mus. Senec.
Epist. 24.*

*Spaine,
Citerior, et Pl.
terior.
Exterior, et
Interior. lib. 3.*

Anno 8 C. 555

Lime.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

Firdly, let vs consider the effects of diligence and prouident foresight, which doe oftentimes redeeme an Armie from a dishonourable overthrow; as may be learned from two circumstances in Fabius directions. First, in that he trusted not to one passage ouer the riuer Sicoris, but made two feuerall bridges, as well for the coveniencie as the better securitie of his people. Secondly, vpon the occasion which the enemy might take by the breaking of the bridge, to distresse the legions on the other side of the water, hee prelenty sent out succours to prevent such a casualtie: which albeit might seeme to haue proceeded out of curious suspicion, or idle feare, yet fell out to be no more then was requisite and expedient. Whiche may teach a Generall to be carefull euen of possiblitie; and to prevent contingencies, with the certaintie of industrious directions: accounting alwaies that which may happen, to be as certaine as any thing we most expect.

THE FOU RTH OBSERVATION.

Fourthly, concerning Spaine, wee are to note, that the Romaines at first diuided it into two Prouinces, which they called the Neerer, & the Further; or according to Strabo, the Viter and the Inner; and were separated asunder by the riuer Iberus. And thence alio they were called *Cis Iberum, et ultra Iberum*. The Nearer Prouince, beeing the lesser, continued without alteration during the Romaines government, and was sometyme called *Tarraconensis Prouincia*, of Tarraco, the principall towne of the same. But the Further, in processe of time was diuided into two partes; the one called *Betica*, and the other *Lusitania*: and so the whole Region of Spaine came to be diuided into three Prouinces. It was first entered by the Romaines, by occasion of the notable siege of Sagunt: for, P. Scipio, haing subdued the Carthaginians, reduced Spaine into a Prouince, and left it governed by Proconsuls, vnto the time of Cornelius Lentulus, & Lucius Scipio. Afterwards, it was governed by Propriators, and sometyme by Praetors, according as the Empire came to be enlarged; and had therby many governments, for the preferment of such as had supplied the better places of dignitie in the State. Neuerthelesse, in the times of trouble, the Gouvernours had alwaies Consularie power; as, in the warre against Scortorius, *Quintus Metellus, Proconsull, et Cn: Pompeius, Quesvor, cum Consulari potestate misi sunt*: And at this time, Pompey governed it by two Deputies or Legates. Touching the

Obscruations vpon the first

the forme and figure of the Countrey, Strabo likeneth it to an Oxē hide: the necke whereof ioynteth to the Pyrenean hilles, which rise in towres from one Sea to another, as limits and bounds betweene France and Spaine; taking their name (as some thinke) from Pyrene, the Maid that Hercules deflowered, whom Sil. Ital. mentioneth.

*Pyrene cel'a nimboſi verticis arce
Diuſos Celis, latè proſpectat Iberos;
Atque aeterna tenet magnis diuorta terris
Hofſitis Alcide crimen: qui ſorte laborum
Gerionis petet cum longa tricorporis arma
Poſſeffus, Baccho, ſeu Bebrycis in aula
Lugendam forme, ſine virginitate reliquit
Pyrenem.*

Defletumque tenent Montes per ſecula nomen.

But according to the opinion more generally receiued, of the Greekeword *Pue*; for that Shepheards and Heardlinen fet them once on fire, as witnesseth Diiodorus Siculus. And Aristotle; *In Hiberia (inquit) combuſis aliquando paſtoribus Syliis, calenteque ignibus terra, maniſtum argentum defluſſe: cumque poſtmodum terra motus ſuſperuinet, eruptis hiatibus, magnam opiam argenti collectam; atque inde Maſſilicribus prouentus non vulgares obſigifſe.* The Countrey of Spaine is commended for many things, as may appear by diuers Elogies: amoungſt which, that of Claudianus the Poetis written, as though the Author had been a penſioner to the Kingdome.

*Quid dignum memor are tuis Hispania terris
Vox humana valet? primo lataq; aq; ſolem
India: tu ſeſſos, exacta luce, ingales
Proluis, inque tuo respirant ſydera fluctu.
Dives equis, frugam facilis, pretiosa metallis,
Principibus facunda pijs.*

CHAP. XV.

Cæſar, comming to his Armie, aduaunceth for-
ward, and incampeth neere unto the
Enemie.

Within two dayes after, Cæſar came into the Campe with nine hundred horse, which he had kept with him for a conwoy. The bridge broken by the tempeſt, was almoſt reedified; and that which remained undone, he commanndeſt to be finiſhed in the night. And hauiing ſcene the nature and ſituation of the place, he left ſixe cohorts to keepe the Campe & the bridge, with all the carriages of the Armie. And the next day, putting

Commentary of the Ciuell Warres.

all his forces into a triple battell, he marched towards Ilerda: and there ſtanding awhile in Armes, offered battell, in an equal and indifferent place. Afranius brought out his forces, and made a ſtand in the midſt of the hill, under his Campe. Cæſar, perceiving that Afranius at that time was not diſpoſed to fight, determined to incampe himſelfe ſome 400 paces from the foot of the hill. And leaſt the ſouldiers ſhould be interrupted in their worke, by the ſudden auaults and incuſions of the enemy, he forbade the to fortifie it with a rampire or wall, which muſt neceſſarily be diſcovered and feare aſſaie of; but cauſed a ditch to be made of fifteene foote in breadth, in the front of the Campe next unto the Enemie. The first and ſecond battell (according as was diſeſted) continued in Armes; and the third battell performed he worke behind them vneene, before it was underſtood by Afranius that Cæſar would incampe in that place. Which beeing diſiſhed, he drew his legions within the ditch, and ſo ſtood in Armes all night.

The next day, he kept all his Armie within the ditch. And for aymuch as the matter to make the Rampire was to be fetched farre off, hee kept the like course for the finishing of the reſt, allotting each ſide of the Campe, to be fortifie by a ſeverall legion, with a ditch to be ſunk about, of the ſame ſcaſting: and in the meane time, made the other legions to ſtand ready in Armes againſt the enemie.

Afranius and Petreius, to the end they might amife the ſouldier, and hinder the worke, brought downe their forces to the foote of the hill, and prouoked them to fight. Howbeit, Cæſar intermitteſt not the worke, truſting to 111 legions in Armes, and the munition of the ditch. The Enemie not making any long ſtay, or aduauncing further then the foote of the hill, ledde backe their troopes into the Campe. The third day, Cæſar fortifieſt his Campe with a Rampire; and comauandeſt the reſt of the cohorts and the carriages which were left in the other Campes, to be brought unto him.

O B S E R V A T I O N.

Tmay be obſerued for Cæſars custome throughout the whole course of his warres, to approche as neere the enemie as conueniently he could; that ſo he might the better obſerue his paſſages, and be ready to take the fauour of any opportunity, which either the nature of the place, or the motions of the aduerſary would afford him. Which was the rather his aduantage, in regard of his dexteritie, and luperlatiue knowledge in the vfe of Armes, together with the expeſience of his old legions: whereby he was able, not onely to improue his owne deſignes to the vtmoſt of an honourable ſucesse, but to returne the diſgrace of any attempt made vpon his Armie, vpon the heads of them that were authors of the fame. For, otherwife, his accoſting ſo neere an enemie, might haue turned to his owne loſſe; as beeing full of hazard, & ſubiect to more caſualties then hee that ſtandeth further off. And therefore the rule is; that he that deſireth to ſit neere his aduerſarie, muſt be exceeding circumſpeſt, and ſure of ſome aduantage, either

*Provo tum Ce-
ſar Olympo, in
neces ſubita
circumdat ag-
minaſſa, dum
prima preſtant
aſces, hoftemque
ſefflit. Luc. I. 4.*

Obseruations vpon the first

from the place, or the ouer-awing power of his forces, or else out of his owne vertue, or by some other meanes, to ouer-sway the inconveniences which attend such engagements. As may appear by that which Frontinus obserueth hence, touching the straight, wher-into Cæsar was fallen; being either to give battell, which the enemie refused: or to make good that place, from whence he could not retreit but with danger. Whereupon, a little before night he stolte the making of a ditch on the backe of his Armies; and retiring himselfe within the same, stood in Armes all night, for his better safetie.

The vies of such ditches are of much importance, and haue oftentimes redemeid an Armie from great extremities: and were so frequent vpon all occasions with the Romaines, that he that shall deny them to be good ditchers, shall doe them wrong. And not onely they, but other Nations, could tell how to make vse of the Spade.

Pericles of Athens, beeinge forced by them of Peloponesus, into a place that had but two out-lets of escape, lunk a ditch of a great latitude, thwart one of the passages (as though he meant to keepe out the enemie) and set his soldiers to breake out the other way. The Peloponesians, thinking hee could no way escape by the passage where the trench was cut, applied themselves whollie to the other place, where the souldiers made shew of breaking out: whereby (through the help of bridges which he had formerly prouided) hee escaped ouer the ditch without resistance. Sometimes they added other helpesto these trenches, especially when they fought handsome meanes to get themselves away: whereof Sertorius may be an instance. VVho, hauing the enemie prelising him in the reare, and beeinge to passe a Riuier, drew a ditch and a rampier at his backe, in the fashion of a halfe moone: which rampire, he heaped with wood and combustible matter; and so setting it on fire, kept off the enemie, and pasted with eafe ouer the water.

In like manner, Herculius, one of Sertorius Legates, hauing rashly entered with a small power into a long and narrow passage, between two hilles; & finding himselfe pursued by great forces of the enemy, lunk a crosse trench betwene the two Mountaines: and piling the rampire with wood, set it on fire, & so cut off the enemie.

CHAP. XVI.

Cæsars attempt to possesse himselfe of a small hill:
what disadvantage he ran into, by mising of his purpose; what
meanes he vsed to recover himselfe.

Etweene the towne of Ilerda, and the next hill where Petrius and Afranius were incamped, there was a Plaine, of about three hundred pases; in the midst whereof stode a little Mole, rising higher then the rest: which if Cæsar could gaine and fortifie, he hoped to cut off the enemy from the towne & the bridge, and from such victuals and prouisions as were brought

Commentary of the Ciuell Warres.

brought to the towne: whereupon, he tooke three legions out of the Campe; and haing put them into order of battell, hee commandied the Ante signani of one legion, to runne before and possesse the place. Which beeinge perceiued, the cohorts that kept watch before Afranius Campe, were presently sent a neerer way to take that Mount. The matter came to blowes: but forasmuch as Afranius partie came first to the place, our men were beaten backe; and by reason of new supplies sent against them, were constrained to turne their backs, and retire to the legions.

The manner of fight which those souldiers vsed, was first to runne furiously vpon an enemy, to seize any place boldy and with great courage; not much respecting their orders or rankes, but fighting in a scattered and dispersed fashion. If they chaunc'd to be thorough charged, they thought it no shame to give way and retire; accustomed there-onto, by frequenting the Lusitanians, and other barbarous people, vsing that kind of fight: as it commonly falleth out, that where the souldiers haue long liued, they get much of the vse and condition of those places. Notwithstanding, our men were much troubled therat; as unaccustomed to that kind of fight: for, seeing every man leaue his ranke, and runne vp and downe, they feared least they shold be circumvented, and sette upon in flanke, and on their bare & open side; vvhile as themselves were to keepe their order, and not to leaue their places, but upon extraordinarie occasion.

Vpon the routing of the Ante signani, the legion that stode in the corner, left the place, and retreated to the next Hill; almost all the Armie beeinge affrighted, vpon that which had happened beyond every mans opinion, contrarie to former vse.

Cæsar, encouraging his men, brought out the ninth legion to second them; by that meanes compellling the enemy (insolent of good successe, and shrewdly pursuynge our men) to turne their backs, and to retire to the towne of Ilerda, and there to make a stand vnder the walles. But the souldiers of the ninth legion, caried on with endeour, and going about to repair their losse, they rashly followed the enemy into a place of disadvantage, and came vnder the Hill whereon the towne stod: and as they would haue made their retreat, they were charged afresh from the upper ground. The front of the place had an uneasie broken ascent, and was on each side steepe; extended onely so much in breadth, as vwould serue three cohorts to imbattell in: neither could the Caualrie come to helpe them. The Hill declinid easilie from the towne about foure hundred pases in length: and that may our men had some conveniencie of retreat, from the disadvantage to which their desire had vnauidedly led them. The fight continued in this place: which was very unequall, both in regard of the straightnes thereof, as also for that they stod vnder the foote of the Hill, whereby no weapon fell in vaine amongst them. Notwithstanding, by prouesse and valour they patientlie endured all the woundes they received. The enemis forces were supplied and renewed, by such cohorts as were often sent out of the Campe through the towne, that fresh men might take the place of such as were wearied out. And the like was Cæsar faine to doe, sending freshe Cohorts to that place to relieue the wearied.

Obseruations vpon the first

After they had thus continuallie fought for the space of five houres together, and that our men were much ouer-charged with an unequall multitude; hauing spent all their weapons, they drew their swordest, and ascended up the hill, to charge and assault the enemy: and hauing flaine a few of them, the rest were driven to make a retreat. The cohorts beeing thus put backe to the walles, and some of them for feare hauing taken the towne, our men found an easie retreat. Our Caualry did from a lowe ground get up unto the toppe of the hill; and riding up and downe betwene the two Armies, made our souldiers to retreat with better ease: and so the fight succeeded diuersly.

About seauenant of our men were slaine in the first onset. And among these was slaine Q. Fulginius, Captaine of the first Hastate Centurie of the fourteenth legion; who, for his exceeding valour, was preferred to that place from the lower orders. And of Afranius partie were slaine T. Cecilius, Centurion of a Primitiile order, and four Centurions more, besides two hundred souldiers. But such was the opinion of that daies busyness, that either side believed they left with the better.

Afranius party was so perswaded, for that they long stood to hande blowes, and resisted the violence of our souldiers, although in all mens judgement they were the weaker: as also, for that they first tooke and held the place which gave occasion of that fight; & in the first encounter, compelled our men to turne their backs. Our men, in like manner, thought they had the better, in regard they had maintained fight for five houres together, in a place of disadvantage, & with an unequall multitude: that they ascended up the hill with their swordest drawn, and compelled their aduersarie to turne their back, & to retreat into the towne, maugre the disadvantage of the place.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

In this direction which Cæsar gaue, to take the little Hill betwene Ilerda and Afranius Campe, wee may obserue the danger depending vpon the mitchieuing of an action. For, the failing of a purpose, in seeking to obtaine that which would proue of great aduantage, doth often times drawe men into as great inconueniences. And as the end in every designe pretendeth gaine, so the meanes thereof doe give way to hazard: from whence it consequently followeth; that such as are employed in execution, haue neede to vse all indeuour, not to falsifie the groundes of good directions, by negligent or inconfiderate cariege; but rather, to make good any want or defect, by ferious and warie prosecution of the same.

And the rather, for that it specially concerneth their good, that haue the charge and handeling of commaundes; for, they first are like to feele the smart of anie error committed therein; or otherwise, to haue the honour of anie fortunate successe, for-as-much as Virtue hath all her praise from Action.

Concer-

Omni's laus virtutis in actione
conficit. Afranius
Lth.

Commentary of the Ciuill Warres.

Concerning the vse of running, we are to understand, that the Romaines (amongst other their exercises of Armes) had speciall practise of this, as available in foure respects, according as Vegetius hath noted; First, to the end they might charge the enemy with greater force and violence. Secondly, that they might possesse themselves with speed, of places of aduantage. Thirdly, that they might readily discouer, as should be found expedient vpon all occasions. And lastly, to prosecute a flying enemie, to better purpose and effect. And this, as Seneca saith, they practised in peace; that beeing accustomed to needlessie labour, they might be able to discharge necessarie duties. And Luius, amongst the militarie exercises viced by Scipio, to fit his men for those glorious exploits which hee afterwards attieched, saith; That the first day, the legionis ran fourte miles in Armes. And Suetonius affirmeth, That Nero, hauing appointed a race for the Praetorian cohorts, caried a Target lifted vp before them with his owne hand. And that Galba did more admirably; for, beeing fited of purpose to make himselfe eminent, directed a field race with a Target, himselfe running as fast as the Emperours Chariot, for twentie miles together.

Lib. 1. cap. 9.
The vse of
running.

*Miles in media
pace decurrit,
sive in hastes, et
supermacu labora
la statu. ut
sufficere necisio
rio possit. Seneca
Epist. 18.
Lib. 2.6.*

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

HE second thing to be noted in these specialties, is the bold enterprise of Cæsars men, in charging the enemy with their swordest drawne, against the Hill; and, making them to give backe, had an easie and safe retreat from the danger wherein they were ingaged. Wherby wee may obserue, that difficulties of extremitie, are never better cleared, then by aduenturous and desperate vnder takings: According to the condition of diseases, and distemperatures of the body; which beeing light & easie, are cured with milde and easie potions: but beeing grieuous and doubtfull, doe require sharpe and strong remedies. VVhich doth also in like manner appeare throughout the whole course of Nature, and particularly in waights: for, as ponderous and heauie bodies are not moued, but with a counterpoise of greater force; no more can extremities of hazard bee auoide, but by like perilous enforcements.

And hence groweth the difference betwenee true valour and foole-hardy rashnesse; beeing but one and the same thing, if they were not distinguished by the subiect wherein they are shewed. For, to runne headlong into strange adventures, vpon no iust occasion, were to shew more leuitie then discretion: And againe, to vse the like boldnesse in cases of extremitie, deserueth the opinion of vertuous endeouour. As is well obserued by Homer, in the person of Hector, perswading the Troians that fledde away, to stand and make head against the Grecians; This is the time, saith he, considering the danger wherein we are, to vse that prouesse and courage which we boast of.

And accordinglie, Diomedes censured Glaucus in the same place, for offering himselfe to the furie of the Grecians; Either thou art some God, saith he,

G 2.

or

*Medici leuiter
egrotantes, leuiter
curant: gra-
uioribus autem
morbus, pericu-
losas: curationes
et amictus ad-
libere cogantur.
Cic. li. 1. de offi-
ciis.*

Observations vpon the first

or else but a lost and forlorne man. VVhich may serue to learne vs the true vse of courage; that ordinarily is never more shewed then in misemployment.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

Hauc already, in the obseruations of the second Commentary of the warres of Gallia, discoursed particularly of the partes of a legion: Where it appeareth, that in Cæsars time, a legion consisted of nine thousand men, or thereabouts; and according to the sufficiencie and experientie of the souldiers, was diuided into three parts. The first and meanest of such as followed an Ensigne, were called *Hastati*. The second, *Principes*. And the third and chiefe sort, *Triarij*: and according to this diuision, had their place and precedencie in the Arme.

Againe, each of these three kindes, was diuided into tenne companies, which they called *Maniples*; and euery *Maniple* was subdiuided into two Centuries or Orders: and in euery Order there was a Centurion or Captaine. These orders were distinguisched, by the numbers of the first, second, third, and so consequently vnto the tenth orders, which were the last & lowest of each of these three kindes. So that this Q. Fulginius, here mentioned, was Centurion of the first and prime order of the *Hastati*: And T. Cæcilius, Centurion of the first order of the *Triarij*, which by excellencie was called *Primipilus*, or the Leader of the first companie of a legion.

Now, concerning their imbatelling, we are to note, that according to this former diuision of *Hastati*, *Principes*, and *Triarij*, vpon occasion of fight, they made a triple battell, one standing in front to another; which we call the vanguard battell, and rearward. VVhereof the *Hastati* were called *Antesignani*; not for that they had no Ensignes of their owne; for, euery *Maniple* had an Ensigne: but because they stood imbatelled before the Eagle, & other the chiefe Ensignes of the legion. To which purpose is that of Liuie, *Pugna orta est, non illa ordinata per Hastatos, Principesque et Triarios, nec vt pro signis Antesignanis, post signa alia pugnaret acies*. And againe; *Cadunt Antesignani et in nudentur propugnatoribus signa, fit ex secunda prima acies*. VVhereby it appeareth, that most of the chiefe Ensignes were with the *Principes*, which were called *Subsignani*, as the *Triarij Postsignani*.

Amongst other benefites of these so particular diuisions of an Arme, that is not the least which is noted by Thucidides, *Vt iussa imperatoris brevi spacio ad singulos milites deferri posset*.

CHAP.

Commentary of the Ciuell Warres.

CHAP. XVII.

Cæsar, brought into great extremitie by ouer-flowing of two Riuers.



HE enemy fortified the Mount for which they contended, with great and strong workes; and there put a Garizon. In the space of those two daies that these thinges were in doing, there fell out upon a suddaine a great inconuenience: for, such a tempest happened, that the like waters were never seene in those places. And further besides, the snow came downe so abundantly from the Hilles, that it over-flowed the bankes of the Riuers; and in one day, brake downe both the bridges which Fabius had made: and thereby brought Cæsar into great extremitie. For, as it is formerly related, the Campe lay betweene two Riuers, Sicoris and Cinga, being distant about 30 miles one from another. Neither of these Riuers were passable: so that all the Army were of necessity cooped up in that straigtness; neither could the Citties, which had formerly ranged themselves with Cæsars partie, furnish any supplies of victuall and prouision: nor such of the Arme as had gone far for forrage, beeing hindered by the riuers, could returne to the Campe; nor yet the great convayes and renforcements, comming to him out of Italy and Gallia, could gette to the Campe.

The time was very hard; for, there was neither old corne left of their winter prouisions, nor that on the ground was as yet ripe. The Citties and townes neare about were all empited; for, Afranius before Cæsars coming, had caused all the Corne to be brought into Ilerda: and that which remained, was since Cæsars coming all spent. And for Cattell (which might haue relieved this necessity) by reason of the warre they were remoued by the bordering townes, and caried further off. Such as were gone out to forrage, and to secke Corne, were by the light Armed Portingalls, and the Buckler-bearers of the heathen Spaine, much troubled and molested: for, these men could easilie passe the riuers, forasmuch as none of them vsed to goe to warre, without bladders for that purpose. On the contrary part, Afranius abounded with all necessary prouision; great quantity of Corne was formerly prouided and stored vp; much was brought in from all the Provinces round about, haing also great plenty of forrage in his Camp: for, the bridge at Ilerda afforded meanes of all these things without danger; and the Countrey beyond the riuer was whole and untouched, which Cæsar could not come unto by any meanes. The waters continued for many daies together. Cæsar vsed all meanes to reedifie the Bridges: but neither the swelinge of the Riuers woulde permitte him, nor yet the cohorts of the Enemie, placed on the bankes of the other side, suffer him to goe forwardes with it: which they might easilie hinder, both in regard of the nature of the riuer; the

*Cinga rapidus
magis quam
magnus.*

Observations vpon the first

greatnes of the water; as also, for that they might easily cast their weapons, &c along the banke, unto one place or point. Whereby it was very hard, at one and the same time (the Riuers running so violently as it did) to doe the worke, and to shunne the weapons.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Greatnes of the water; as also, for that they might easily cast their weapons, &c along the banke, unto one place or point. Whereby it was very hard, at one and the same time (the Riuers running so violently as it did) to doe the worke, and to shunne the weapons.

First, we may obserue, that the strength of a multitude is not prouided from such casualties as betide the weaknesses of particular persons; but doth oftentimes vndergoe extremities, which can neither by prouidence be prevented, nor remoued by industrie: & are such as proceede not from the indeuour of an enemy, but out of the circumstances of time and place; together with such accidents as are interlaced with the same. In respect whereof it was, that Cambyses told Cyrus; That in the course of warre he shoulde meet with some occasions, wherein he was not to labour and contend with men, but with chaunces and things, which were not to be ouercome with lesse difficultie then an enemy; and areth more dangerous, according as they giue way to scarcitie and lack of victuall. For, as it is laid in the same place; *Scis breui, finem habiturum Imperium, si commis- tu exercitus caret.*

The remedies whereof, are first, Patience; which is as requisite in a soldiier, as either courage or any other abilitie: and in such cases keepeth an Army from discontentment and disorder, vntill meanes of better fortune. And secondly, Good indeauour, which auaileth much in such chaunces; the effect whereof, will appeare by that which Cæsar wrought, to redeeme his Armie from these inconueniences.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

GConcerning that which is heere noted of the Spaniards, that made nothing of passing a Riuier with the helpe of bladders, which the Romaines were readier to wonder at then to imitate; it is obserued, that as people exquisitely fashioned to a ciuill life, by a firme & settled policie of government, are firme and real in the whole course of their proceedings, and accordingly doe shew their punctualitie, as well in their solemnities and priuate carriages, as in their magnificent and stately buildings: so on the other side, barbarous and rude Nations, that liue vnder generall and slight lawes, are as slight and rude in their actions; as amongst other things, may appear by that the Spaniards thought it no scorn, to vse the helpe of bladders in passing ouer a Riuier, as a devise comming next to hand: which the people of a wise and potent State, would not haue done, but by a sure and substantiall bridge.

The vse of which bladders, as it hath been auncient amongst people of that nature, so it is continued in the same manner, by the Sauages, inhabiting Gronland,

quidam in
uomon ad-
uolum
men obf. sed
ipſiſ rebuſ;
inuare
ſt. ſt. ſt.
ph. lib. 1.
uſt. Cyri.

gentiſ in
ab. rebuſ
imum valit.

olders vſed
the Spani-
ards in swim-
ming ouer Ri-
uier.

Commentary of the Ciuill Warres.

land, and the North parts of America; as appeareth by the dilcources made of late by the Molcouy Marchants, about the Northwest passage: frō whence such as are imploied in those voiges, haue brought great and large bladders or bagges, made of Seale skinnes, ingeniously deuised to be filled and blowed with wind, and tied behind at their girdle, and at their coller, to helpe themſelues in swimming. And after the ſame easie fashion, the Indians of Peru, as Iofephus Acosta writteh (in ſtead of wood and ſtone) made their bridges ouer great Riuers of plaited Reedes, which they fastened to the banke on each ſide with stakes: or otherwise of bundles of straw and weedes, by which, men and beaſts (iſ there be any credit in his ſtorie) paſſe ouer with eafe. Howbeit, as when the ancient Greeks would note a man of extreame infiſciencie; They woule ſay he could neither reade nor ſwim: So Cæſar ſeemeſ of the ſame opinion, by commanding the ſkill of swimming, as a thing of much conuenience in the vſe of Armes. Whereof he made good expeience in Egypt; where he caſt himſelfe into a ſmall boate, for his better ſafetie: and finding it ouer-charged, and ready to ſinke, he leapt into the ſea, and ſwom to his Fleet, which was 200 paces off, holding certayne papers in his left hand, aboue the water; and trayling his coate of Armes in his teeth, that it might not be left to the enemie.

Lib. 6. ca. 14.

CHAP. XVIII.

Afranius marcheth with three legions, to cut off a party. *The ſcarcitie of victuall in Cæſars Armie.*

Cæſar.

 *T*was told Afranius, of great troopes and conuoyes that were comming to Cæſar, but were hindered by the waters, and abode there by the Riuers ſide: for, thither were come Archers out of Ruthenia, and Horſemen out of Gallia, with manie carres & carriages, according to the cuſtome of the Galles. There were beſides, of all ſorts, about ſixe thouſand men, with their ſeruants and attendantſ; but without order, or any knowne command: for, every man was at his owne libertie, trauelleng the Country without feare, according to the former freedom & ſafetie of the vnaues. There were likewife many young men of good ranke, Senators ſonnes, and Knights of Rome; beſides Embaſſadors from ſundry ſtates, & diuers of Cæſars Legates. All theſe were kept backe by the Riuier.

Afranius went out in the night time with three legions, and all his horſe, to cut off this partie; and ſending his Caualrie before, ſette upon them vnawares. Howbeit, the Caualrie of the Galles, put themſelues ſpeedily in order, and buckled with them. And as long as it flood upon indifferent tearmes, they, being but a few, did withstand a great number of the enemie: but as ſoone as they diſcovered

Obscurations vpon the first

uered the Ensignes of the legions comming towards them, some few of them being slaine, the rest betooke themselves to the next hillles.

This small time of encounter, was of great conseqeunce for the safetie of our men: for, by this meanes, they had opportunity to take the upper ground. There were lost that day 200 Archers, a few horsemen, and no great number of the souldiers boyes, together with the baggage. Victualls, by reason of all these things waxed very deere, as well in regard of the present want, as also for fear of future penurie, as commonly it happeneth in such cases; in somuch as a bushell of Corne was worth fiftie pence. Whereby the souldiers grew weake for want of sustenaunce; and the inconveniences thereof, daily more and more increased. For, so great was the alteration which happened in a few daies, that our men were much affilied with the extreame want of all necessary provisionis: wheras they on the other side, hauing all things in abundance, were held for victors. Cæsar sent unto those States which were of his party, and in stead of Corne, gaue them order to furnish him with Cattell; dismissed souldiers boyes, and sent them to townes further off; relieving the present scarcitie by all the meanes he could.

Afranius and Petreius, together with their friends, inlarged these thinges in their Letters to Rome: rumour and report added much heevewto; as that the warre was even almost at an end. These Messengers and Letters beeing come to Rome, there was great concourse from all parts to Afranius house, much congratulation and reioycing for these thinges: and there-upon, many went out of Italy to Pompey, some to be the first messengers of the newes; others, that they might not seeme to expect the euent of the war, and so prooue the last that came to that partie.

When the matter was brought to these difficulties and extreamities, and all the waies were kept by Afranius souldiers and horsemen; Cæsar gaue order to the souldiers, to make such boates and Barkes as hee had in former yeeres taught them the use of in the warre of Britaine: the keeles whereof were built of light stiffe, and small timber, and the upper partes made with wicker, and covered with hides. Which beeing finished, he laded them upon Carrs, and carried them in the night some twentie two miles from the Campe. And in those Barkes, transporting his souldiers ouer the riuer, upon a suddaine possest himselfe of a little hill, which lay contineint unto the water side: which hill he speedily fortifid, before the enemy had notice thereof. Afterwards, he brought ouer a legiōn to that place, and made a bridge frō side to side in two daies space: and so the convois, which had gone forth for provisionis & forrage, returned backe in safetie; whereby he began to settle a course for provision of Corne.

The same day, he passed ouer the riuer a great part of his Causalrie, who falling unlooked for vpon the forragers (scattered heere and there without feare or suspition) cut off a great number of men and cattell. Where-upon, the Enemy sending certaine Spanish troops, bearing little round bucklers, to second and relieve the forragers, they diuided themselves of purpose into two parts; the one to keepe and defend the booty which they had gotte, and the other, to resist and beate backe the forces sent to charge them. One of our cohorts, which had easilie runne out before the Armie, was intercepted, & cut off: the rest returned by the bridge into the Camp in safety with a great booty.

THE

mes sem-
inorum
andorum;
limes a-
mulegum
et ab his-
bet, tota-
on pro-
em ex-
Ceremon.
lib. 4.

man rana
ix mafac-
tum parum
vnter in pu-
lo, cœque in-
d' invenit
tib' patens
vndum super-
stat ammen-
can. lib. 4.

Commentary of the Ciuell Warres.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Rese Rutheni inhabited that part of prouince where Rhodes now standeth: amongst whom Cæsar had ordinarily a legion or two in Guatizon, for the better keeping of the Countrey in obedience, beeing a stout and warlike people, and vsing archerie, as appeareth in this place. Whiche, howsoeuer the course of time hath brought into vter contempt, yet let vs not scorne to take notice, that anciently it hath been vsed by such as performed the greatest feates of Armes: for, Hercules had but two sorts of weapons to atchieue labours of so much variety; a Club for such monstres as would contest with his valour, and Boaw and Arrowes for others that kept further off. And in the old warre of Troy (if Homer may bee believed) Pindatus, Duke of Lycia, hauing a stalle of gallant Coursers, left them all at home, leaft hee should not find meanes at Troy, to giue them their ordinarie keeping; and came on foote with his boaw and arrowes, with such reputation of his deedes of Armes, that Aeneas fought him out in a confilct, to resist the rage and extreame presures of Diomedes. And on the contrary part, Teucer relieved the distresed Grecians from a hot and desperate purfute, by slaying with his boaw eight valiant Troians before he stired his foote.

Concerning the vse of which weapon, howsoeuer it may seeme ridiculous (to such as vnderstand nothing but the course of the present age) to recall the long boaw to the seruice of a battell; yetthey may remember, that the Graygoode wing gaue our forefathers such aduantage, that they wrought wonders amongst all Nations for deedes of Armes: which wee should imitate with as much hope of successse, if we could handle our boawes in any measure as they did. Of this I haue already formerlie treated.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

Ris a saying as true as it is old, that An ill hap commeth not alone, but is alwaies attended with such conseqeuentis as will inforce other inconveniences; as may be obserued by this extreamitie heere mentioned. For, the mischiefe was not bounded with the affliction which Cæsar suffered for want of needfull prouision, notwithstanding the weight was such as could not bee borne by ordinarie patience: but the enemy enlarged it to his further advantage, vaunting of it as a helpelesse remedy, and making out dispatches to send victorie to Rome. VVhich gaue him yet further prejudice in the opinion of the world; and made thole his enemies, that formerlie shewed no dislike of his proceedings. And thus every ill chaunce hath a tale of many other misfortunes; which if either prouidence or indeuour may preuent, it shall much import a Commaunder to auoide them.

THE

Rutheni.
Solumunt flavi
longa statio[n]
Rutheni. Luc.
lib. 1.

Stymphalidae.
Iliad. lib. 5.

Iliad. lib. 7.

An ill chaunce
ommeth not
alone.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

THESE Necessitie maketh men constant in their sufferings, so Custome giueth easines and meanes of deliuernace: according as may appear by this direction of Cæsar, which was wholly drawne from former experiance. For, first the Boates heire prescribed, vvere such as he vised in the warre of Britannie; and as far as may bee gathered out of the former Commentaries, were those he commandued to be built for his second iourney: which he would now imitate, in regard of the flatenes of their bottomes, and not otherwise. For, it is not to be supposed, that those Barkes were couered with skinnes; vnslese peraduenture hee vised some such as these vpon occasion in that warre, not exprest in the storie.

Herodotus in his *Clio*, describeth the like: The boats (saith he) which come from Babylon, downe the Riuier Euphrates, are made by the Heardmen of Armenia, of light Timber, in a round fation, without beake or poope, & are couered with skinne, the haire side inwarde; and in these they take their passage. Such as fish for Salmon in the Riuier of Seuerne, vse the like boates in all respects, which they call *Coracles of Corium*: beeing all couered with horse-skinnes tanned. Secondly, the meane he vised to passe ouer without impeachement from the Enemie, by carrying thole boates in the night time vp the Riuier to a place of securite, was such, the like whereof he had formerly practised in Gallia, to passe the Riuier Loier, beeing then guarded on the other side by the Enemie. Wherby we see, how much vse and continuance doth inable men, beyond others of smaller experiance: according to that, *Dies Diem docet*.

CHAP. XIX.

The Massilians encounter with Brutus at Sea, and are beaten.



While these things were done at Ilerda, the Massilians (by the direction of L. Domitius) rigged and set out 17 Gallies, whereof eleven were couered; besides many lesser vessels which went along with them, to make the Nauie seeme the greater for the affrightment of the Enemie. In these they put a great number of Archers, and many Albickes, of whom we haue formerly made mention; encouraging them both by rewards and promises. Domitius required certaine shippes for himselfe, and them he filled with Shepheards and Countrymen, which he had brought thither with him. The Nauie beeing thus furnished, set forward with great confidence towards our shippes, whereof D: Brutus was Admirall, and lay

lay at Anker at an island right ouer against Massilia. Brutus was far inferior to the enemy in shippes; but Cæsar having pickt the chiefeſt and valiantefſt men out of all the legions, as well of the Anteſignani as Centurions, put them aboard the Fleet, they themſelues requiring to bee imploied in that ſervice. Theſe men had prepared hookes, and grapples of iron, and had likewife furnished themſelues with many Piles and Darts, and other ſorts of weapons: and understanding of the Enemys comming, put to ſea, and encountered with the Massilians. They fought on either ſide very valiantly and fiercely; neither were the Albickes much inferior to our men in proweſſe, beeing rough mountainous people, exerciſed in Armes: and hauing a little before fallen off fro the Massilians, did now remember the late contract and league they had made with them. The Shepheards, in like manner (a rude and untaimed kind of people, ſirred up with hope of liberty) did ſtrive to ſhow their valour in the preſence of their Maſter.

The Massilians, truſting to the nimbleneſſe of their ſhipping, and in the ſkill and dexterite of their Pilots, did frustrate (in a deluding manner) the ſhooke of our ſhippes, when they came violently to ſtemme them. And, forasmuch as they had ſea-roome enough, they drew out their Nauie at length, to compaſſe and in- cloſe our men about: And ſometimes, they would ſingel out one of our ſhips, and ſet upon them with diuers of theirs together, and wipe off a ſide of their oars in their paſſage along by them.

When they came to deale at hand (leauing aside the art and ſkill of the Pilots) they tooke themſelues to the ſloutneſſe and valour of the Highlanders. Our men were faine to uſe worse oare-men, and more unskilfull Pilots; who beeing lately taken out of ſhippes of burden, did not well knowe the true names of the tacking, and were much troubled with the heauineſſe and ſluggiſhneſſe of the ſhipping; which beeing made in haſte of unſeaſoned timber, was not ſo nimble or ready for uſe. But, as the matter came to handie blowes, every ſingle ſhippe did willingly under-take two at once; and hauing grappled with either of them, fought on each ſide, entering valiantly the enemys ſhippes, killing a great number of the Highlanders and Shepheards. Part of the ſhips they funke, ſome they tooke with the men, & the reſt they beate backe into the Hauen. That day the Massilians lost nine ſhippes, with thoſe that were taken. This newes was brought to Cæſar at Ilerda.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

HAUe formerlie obſerued the manner of their ſea-fight, conſiſting of three parts; The firſt was, their nimble & ſkilfull managing of their ſhippes, either forceably to auault, or to lauie and beare off, as might fall for their beſt aduantage: wherein the Massilians, by reaſon of the ſkilfullerneſſe of their Pilots, had great conuincion. The ſecond, was their fight before they came to grappling, as well with great engines, ſuch as were their Baliffe and Catapulta, caſting ſtones and logs of wood one againſt another, as alſo with ſlings, arrowes and darts; reſembling our great artillerie, and

Observations vpon the first

and small shot; for which purpose, their shippes were built with fore-cattles & turrets, and other aduantages of height, for their casting weapons. The third, was their grapping and forceable entry; wherein, forasmuch as the matter was referred to the arbitrement of valour, the legionarie souldier caried the cause. Whence we may obserue, that their legions were the nurseries of their valiant and worthy men, as well for the sea as the land: beeing fitted by the discipline of their Militarie exercises, to vndertake any seruice subiect to humane industrie; whereof they gaue an account woorthis the Schoole wherein they were instructed.

Neither is it feene at any time, but that such kingdomes as make care to traine vp their men in Academies of vertuous Actualitie, doe alwaies keepe their honour at a high price; affording, at all times, men of absolute and compleat cariage, both for desaignement and performance.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

AHaue a little before shewed out of Linie, that the *Antesignani* were Ordinatilie taken for the *Haslati*; which, beeing the easiest sort of souldiers, according to the generall diuision of a legion, doth seeme to contradict the passage in this Chapter, *Sed delectos ex omnibus legionibus, fortissimos viros Antesignanos, Centuriones Cesar ei classi attribuerat*. For the better cleering whereof, we are to note, that as the *Haslati*, or first battell of a legion, were generallie taken for the *Antesignani* (as standing before the Eagle, and other the chiefe Ensignes, which were alwaies amongst the *Principes* or *second battell*); to euery Maniple, haning an Ensigne in the middest of the troope, the souldiers that stood in front before the Ensigne, were likewise called *Antesignani*, and were the best souldiers in the Companie: for, the *Centurion*, standing alwaies in the head of the troope, was accompanied with the valiantest and worthiest men; the rest, filling vp the reare, conforde with the Lieutenant, who there-upon was called *Tergi-ductor*.

Whence wee may admite the temperature and disposition of a Romaine Armie; beeing first generally diuided into three battells, whereof the meanest were in the vaughtguard, to make triall of their strength, and to spend the heat of their young blood in the first affront of an enemy: The *Veterani*, or olde souldiers, beeing left in the rearward, to repaire any losse, which either force or casuallie should cast vpon their Leaders. And againe, to counterpoise theselues, in such a manner as the weakest might not alwaies goe to the wall, their priuate Companies were so ordered, that the best men were alwaies in front. Whereby they made such an exquisite temper, as kept euery part of the Armie in their full strength.

CHAP.

Commentary of the Ciuill Warres.

CHAP. XX.

Vpon the making of this Bridge, the Enemie
resolueth to transferre the warre
into Celteribia.

Pon the making of this Bridge, Fortune suddenly changed. The enemy, fearing the courage and valour of our Caualrie, did not so freely range abroad as they had wont to do; Sometimes seeking forrage within a small distane of the Camp, to the end they might find a safe and easie retreit if occasion required: Sometimes fetching a great compasse about to avoid the guardes & stations of our horsemen. And if they had received but the least check, or had but defiried the Caualrie afarre off, they would haue cast downe their burdens, and fledde away.

*At last, they omitted forraging for many daies together, and (which was never vfe, by any Nation) sent out to seeke it in the night. In the meane time, those of *Osca* and *Caliguris*, beeing in league together, sent Embassadours to Cesar, with offer of their seruice, in such sort as he shoulde please to comand it. Within a few daies, the *Tarragonenes*, *Lacetani*, and *Anjetani*, together with the *Illurganonenes*, which border vpon the Riuere *Ebrus*, followed after. Of all these hee desired supplies of Corne, and provisyon: which they promised to furnish; and accordingly got horses from all quarters, and brought graine into the Campe. In like manner, the Regiment of the *Illurganonenes*, understanding the resolution of their State, left the Enemy, and came vnto him with their Colours: and suddenly a great alteration of things appeared.*

*The bridge beeing perfected, great Cities and States beeing come in vnto him, course setled for prouision of Corne, and the rumour blowen ouer of the succours and legions, which Pompey was said to come withall, by the way of *Mauritania*; many other townes further off, revolted from *Afranius*, and clane to Cesar's partie.*

*The Enemie, beeing much affrighted and abashed at these things, Cesar (to avoide the great circuit by which hee continually sent his horsemen about by the bridge) hauing got a convenient place, resolued to make many trenches of thirtie foote in breadth, by which he might draine some part of the riuere *Sicoris*, and make it passable by a foord. These trenches beeing almost made, *Afranius* and *Petreius* did therupon conceiue a great feare, least they shoulde be cut off altogether from victuall and forrage; forasmuch as Cesar was very strong in horse, and therefore they determined to leue that place, and transferre the warre into *Celteribia*: bring the rather thereunto induced, for that of those 2 contrarie Factions, whiche in the former warre had stood for *L. Sertorius*, such Citties as were subdued by Pompey, did yet stand in awe of his Name and Authoritie:*

H. and

Cesar.

Osca.
Caliguris.

Obseruations vpon the first

and that such, as from the beginning had continued firme unto him, did intirely loue him, for the great benefites they had received from him; amongst whom Cesars name was not knowne. There they expected great succours both of horse and foote, and made no doubt but to keep the warre on foote vntill winter.

This aduise beeing agreed vpon, they gaue order to take vp all the boates that were on the riuier Iberus, and to bring them to Octogesa; a towne sited vpon Iberus, twentie miles from the Campe. There they commaunded a bridge of boates to be made; and transporting two legions ouer Sicoris, fortified their Camp with a rampier of twelue foote in height: which beeing knowne by the Discouerers, Caesar by the extreame labour of the souldiers, continued day and night in turning the course of the water; & at length, brought the matter to that passe, that the horsemen (with some difficulty) durst aduenture ouer; but the foot troopes, hauing nothing aboue the water but their heads, were so hindered as well by the depth of the Riuier, as the swiftnesse of the streme, that they could not well get ouer. Notwithstanding, at the same instant of time, newes was brought of the making of the bridge ouer the Riuier Iberus, and a foord was found in the riuier Sicoris.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.


First, concerning the places heere mentioned, the Reader may take notice, that Ilerda (now knownen by the name of Lerida) standeth vpon the Riuier Sicoris, in the Prouince of Catalonia; and beeing sited vpon a hill, is inclosed round with a wall of hewen stone, in a pleasant and fertile Countrey, both for Corne, wine, oyle, and fruite: as it is graphically described by Lucan:

*Colle tumet modico, leuique excreuit in altum
Pingue solum tumulo, super hunc fundata vetusta
Surgit Ilerda manu; placidis pralabitur vndis
Hesperios inter Sicoris non vltimus amnes:
Sixens ingenti quicq; em pons ampliicitur arcu,
Iberinas passuras aquas.*

It was formerly a Vniuersitie, and at all times famous for salt meates & pickled fish. Whereto Horace alludeth, when he tolde his booke, That altho' it so fell out that no man would regard it, neuerthelesse, it might serue at Ilerda to wrap Salt-fish in.

Aut fugies Vticam, aut vnde tuis mittetis Ilerdam.

Osca, now called Huesca, a towne likewise of Catalonia, in former time surnamed *Vitrix*, where Sertorius kept the sonnes of the Grandes of Spaine, as pledges of their loyalty; vnder pretext of learning the Greeke and Latine tongue, which he had there cauied to be taught, in forme of an Academie.

In

Commentary of the Ciuill Warres.

In this towne his hap was to befallaine by Perpenna, as Paterculus recordeth the storie; *Tum M. Perpenna pratorius, i proscriptis, generis clarioris quam animi, Sertorium inter canam Acto scianterem; Romanisque certa victoriam, partibus suis excidit, sibi turpis simam mortem, pessimo aut orauit facinore: Which Aeroſca, is by all men taken for this Osca.*

The inhabitants boast of nothing more at this day, then that S. Laurence was a Cittizen of their towne.

Calaguris, now Calahorra, is seated vpon a hill on the bankes of Iberus; the people whereof are famous for their constancie, and faithfulness to their Cōmaunders, and specially to Sertorius: as appeareth by that of Valerius Maximus: *Quod perseverantius interempti Sertorii cineribus obsidionem Cn. Pompei frustrante, fidem præfarent, quia nullum iam aliud in urbe eorum supererat animal, oxores suos, matosque, ad usum nefarie dapis verterunt; quoque diutius armata iuuentus, viscera sua visceribus suis aleret, infelices cadaverum reliquias salire non dubitauit.*

Neuerthelesse, Afranius tooke the in the end, by continuall siege; amongst whom that antiquite of Bebricius is very remarkable, which is yet extant necre to Logronno.

DIIS. MANIBVS.
Q. SERTORII.
ME. BEBRICIVS. CALAGVRITANVS.
DEVOVI.
ARBITRATVS.
RELIGIONEM. E SSE.
EO. SVBLATO.
QVI. OMNIA.
CVM. DIIS. IMMORTALIBVS.
COMMVNIA. HABEBAT.
ME. INCOLVMEM.
RETINERE. ANIMAM.
VALE. VIATOR. QVI. HÆC. LEGIS.
ET. MEO. DISCE. EXEMPLIO.
FIDEM. SERVARE.
IPSA. FIDES.
ETIAM. MORTVIS. PLACET.
CORPORE. HVMANO. EXVTIS.

In memorie of whose fidelite, Augustus Caesar tooke a band of these people for a guard to his person. In this towne was Quintilian the Rhetorician borne; and beeing brought from thence to Rome, in Nero his time, was the first that taught a publicke Schoole for salarye: as witnesseth Saint Hierome; *Quintilianus ex Hispania Calaguritanus primus Roma publicam Scholam tenuit, et salario cohonestatus publico claruit.*

Celtiberia was the Countrey lying along the Riuier Iberus, inhabited by people comming out of Gallia Celtica: where vpon Lucan saith;

H 2

profu-

Observations vpon the first

— *profligique à Gente vetusta
Gallorum Celta, misentes nomen iberis.*

Florus calleth them *Hispacia Robur*. And Valerius Maximus affirmeth, That they were alwaies glad of warre, as beeing to end their life in happiness and honour; and lamented their ill fortune to die in their beddes, as a miserable and shamefull end.

— *Hic pugna cecidisse decus, corporisque cremari
Tale nefas: calo credunt, superisque referri,
Impetus carpat si membra iacentia vultur.*

Their Armes and weapons were of singular raretie: for, besides the water of Bilbo, which gaue them an invincible temper; they had also a peculiar fabhion of working them, as witnesseth Diodorus Siculus: hiding their places of Iron in the earth, vntill the worst and weakest part were eaten out withrust, and of that which remained, they made very hard fowrs.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

HE suddaine alterations of warre, are like the changings of mens mindes vpon small accidents; which are so forceable to shake out resolutions, as made a great Philofor her, to decribe a man by the propertie of *mutable Animal*. And is notable scene in this; That Afranius, in the compasse of a few daies, triumphed of Cæsars ouerthow, and fled away for feare of his power. Whence we may note the aduantage coming to a partie, when they shake off any eminent distresse: for, as the extremitie thereof threatneth ruine and destruction, so the alteration bringeth with it an opinion of victorie. And surely, such is the condition of all sorts of Miserie, that when the storne is ouer, and the bitternes of the affliction alaid, good times come redoubled vpon the Patients; as though the vicisitute of things, did inforse contrary effects. And therefore, a Commaundur, knowing the advantage of such an opportunitie, must indeuour to improue the same, as may best serue to a speedie end.

CHAP. XXI.

The Enemy setteth forward, and is staied by Cæsar.



HE Enemy, ther-pon thought it expedient for him to make the more hastie; and therfore leauing two auxiliary cohorts for the safe keeping of Ilerda, hee transported all his forces ouer the Riuier Sicoris, and incamped himselfe with the two legions, which formerly he had caried ouer. There remained nothing for Cæsar to doe, but with his Caualrie to impeache

and

Commentary of the Ciuill Warres.

and trouble the enemy in their march. And forasmuch as it was a great compasse about, to goe by the bridge (wherby it would come to passe, that the Enemy would get to Iber a farre neerer way) bee passed ouer his horsemen by the foord. About the third watch, as Petreius and Afranius had raised their Camp, vpon a suddaine, the Caualrie shewed themselves in the reare; and swarming about them in great multitudes, began to stay and hinder their passage. As soone as it beganne to bee day light; from the upper ground where Cæsar lay incamped, it was perceived, how the rearward of the enemy was hard laid to by our Caualrie, and how sometimes they turned head againe, and were neuerthelesse broken and rowted: sometimes their Ensignes stood suddenly still, and all their foote troopes charged our horse, and forc't them to give way; and then turning backe, went on their way againe. The soldiery walking vp and down the Camp, were grieved that the enemy shoule so escape their handes, whereby the matter would consequently be spun out into a long warre: and went unto the Centuri ons and Tribunes of the soldiery, praying them to beseech Cæsar not to spare them for any danger or labour; for, they were ready and willing to passe the Riuier where the horse went ouer. Cæsar, moone through their desire and importunitie, albeit he feared to expose his Army to a riuer of that greatness, yet he thought it expedient to put it to triall: and therefore commaunded, that the weakest soldiery of all the Centuries should bee taken out, whose courage or strength shewed a disabilitie to under-take that seruice: and these he left in the Campe, with one legion to defend the same, bringing out the other legions without carriage or burden; and having set a great number of horses & cattell both aboue and belowe in the riuier, hee transported his Army ouer. Some few of the soldiery, being caried away with the streame, were succoured and taken vp by the horsemen; insomuch as not one man perished.

The Army caried thus ouer in safetie, bee ranged them in order, and marched forward with a three-fold battell. Such was the endeouour of the soldiery, that albeit they had set circuit of sixe miles to the foord, and had spent much time in passing the riuier; yet by the ninth houre, they did ouertake the enemie that rose about the thirde watch of the night.

Assoone as Afranius and Petreius had discouered the legions afarre off (being terrifid with the noueltie of that pursuite) they betooke themselves to the upper ground, and there imbatteleld their troopes. In the meane time, Cæsar refresched his Armie in the field, and would not suffer them (beeing wearie) to give battell: and as they tried againe to goe on in their march, he followed after and staied them; whereby the enemy was forced to incampe sooner then was purposed: for, ther were hilles a little before them; and for five miles together, the passages were very difficult and narrow.

By which meanes (beeing aduanced betweene the hilles) they hoped to bee free from Cæsars Caualrie; and by keeping the passages, to binder the Armie frō following after; to the end they themselves, might without perill or feare, put their forces ouer the riuier Iberus: which by all meanes was to bee effected. Neuerthelesse, beeing wearied with traualing and fighting all day, they putt off the busynesse to the next morning.

H 2.

Cæsar

Three of the
clock in the af-
ternoone.

Observations vpon the first

Cæsar also incamped himselfe on the next hill; and about midnight, some of their partie being gone out from the Campe, some-what far off, to fetch water, were taken by the horsemen. By them, Cæsar was aduertised, that the Enemie with silence began to remoue, and to lead their troopes out of their Campe. Whereupon, he commaundered the signe of rising to be giuen, and the cry (dislodging and trauising up their baggage) to be taken vp, according to the discipline and use of souldiers.

The Enemie, hearing the cry, fearing least they shold bee impeached in the night, and forced to fight with their burdens on their backs, or to be shute up in those straight passages by Cæsars horsemen, staid their journey, and kept their forces within their Campe.

O B S E R V A T I O N S.

His passage ouer Sicoris, was in the same manner as hee caried his Armie ouer the Riuier Loier, in the leauenth Commentarie of the warre of Gallia; *Vado per Equites invento, pro rei necessitate opportuno, ut Brachia modo atque Humeri, ad susinenda arma liberi ab aqua esse possent, disposito equitatut, qui vim fluminis frangerent, incolument exercitum transduxit.*

The horse that stod aboue, brake the force of the water, & those that were beloue, tooke vp such as were ouercome with the streame; and withall, gaue courage to the souldier to venture with better assurance, seeing the passage impled in, on each side, to keepe them fro miscarying. His attempt vpon Sicoris, to abate the swelling pride of that Riuier, by diuiding it into many streames, was in imitation of the first Cyrus; who taking displeasure at the Riuer Cyndes, next vnto Euphrates the greatest Riuer of Afsyria, drew it into three hundred and threescore chanelles.

Cæsarius, not finding the Riuer Halis passable by a foord, and hauing no meanes to make a bridge, funke a great trench behinde the Campe, from the upper part of the Riuer, and so drew all the water behind his Armie.

Vegetius hath a particular discourse of passing an Armie ouer a Riuier, whither it be by bridge or boate, or by wading, or swimming, or any other way: to which I referte the Reader.

CHAP.

Commentary of the Ciuill Warres.

71

CHAP. XXII.

Afranius seeketh to take the Straites betweene certaine Mountaines; but was preuen-
ted by Cæsar.
(..)



HE next day following, Petreius went out secretly with a few horse, to discouer the Countrey; and for the same purpose, some went likewise out of Cæsars Campe. L. Decidius Saxonius was sent with a small troope to view the site of the Place, and either party returned with the same report: that for very rough and mountainous; and who soever first tooke those straights, might easily impeache the enemy from going further. The matter was disputed in the Councell of warre, by Petreius and Afranius; the time of their setting forward, was debated: Most of them thought it fit to take their journey in the night; for, by that means, they might come to those straights before it were perceiued. Others were of opinion, that it was not possible to steele out in the night; as appeared by the cry of rising, taken up the night before in Cæsars Campe, vpon their remouing: and Cæsars horsemen did so range abroad in the night, that all places and passages were kept & shute vp. Neither were they to giue occasion of night fights, but to avoid the same by all the meanes they could; forasmuch as in ciuill dissencion, the ordinary souldier would rather suffer himselfe to bee ouer-maistered by feare, then continue firme in the allegiance which he had sworne vnto: whereas, in the day time, every man hath shame and dishonor before his eyes; together with the presence of the Centurions and Tribunes: with which respects, a souldier is restrained, and kept within the bounds of duty. And therefore, the attempt was by all meanes to be undertaken in the day time, although it fell out to some losse; yet neuerthelesse, the body of the Armie might passe in safetie, and possesse that place which they sought for.

This opinion prevailing in their consultation, they determined by break of day the next morning to sette forward. Cæsar, hauing diligently viewed the Countrey; as soon as day began to appeare, drew all his forces out of his Campe, and marched forward in a great circuit, keeping no direct way. For, the waies which lead to Iberus and Oſtogeſa, were taken vp with the Enemies Campe; insomuch as they were to passe ouer great and difficult valleis. And in many places, broken Rocks and Stones did so hinder them, that they were necessarie to giue their weapons from hand to hand, the souldiers lifting vp one another, and so they passed most part of the way. Howsoever, no man thought much of the labour, for that they hoped to giue an end to all their travell, if they could keep the enemy from passing ouer the Riuier Iberus, and cut off his victuals.

Attollunt campo
gemina iuga
laxe carpes, ralle
te caua media:
cellus hinc ardua
celos continua
colles, tunc quo
inter opa auro
strati latere
rue: quibus he
ste posito fauibus
emiti ter
ratur in deuia
Maritem, inque
seras gentes Ce
sar videt?
Lucan. lib. 4.

Ite sine rillo or
dine, ait, rapti
que fuga cōver
te bellum, et
faciem pugna
runtq; infete
minaces. Lucan
lib. 4.

At

Observations vpon the first

At the first, Afranius souldiers ranne ioyfully out of their Campe, to see the Armie, casting out words of derision & reproche, that for want of victuall, they fledde and returned to Ilerda; for, the way they held, was quite contrary to that they intended: whereby they seemed to goe backe againe: and the Commanders themselues, did much approove their owne counsell, that they had kept their troopes within the Campe. For, that which confirmed the in their opinion, was, that they perceiued they were come out without their carriages: whereby they hoped, necessity would not suffer them to continue long there. But when they saw the troopes by little and little to wind to the right hand; and that they perceiued, how those that were in front, had fallen backward beyond their Camp, there was no man so dull, but thought it expedient presently to march out, and make head against them. Whereupon, they cried to Arme; and all their forces, excepting some few cohorts which were left to keepe the Campe, went out, and marched directly towards Iberus.

The whole busyness consisted in speed and celerite, which of the two shoulde first take the straights, and posseſſe the hilles. Cæſars Army was hindered by the difficultie of the way: and Afranius partie was retarded by Cæſars Cauaile. The matter was come to that upshot, that if Afranius partie did first get the hils, they might happily quit themſelues of danger; but the baggage of the whole Armie, and the cohorts left in the Campe could not be ſaued: for, beeing intercepted & ſecluded by Cæſars Armie, there was no meaneſ to relieue them.

It fell out, that Cæſar first attained the place; and beeing come out from among thofe great Rocks into a plaine champaigne, put his Army in order of battell againſt the enemy.

Afranius, ſeeing the enemy in front, and his rearward hardly charged by Cæſars Cauaile, got the aduantage of a ſmal hill, & there made their ſtand: and from thence ſent 4 cohorts bearing round bucklers, unto a Mountaine, which in all menſight was higher then the reſt; commandaung them to runne as fast as they could, and posſeſſe that hill, intending to follow after with all his forces; and altering his course, to gette along the ridges and topes of the Mountaines to Ilogeſa.

As the cohorts were aduaunced forward by an oblique circuit, Cæſars Cauaile perciuing their intendement, ſette vpon them with ſuch violence, that they were not able any time to beare their charge, but were all cut in peeces in the fight of both Armies.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Dicitur, Etneius and Afranius, in their Councell of warre, resolute by all meaneſ to ſhun night encounters, as a thing full of hazard and vncertaintie, and apt for loofenelſ and diſobedience: for, the night, beeing neither a diſcouerer of errores, nor yet a diſtinguisher either of

Commentary of the Ciuill Warres.

73

of actions or perſons; but wrapping vp both the vertuous & the iauelie in her Mantle of obſcuritie, doth not admit of diſciplines, to follow an opportunity, or to help a miſtaking: but rather giuing way to Impunitie and licentious conuiction, leaueth no hope of what is wiſhed: VVhereas the light is a witneſſe of e-very mans demeanour, and hath both honour & rebuke to make due reſpec-
ted.

For which cauſes, Curio (as it followeth in the next Commentarye) in his harangue before that vntimely expedition againſt king Iuba, reieced their aduice that would haue had him ſet forward in the night: *At etiam ut media nocte profici tamur addunt: quo maiorem credo licentiam habeant qui peccare conantur: Namque huic modis aut pudore aut metu tenetur, quibus rebus nox maxime aduersaria eſt.*

And, that the danger may appear as well by effect as by diſcourse, let the Reader take notice of that battell by night, between Antonius Primus, on the behalfe of Vespafian, and the Vitellian legions neare vnto Cremona. Wherē of Tacitus hath this deſcription, *Prelium tota nocte varium, aneps, atrox; his, rursus illis, exitiabile. Quidam animus aut manus, ne oculi quidem prouisus iuabant. &c.* And thus are all night workeſ condemned, wherein either order or honour are of anie moment.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

Hauſe already noted, in the former Commentaries, the vſe of exact and particular diſcouerie of the Countrey, where a partie is ingaged: then which, nothing doth more aduantage a Commander to expedite the happy iſſue of a warre. For, by that meaneſ, he is not onely able to iudge of any motion which the enemy ſhall offer, and to giue ſure diſciplines to fruſtrate and make vioide the ſame; but also to diſpoſe himſelfe, according as ſhall ſeeme expedient for his ſaſtie. VVherein, if a place of ſuch conuēnience as is heere mentioned ſhall by deſigne be aymed at, this hif-ſtorie ſheweth, how much it importeth either partie to obtaine it: and therefore Cæſar had reaſon to make his paſſage through Valleis and Rocks, rather then to loſe viſtorie, for want of labouring a little in an vneaſie way.

This Lucius Decidius Saxo, or Didius Saxo, imploied in this diſcouerie, was afterward aduaunced by Cæſar, to bee Tribune of the people; whereat Tullie was ſo much offendēd. How can I omit (faith he) this Decidius Saxo, a man brought from the furtheſt end of the world: whom we ſee Tribune of the people, before we euer ſaw him a Citizen.

Regne in vicio-
ria decaſus, nec in
ſuga flagiſum.
Tact. Hist. li. 2

2. Historie.

Oratio. 13 Plu-
ri.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIII.

Cæsar refused to fight vpon an aduantage offered, contrary to the opinion and desire of all men.

Came Here was an opportunitie then offered of doing something to purpose; neither was Cæsar ignorant thereof. Such an overthrowe giuen before their faces, did consequentlie so discourage them, that it was thought they would not indure a charge: especially, beeing compassed about with the Caualrie, in an indifferent and open place, where the matter was to be decided by battell. Which was on all sides instantly desired at Cæsars hands: for, the Legates, Centurions, and Tribunes of the souldiers, came ioyntly vnto him, desiring him to make no doubt of giuing battell; for, all the souldiers were very ready, and forward there-onto: whereas the contrary partie had shewed many arguments of feare and discouragement. First, in that they did not succour their fellowes. Secondly, in asmuch as they had not houged from the Hill, which they had tooke for a retreat. Neither had they withstood the charge and incursion of the Caualrie, but had thronged pell mell together, and confusely mingled their Ensignes one with another; no man either keeping his place, or his colours. And if they had feared the inequality and disadvantage of the Place, they might haue taken some other of more indifferencie; for, certainly they could not long stay where they were, but must depart from thence for want of water.

Cæsar was in hope to end the matter, without either blowe or wound of his men; forasmuch as he had cut off the enemy from victuall. And why then shold he lose a man, although it were to gaine a victory? Why shold he suffer his valiant and well-deserving souldiers, to be so much as hurt or wounded? Or why shold he put the matter to the hazard of Fortune? especially, when it no lesse concerned the honour and reputation of a Commander, to vanquish an enemie by direction and aduice, then to subdue them by force of Armes: being moued, withall, with a tender commiseration of such Cittizens of Rome, as were consequently to be hazarded or slaine in the fight; where-as hee desired to worke out his owne Ends with their safety.

This opinion of Cæsars, was disallowed by most men: and the souldiers would not sticke to speake plainly amongst themselves; forasmuch as such an occasion of victorie was overslipt, that when Cæsar would haue th̄e, they would not fight. Hee, notwithstanding, continued firme in his opinion; and fell a little off from the enemy, to lessen and abate their feare and amazement. Petreius and Afranius, vpon the opportunity giuen them, with-drew themselves into their Camp. Cæsar, having possest the Hilles with gaurisons of souldiers, and shut vp all the passages leading to Iberus, incamped himselfe as neere as he could to the enemie.

The

Commentary of the Ciuill Warres.

The Commanders of the aduerte partie, beeing much afflicted that they had absolutely lost all meanes of provision of victuall, and of gaining the Riuier Iberus, consulted together of other courses. There were two waies left open; the one to retурne to Ilerda, and the other to Tarragon. And while they were considering of these things, it was told them, that such as went out for water, were very much pressed by our Caualrie. Where-upon, they placed many courts of guard, as well of horse, as Auxiliary footement, interlacing the legionary Cohorts amongst them; and began also to raise a rampier from the Campe to the watering place, that the souldiers might safely, without feare, fetch water within the boundes of their fortification. Which worke, Petreius and Afranius diuided betweene themselves; and for the perfecting of the same, had occasion to goe farre off from the Campe: by meanes of whose absence, the souldiers taking libertie of free speech one with another, went out; and as any man had an acquaintance or neighbour in each others Campe, they fought him out. And first, they all gaue thanks to all our party, that they had spared them when they were terrified and amazed the day before: in regard whereof, they acknowledged to hold their lines by their fauour: And afterwards, inquired how they might safely yeld themselves to their Generall, complaining that they had not done it in the beginning, and so haue ioyned their forces with their ancient friends and kinsmen.

And haing proceeded thus farre in their communication, they require assurance for the liues of Afranius and Petreius; least they shold seeme to conceiue mischiefe against their Generalls, or betray them in seeking their owne safetie. Which things beeing agreed upon, they promised to come with their Ensignes to Cæsars Camp; and ther-upon, sent to Cæsar some of the Centurions of the first Orders, as Deputies to treat of peace.

In the meane time, they invited their friendes on either side into the Camps; insomuch, as both their lodeings seemed but one Campe. Many of the Tribunes of the souldiers, and Centurions, came to Cæsar, recommending themselves to his fauour: and the like did the Grandes and chiefe Princes of Spaine; who they had commaunded out, to take party in this warre, and to remaine with them as Hostages and Pledges. These inquired after their old acquaintances & ancient hostes, by whom each man might haue accessse to Cæsar with some commendation. In like manner, Afranius his sonne dealt with Cæsar, by the mediation of Sulpitius a Legate, touching his owne and his fathers life. All things sowned of joy, and mutuall congratulation, of them that had escaped such eminent dangers: and of us, that seemed to haue effected such great matters without bloodshed. Insomuch as Cæsar (in all mens judgement) reaped great fruit of his accustomed clemencie and mildnes: and his counsell was generally approued of all men.

Et quamvis nullo maculatus
sanguine miles,
que putat secundum
timet. Lucan.
lib. 4.

Hospitium ille ciet
nomen, vocat ille
propinquu: ad
mone hunc flui
dij conuersi pue
dibus etas: nec
Romana erat
qui non agnoscet
hostem. Lu
can. lib. 4.

THE OBSERVATION.

His Chapter containeth a passage of that note and eminencie, as the like is not read in anie storie. For, if we search the recordes of all Nations, from the very birth of Bellona, vnto times of latter memorie, it will no where else appeare, that a Generall spared any accouage to purchase a victorious name, by the bloodshed and ruine of his enemie: and that contrary to the will and desire of his Armie, that had vndergon such difficulties and hazards, to give an end to that warre. Contrary to his knowledge and late experiance of the mutability and change of time and fortune. Contrary to the furest rule of warre; *Dolus an virtus, quis in hoste requirit?* And contrary to the vse of Armes, which are alwaies bent against an enemie to subdue him.

This is the fruit of that other part of Military knowledge, which men doe rather admire then attaine vnto, no less concerning the honour of a Commaundour; *Consilio, superare quam gladio*, and was a maine stepp to raise him to the Empire. For, how louer the souldier (to prevent further labour) blood hard for blood, not respecting that of the Comick, *Omnia prius experiri verbis, quam armis sapientem decet*: yet if Cæsar had bee ne iurious to Nature, as to haue left them to their owne desires, and sufficerid their furie to haue violated the law of humanitie, more then was required for victorie; they would afterwards haue loathed themselues, and cursed their swords for such vncauable execution: and may be doubted, would haue reuenged it vpon his head, before the time came to strike the fatal stroke of the exection of that State. Esteeming it also a part of diuine power, to saue men by troopes, according to that of Seneca; *Hæc divina potentia est, gregatim, ac publicè seruare*. And therefore, hee chose rather to displeaſe the souldier for the preſent, then to loſe that honour which attendeth the sparing of home-bred blood. Whereof foraine enemies are not altogether ſo capable.

CHAP. XXIIII.

Petreius breaketh off the Treatie, and new sweareth the Souldiers to the Partie.

Cæſar.

 Franius, beeing aduertised of theſe paſſages, left the worke which he had begunne, and with-drew himſelfe into the Campe; prepared (as it ſeemed) to take patiently whatſoever ſhould befall him. But Petreius was no way dismaide therat; for, hauing armed his houſhold familie, hee went flying with them, & a Praetorian cohort of Buckler-bearers, together

Commentary of the Ciuill Warres.

together with ſome few ſtipendarie horſe of the barbarous people, whom he was woult to keepe about him, as a guard to his perſon: and came ſuddainely and unlooked for, to the Rampire; brake off the ſouldiers treaty; thrust our men off from the Campe; killing ſuch as he could apprehend. The rest got together, & affrigated at the ſaddainenes of the danger, wrapt their coates about their left armes, and with their ſwords drawne, defended themſelves from the Buckler-bearers, and Horſemen: and truſting to the neerenesse and propinquity of their Campe, they tooke courage and got ſafely thither, beeing protec̄t̄ed by the Cohorts that had the guard at the Campe gates.

This beeing done, Petreius went weeping about to the Maniples, calling the ſouldiers, and beſeeching theſt to leaue and forſake him, nor yet Pompey their Generall, that was abſent: nor to deliuer them ouer to the crueltie of their adverſaries. Preſently there-upon, a great concoſe of ſouldiers was about the Praetory, requiring that every man might take an oath, not to abandon or betray the Army or their Generalls, nor yet to enter into priuate conſultation thereof without conſent of the reſt. He himſelfe firſt tooke an oath to this effect, & caſed Afranius to take the ſame. The Tribunes of the Souldiers and Centurions, followed in order: and after them, the ſouldiers were brought out according to their Centuries, and were ſworne the ſame oath.

They caſed it alſo to be proclaimed, that whosoeuer had any of Cæſars ſouldiers, ſhould cauſe them to be brought out; and beeing brought forth, they ſlew were with them, and in the night time, ſent them ouer the Rampire. Whereby it came to paſſe, that the terror wherewith the Generalls had affrigated theſt, the cruelty they had ſhewen in punishment, together with the vaine religion of the new oath, had taken away all hope of yeelding for the preſent: and quite changing the ſouldiers mindeſ, had reduced the matter to the former course of warre.

Cæſar, for his part, cauſed diligent inquiry to bee made, of ſuch ſouldiers as came into his Campe during the time of the treaty, and ſent them away in ſafety. But of the Tribunes of the ſouldiers and Centurions, many of their voluntarye accord remained with him: whom afterwards he held in great honour; and aduaunced the Centurions, and ſuch Romaine Knights as were of the better ranke, to the place and dignitie of Tribunes.

The Afranians were forely laid unto in their forraige, and watered likewie with great difficultie. Many of the legionarie ſouldiers had ſtore of Corne, beeing comauanded to take prouision with them from Ilerda for twenty two daies: But the Buckler-bearers, and Auxiliary forces, had none at all, hauing alſo but ſmall meaneſ to provide and furniſh themſelves; for which cauſe, a great number fledde daily to Cæſar.

*Iunctos amplex-
at, et multo di-
ſturbat sanguine
faciem. Luc.*

*Inter mensa que
torquas, que
modo complexo
ſuertunt pectora
cedunt. Lucan.
lib. 4.*

*Hoc ſiquidè ſolo
ſimili criminis
belli due cauſa
melioribus erit.
Lucan. lib. 4.*

Observations vpon the first

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

 That every man is the maker of his owne fortune, is evidently seene in the severall carriages of these two Generalls. For, Afranius gaue way to the souldiers treatie, and resolued to suffer whatsoeuer that transacion shoulde cast vpon him. But Petreius, oppoſing himſelfe to their deſires, raiſed new troubles, had further deſignes, and another fortune. Wheretin, forasmuch as the euent of things riſeth according as they are firſt directed, either by weake or ſtrong reſolutions; it better ſuſteth the temper of a ſouldier (howſoever the ſuſceſſe fall out with our deſires) rather to be ſtiffe in what he wiſheth; then to make his owne eaiſneſſe, the ready meaneſe of his aduerſaries hapineſſe.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

 Virtue at all times hath had this priuiledge in the diſſerence & de‐grees of State and Condition, to make a Noble mans word, equal to a Common mans oath: but the integritie of former ages, had a more generall prerogatiue, auouching every mans promife for the ſtrictneſſe of an oath. Hence it was, that the Romaines, vpon their inſollement for a war, gaue but their promife to the Tribune of the ſouldiers, to keepe ſuch ordinances as their *Militia* required: vntill at length, that the corruption of time (ſalifying the ſimplicitie & truth of words) did inforſe them to give an oath, as the ureſt bond of faith and obedience: as it is noted by Liuie at large; The ſouldiers (faith hee) which was neuer before that time practiſed, were ſworne by the Tribunes, to appeare vpon ſummons from the Consuls, and not to depart without leue. For, vntill then, there was nothing required of them but a ſolemne promife (which the horſemen made by their Decurries, and the foote troops by their Centurieſ) not to leue their Colours by flight, or through feare, nor to forſake their rank, vniſleſſe it were either to auſtall an enemie, to take vp an offenſive weapon, or to ſauie a Citizen; & being at firſt but the offer of a free mind, was now by the Tribunes required by obligation of an oath.

The forme of this oath was diuerſely varied, as appeareth by Aul. Gel. and more ſpecially in the times of the Emperours: for, Caligula made this addition to the ſouldiers oath; That they ſhould hold neither their liues nor their children, dearer vnto them then the Emperour Caius and his ſisters. Concerning the reſpeſt had of this Militarie oath, that which Tully reporteth of Cato is of excellent note. *Popilius, hauiing charge of the Prouince of Macedonia, had (amoungt other Romaine youthes) Catos ſon, a young ſouldier in his Ar‐mie; and being occaſioned to diſmiff a legion, diſcharged likewiſe young Cato, being one of that legion: but he, defirous to beare Armes in that war, con‐tinued ſtill in the Ar‐mie; wherepon, Cato wrot from Rome to Popilius, re‐quiring him, that if he ſuffered his ſonne to remaine in that warre, hee would by any meaneſe ſwear him againe: for, beeing diſcharged of his firſt oath, hee could not lawfullie fight againſt the Enemy.

Euer

Commentary of the Ciuill Warres.

79

Euer ſince Conſtantine the great, the ſouldiers were iworne by a Christian oath, as Vegetius noteth, to obey all things the Emperour ſhould command them; not to leue their warfare without licence, nor to ſhuſt death for the ſer‐vice of the Publique weale. And at this day, amoungt other Nations, an oath is giuen to the ſouldier vpon his inrollement, to this effect; Well and lawfully to ſerue the King, towards all men, and againſt all, without exception of per‐ſons. And if they knowe any thing concerning his ſeruice, to reueale the fame incontinentie; not to leue their Colours, without leue either of the Generall, or his Lieutenant.

The auncient Romaines did charge their ſolemne and publique oathes, with many ceremonies: as appeareth by that form which was vſed in ratifying Treaties & Transactions; Their Heralds killed a hog, and cried out withall, that the like would happen to him that firſt falſified his faith.

Polybius reporteth, that he that read the oath wherby the Romaines & Carthaginians ſware their accord, had the haire of his head tied vp in an extraordi‐nary manner: The parties invocating their Jupiter, to grant all proſperitie to him, that without fraud or deceit did enter into that agreement. But if (ſaid hee that tooke the oath) I ſhall either doe, or purpose otherwife; all the reſt beeing ſafe and ſound, let me alone (in the midſt of the lawes and iuſtice of my Countrey, in my owne habitation and dwelling, and within my proper Temples and Sepulchers) periſh moſt unforunatly, even as this ſtone ſlieth out of my hand: and (as he ſpake those words) cast away a ſtone.

I doe not find the vſe of a Military oath in our Nation. Howbeit, the coomon forme of our oath, is as ceremonious and ſignificatiue as any other whatſoeuer: which may be obſerved by the three parts it containeth, as I haue ſene them alioriſed in ſome Antiquities. For, firſt, the booke beeing alwaies a part of holiſt writ, implieth a renunciation of all the promifeſ therein contained. Secondly, the touching it with our handes, inferreth the like defiance of our works, neuer to be ſuccesfull or helping vnto vs. Thirdly, the kiffing of the booke, importeth a vaine mispending of our vowes and praierſ, if wee falſifie any thing thereby averred.

CHAP. XXV.

The endeuour which Afranius vſed to returne to Ilerda; but failed in his deſigne.



HE matter beeing in this extremitie; of two meaneſe which were left vnto them, it was thought the readier and more expedient, to returne to Ilerda. For, hauiing left there behind them a little Corne, they hoped to take ſome good course for the ſequell. Tarraco was further off, & thereby ſubiect to more cauſalities concerning their paſſage. In regard whereof, they refouled

Cafar.

I 2.

Lib. 2. cap. 5.

Lib. 3. Hisſo.

resolued of their former course, and so dislodged themselves.

Cæsar, having sent his Caualrie before, to incumber and retard the reare-guard, followed after (himselfe) with the legions. The hindmost troopes of their Armie, were constrained (without any intermission of time) to fight with our horsemen. And their manner of fight was thus: Certaine expedite Cohorts, free of carriages, marched in the reare of their Army, and in open and champaigne places, many of these Cohorts made a stand, to confront our Caualrie. If they were to ascend vp a Hill, the nature of the place did easily repell the danger wherwith they were threatened; forasmuch as such as went before, might easily from the higher ground, protec them that followed after: but, when they came to a valley or descent, that those that were in the former rankes, could not helpe them in the reare; the horsemen from the upper ground, did cast their weapons wth great ease and facility vpon the Enemy. And then continually they were in great hazard and danger: and still as they approached neare unto such places, they called to the legions, and willed them to make a stand with their Ensignes, and so by great force and violence, expell our Caualrie.

Who beeing retired backe, they would suddenly take a running, and get all downe into the valley. And presently againe, beeing to ascende into higher ground, they would there make a stand: for, they were so farre from having help of their owne Caualrie (whereof they had great number) that they were gladd to take them beeweene their troopes, (being much affrighted with former encounters) and so to shelter and protec them: of whom, if any chaunced (upon occasion) to stray aside out of the rout the Army held, they were presently attached by Cæsars horsemen.

The fight continuing in this manner, they proceeded slowly on their way, and advanced forward but by little and little; and oftentimes, stood still to succour and relieve their party, as then it fell out. For, having gone but foure miles on their way (beeing very hardly laid to, and much pressed by our Caualrie) they tooke to an exceeding high hill; and there putting themselves into one front of a battell, fortifiid their Campe, keeping their carriages laden vpon their horses. As soone as they perceiued that Cæsars Campe was sette, and that the tents were vp, and their horses put to graffes; they rose suddenly about mid-day, vpon hope of some respite, by reason of our horse put out to feeding, and went on their journey.

Which Cæsar perceiuing, rose and followed after, leauing a fewe Cohorts to keepe the carriages: and about the tenth houre, commaunding the forragers and horsemen to be called backe, and to follow after; instantly the Caualrie returned, and betooke themselves to their accustomed charge.

The fight was very sharpe in the reare, insomuch as they were ready to turne their backs. Many souldiers, and some of the Centurions were slaine. Cæsars troopes preaced hard vpon them, and threatened the ouerthrowe of their whole Armie; insomuch, as they had neither meanes to choose a fit place to incamp in, nor to proceede forward in their march. Whereby they were necessarilie informed to make a stande, and to pitch their Campe farre from any water, in an unequall and disaduantageous place: but Cæsar forbare to meddle with them, for

for the same reasons that haue been formerly declared: and for that day, would not suffer the souldiers to set vp their Tents, that they might bee the readier to follow after, at what time soever by night or by day they shold offer to break away.

The Enemy, hauing obserued the defect of our Campe, imploied all that night in aduancing their workes, and in casting their Camp with an opposite front to our Armie. The like they did all the next day; but so it fell out, that by how much their Campe was brought further on, and the fortification grew neerer to finishing, by so much further off they were from water: and so remedied one evill with a worse mischiefe. The first night, none of them went out of their Camp to fetch water: and the next day, they led out all their troopes together to water, but sent no man out to forrage. Whereby Cæsar, finding them oppressed with manie inconueniences, chose rather to force them to a composition, then to fight with them.

THE OBSERVATION.

N this troublesome and confusid retreat, which these Commaunders vnderooke, to regaine the aduantages that formerly they had quitted at Llerda, we may obserue the difficulties attending a weaker partie, when they would free themselves from the pressures of a strong confronting enemy. For, the frailetie of humane fortune, is alwaies so yoaked with incomberances, and hath so many lets from the natvie weaknesses of it owne indeuour; that if the opposition of fortaine malice, shall therewithall vnhappilie concurre, to stoppe the current of our desires, there is little hope of better successe, then that which the ordinary condition of extremitie doth afford: which is, to hazard the perill of a wound, in fecking to auoide the smart of a rodde; and to fall into Scylla, vpon a desire wee haue to shunne Charybdis, according as it befell this partie. Wherein let vs further note the aduantage which a Commaunder hath, either to take or leaue, when he is able to ouer-maister the Enemie in Caualrie: for, the horsemen, seruing an Armie Roiall, by making discoueries, by forraging, by giveng rescue vpon a sudden, by dooing execution, and retardring an Enemie in his march, if (ouer-awed by the Caualrie of the Enemy) they cannot performe theser seruices as is requisite; the contrary partie is the stronger by so many aduantages.

Incidit in Scyllam, cupens vntare Charybdis.

CHAP. XXVI.

Cæsar went about to inclose the Enemy,
and he to hinder Cæsar.



Howbeit, Cæsar laboured to inclose them about with a ditch and a rampier, to the end he might with better ease hinder their sudden fallies and eruptions, to which he thought the Enemie would necessarily betake themselves.

I 3:

The

Cæsar.

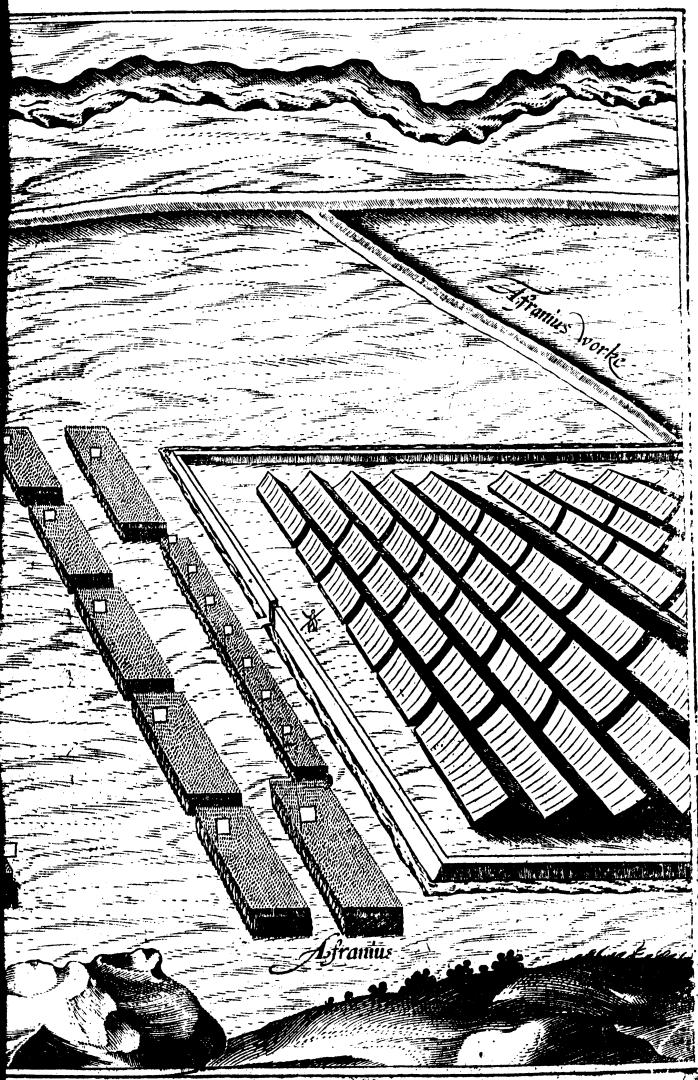
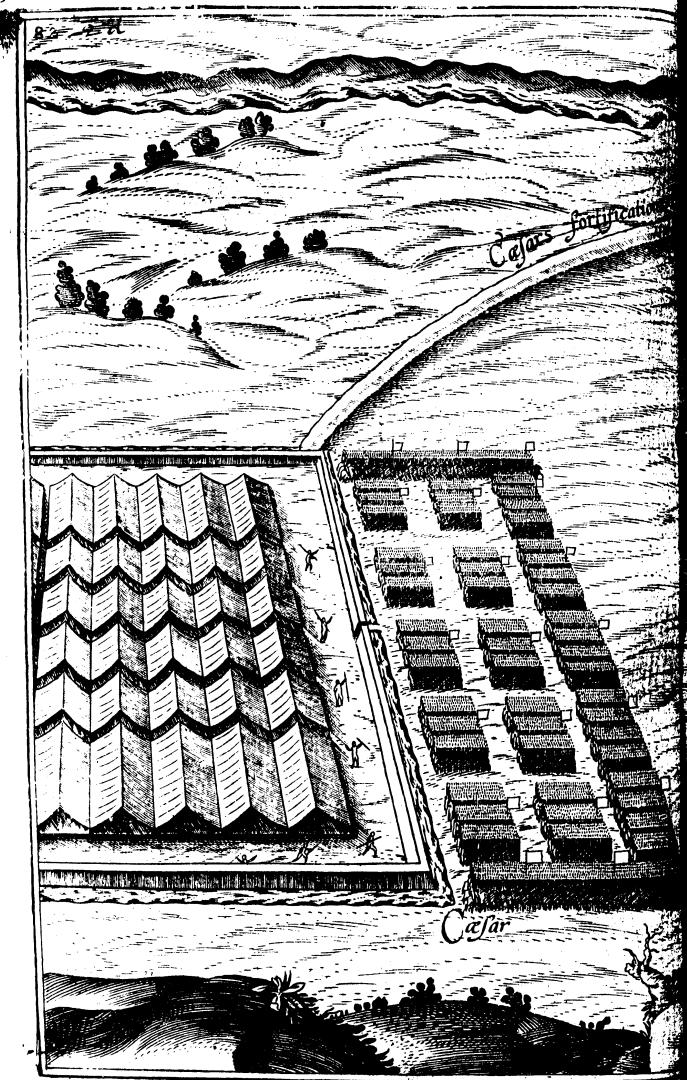
The Enemy beeing straightned for want of forrage, and to the end also they might be the readier to escape away, caused all their horses of cariage to be killed: and in these workes and consultations were two daies spent. The third day, a great part of Cesars worke being already perfected, the enemy (to hinder the busines intended, concerning the fortifications) about two of the clocke in the afternoon, made the Alarum, brought out the legions, and imbatelled themselves under their Campe. Caesar calleth back the legions from their worke; and commanding all his horse to troope together, putteth his Army in battell. For, hauing made such a shew of unwillingnes to buckle with the enemy, against the will of the souldier and opinion of all men, he found himselfe subiect therupon to much inconuenience: howbeit, he was resolued (for the reasons already specified) not to strike a battell; and the rather at this time, for that the space betweene his Campe and the enemies, was so little, that if he had put the to flight, it could not have much awaied him, for the gaining of a perfect and absolute victorie. For, their Campes were not aboue 2000 foote asunder; whereof the Armies tooke up two parts, and the third was left for incursion and assault. So that hee had gien battell in that neerenes of the Campe, they would haue found a speedy retreit vpon their ouerthrow. For which cause, hee resolued to stand vpon his defence, and not to give the onset and charge them first.

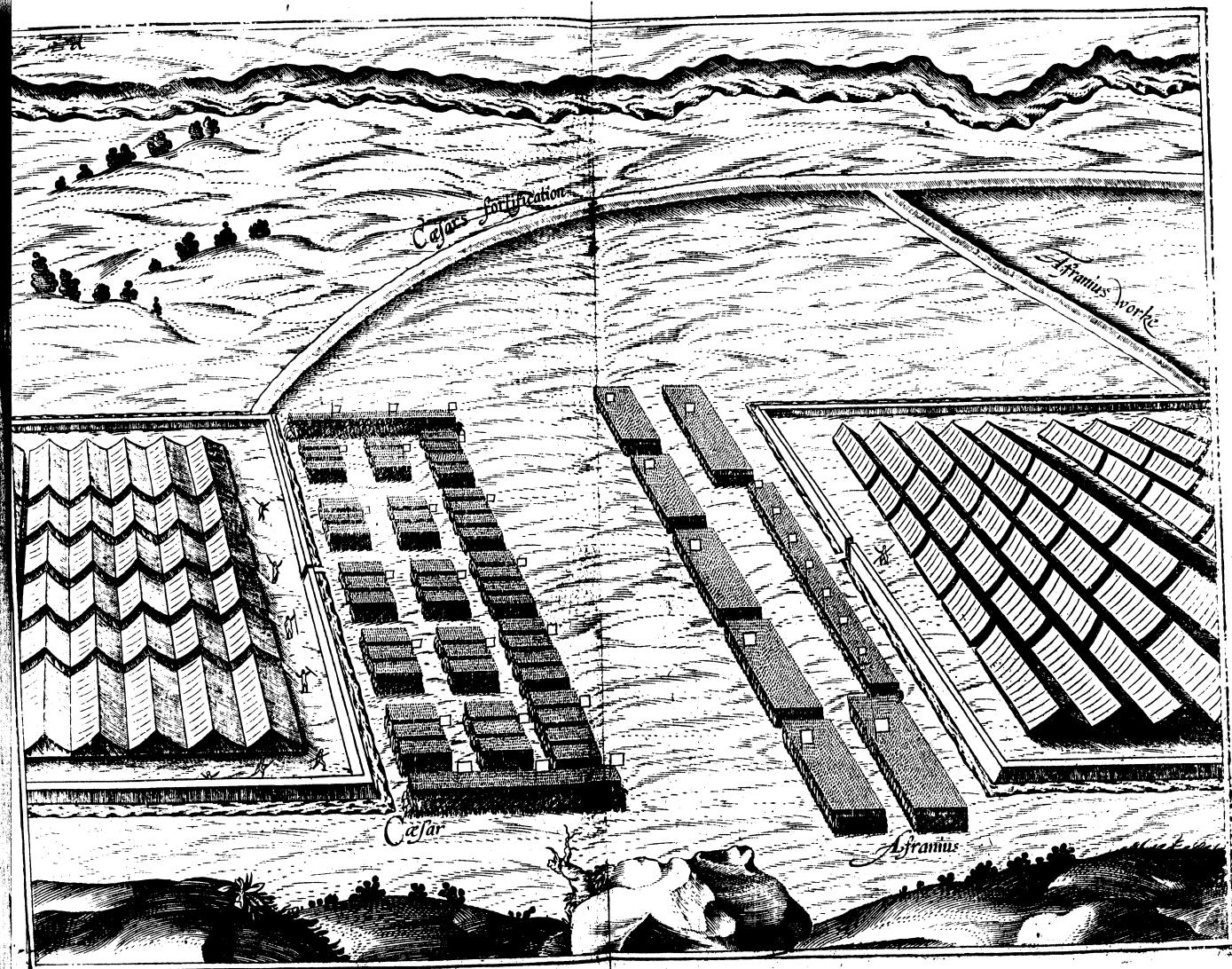
Afranius had put his Army in a double battell: the first, consisting of five legions; and the Auxiliary cohorts, which vsually serued in the wings, were now placed for succours, and made the second battell.

Cesars Armie was ordered in a triple battell; the first was of foure cohorts, a peece of the ffe legions: the second, of three; and the third againe of three of each legion, following in order. The Archers and Slingers were in the midle, & the Cavalrie on the sides. Beeing thus both imbatelled, they seemed to obtaine their severall ends; Caesar, not to fight vnsle he were forced to it: and the Enemy, to hinder Cesars fortification. But the matter beeing drawn out in length, they stood imbatelled vntill sunne setting: and then returned both into their Campes.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

 *Ontra opinionem enim militum, famamque omnium videri pralio diffugisse, magnū detrimentū afferebat, saith the historie. Whence we may obserue two points; First, that a Commaundier in striking a field, must partly be directed by his Armie: for, he may neither fight against the liking of the souldier, nor with-hold them fro fighting when they are willing to imbrace it, if other circumstances doe indifferentic concure there-withall. For, when men are comauanded to doe what they would doe, the matter is throughlie vndertaken; and the issue is commonlie answerable to the readines of their desires: but, being restrained in their affections, and put besides their aptnes of their voluntarye disposition, there groweth such*





such a contrarieitie betwene the Generalls order, and the Iouldiers obedience, as will hardly sympathise to beget good fortune.

And if a Leader of that fame and opinion, and so well knowne to his Army as Cæsar was, grew into diffaste with his souldiers, vpon so good causes which he had to shunne a battell; what hazard that Commader tunneth into, who sildome or never gaue argument of his resolution in this kind, may be conceived by this passage. The second thing which I note, is, that a Generall must learne especiallie to disguise his intendements, by making shew of that which he meanehit not. For, albeit the more iudicious sort of men are not so well satisfied with pretences as with deeds: yet forasmuch as the condition of Princes, contrary to the manner of priuate persons, requireth such a direction of busyness, as may rather sute with fame and opinion, then with particular ends; it behooueth them to vse such glosses, as may take away all pétulant and finister interpretations, howsoeuer their courses may aime at other purposes. And certainly, the generallitie of people, are better paid with appearances then with truth; according as Machauell hath obserued. But concerning Cæsar, that which Ephicrates said of himself, having imbattelled his Army to fight: That he feared nothing more, then that his enemy knew not his valour: may more properlie be said heire. For, there was nothing abused the Enemy more, or made them take vp so many Brauados, or vse so much delay before they came to composition, but that they knew not Cæsar. For, as the Eagle is able to mount aloft, in all seasons and temperatures of the ayre; so was his sword steeled, to make way through all resistance.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

AND the next place, the maner of their imbattelling commeth to be obserued: which generally in all Editions runneth thus; *Acies erat Africana duplex, legio V. et III. in subsidij locum alaria cohortis obtinebat: Cæsaris triplex sed primam aciem quaterna cohortes ex V. legione tenebant. Has subsidiarie, terne, et rursus alia totidem sua cuiusque legionis subiequebantur: sagittarii funditoresq; mediae obtinebant acie, equitatus latera cingebat.* And needeth the helpe of some excellent Criticke, to make it haue answerable sence to the other parts of this historie. For first, how shall we understand thoſe wordes, *Acies Africana duplex, legio V. et III. in subsidij?* Shall we take the meaning to be, that the first legion stood in front, and the other stood for succours behind? Or shall we take it with Faernus; *Acies Africana duplex: ex legione prima, et tertia, in subsidij locum alaria cohortes obtinebant?* But neither by the one, or by the other, is there found more then two legions: whereas there is express mention of five, beſides the cohorts of the Country. And therefore, as not knowing other more probable, I haue translated it according to Lepius correction, and made the text thus; *Acies erat Africana duplex, legionum quinque: et in subsidij locum alaria cohortes, obtinebant.*

The

*Ceteris mortali-
bus in eo stant
confiliis quid si-
bi conducere pu-
ent. Principum
dineria foris est,
quibus pricipua-
runt ad famam
dirigenda. Ta-
cit.*

*L'rniversale,
de gli homini
passe, così di
quello che pate,
come di quello
che è arzi: mol-
te volte si muo-
vono più per le
cose che paono,
che per quelle
che fono. Lib. 1.
Sop. Tit. Lvp.
cap. 25.
Omnius aer A-
gusti penetrabi-
lis.*

Their manner
of imbattelling

*Yib. 4. de mili-
tia Romana.*

Observations vpon the first

The first battell consisted of five legions; and the second, of the Spanish and Auxiliarie forces. The like helpe must be sent to Caesar; for, otherwise, the text doth afford him but few cohorts: standing thus, *Primam aciem quatera cohortes, ex quinta legione, tenebant. Has terna, et rursus alia &c.* For, undoubtedly, Caesar had five legions equal to Afranius; but, being farre inferior vnto him in Auxiliarie troopes, was driuen to a more artificial diuision, to helpe his weakenes in that point. And therefore, as the same Critick hath mended it, we are to read, *Quatera cohortes ex quinque legionibus*: which bringeth forth this sense; In the first battell were five times four cohorts; in the second, five times three cohorts, and as many in the third battell. And by the addition of *dua cunctisque legionis*, it appeareth, that every legion was so diuided into three parts, that it had four cohorts in the first battell, three in the second, and three in the laft.

Concerning the space whicheir Armies imbattelled tooke vp, it appeareth, that the whole distance betweene their Campes, contained two thousand foote; whereof either Armie tooke vp one third, beeing 666 foote, 111 paces, a little more then a furlong: but that altered more or lesse, as place and occasion required.

CHAP. XXVII.

The Treatie of Peace.



HE next day, Caesar went about to finish and end the fortification which he had begun; and the Enemy, to try whether they might find a foord in the Riuere Sicoris, and so get ouer. Which beeing perceived, Caesar caried ouer the light armed Germanes, and part of the Caualrie, and dispoled them in guard along the Riuere banke. At length, beeing besieged & but vp on all sides, and hauing kept their horses without meatte four daies together, beides their extreme want of water, wood and corne, they required parlee: and that (if it might be) in some place out of the presence of the souldier. Which Caesar denied, unlesse it were in publicke. Whereupon, Afranius his sonne was giuen in hostage to Caesar; and so they presented themselves in a place of Caſars appointing.

And in the hearing of both the Armies, Afranius speake to this effect: That he was not to be offendred, neither with them nor with the souldier, for beeing faithfull and obedient to the Generall Cn. Pompeius; but now, hauing made sufficient prooef of their dutie, they had also throughly suffered for the same, hauing indured the extremitie of want in all necessarie provisioins: Insomuch as now they were shut up as women, kept from water, kept from going out, opprest with a greater waight of grieve inbodie, and of dishonor in their reputation, then they were able to beare: and therefore did confess themselves to be vanquished and

Commentary of the Ciuill Warres.

and ouercome: praying and beseeching, that if there were any mercy left, they might not undergoe the extremitie of Fortune. And this hee deliuered as humbly and demisinely as was possible.

To which, Caesar answered; That these tearmes of complaint and compassion, could be vsed to no man more unproperly then himselfe: for, where-as every man else did his duty, he onely, vpon his conditions of time and place, refusid to fight with them, to the end all circumstances might concurre to a peace: Albeit his Army had suffered much wrong, in the death and slaughter of their fellowes; yet he had kept and preserued such of their party as were in his power, and came of their owne accord to move a peace. Wherein they thought, they went about to procure the safetie of all their fellowes: so that the whole course of his proceeding with them, consisted of clemency. Howbeit, the Commaunders themselves, abhorred the name of Peace, & had not kept the lawes either of treatie or truce: For, they had caused many simple men to be massacred and slaine, that were deceaved by a shew of treaty. And therefore it had befallen them, as it happeneth for the most part to peruerse and arrogant persons, to seeke and earnestly to desire that which a little before they had foolishly contemned.

Neither would he take the aduantage of this their submision, or of any other opportunitie of time, either to augment his power, or to strengthen his partie: but he onely required, that those Armies might be discharged, which for many yeeres together had been maintained against him. For, neither were those sixe Legions for any other cause sent into Spaine, nor the seauenth inrolld there, nor so many and so great Naues prepared, nor such experienced and skilfull Commaunders selected and appointed (for none of them needed to keepe Spaine in quiet) nothing heereof was prepared for the use and behoofe of the Province, which (by reaſon of their long continuance of peace) needed not any ſuch assistance. All theſe thinges were long agoe prouided in a readinesſe againſt him: Newe formes of government were made and ordained againſt him: That one and the ſame man, ſhould be reſiuant at the gates of Rome, haue the vhole ſuperintendencie and direction of the Cittie businesſe: and yet notwithstanding, hold two warlike Provinceſ for ſo many yeeres together, being absent from both of them.

Againſt him, and for his ruine, were changed the ancient Rights and Cuſomes of Magistracie, in ſending men at the end of their Pretorſhip or Confuſhip, to the government of Provinceſ, as was alwaies accustomed; but in lieu of them, were chosen ſome that were allowed & authorisid by a few. Againſt him the prerogatiue of age did nothing preuaile: but, whosoeuer they were that in former warres had made good prooef of their valour, were now called out to command Armies. To him onely was denied, that which was granted to all other Generalls; that when they had happily brought thinges to an end, they might diſmiff their Armie, and returne home with honour, or at the leaſt, without dishonour.

All which thinges, bee notwithstanding both had and would ſuffer patientlie, neither did he now goe about to take their Army from them, and retaine them in pay for himſelfe, which hee might eaſily doe: but that they ſhould not haue meanes

At nunc folia
mahr eff oranda
caſaſ ſalutis
cuius donanda
Caſtore ordine
vita.

Observations vpon the first

meanes to make head against him. And therefore, as it was said before, they shoulde goe out of the Provinces, and discharge their Army; if they did so, hee would hurt no man: But that was the onely and last meanes of peace.

O B S E R V A T I O N S.

Here is not any one vertue, that can chalenge a greater measure of honour, or hath more prerogatiue either amongst friends or enemies, then fidelitie. For which cause it is, that men are more strict in matters committed to their trust, for the behoofe of others, then they can well be, if the same things concerned themselues. And yet neuerthelesse, there is a *Quatenus* in all indeuours, and seemeth to be limited with such apparenctie, as true affection may make of a good meaning: & was the ground which Afranius tooke to moue Cæsar for a pardon, *Non esse aut ipsiis aut militibus successendum, quod fidem erga Imperatorem Cn. Pompeium conservare voluerint; sed satis iam fecisse officio, satisque supplicij tulisse.* &c. which hee deliuered in a stile fusing his fortune. For, as Comineus hath obserued; Men in feare, give reverent and humble words: and the tongue is euer conditioned to be the chiefeſt winces of our fortune.

On the other ſide, Cæſar produced nothing for his part, but ſuch wrongs as might ſeeme valuable to make good thoſe courſes which he prosecuted: as firſt, iuriuſes done by them, and that in the highest degree of blame againſt his ſouldiers, that went but to ſeek for peace. Iuriuſes done by their Generall, in ſuſhion, as ſpared not to euer the fundamental rights of the State, to bring him to ruine and conuulfion. Wherby hee was moued to indeuour that, which Nature ieth every man vnto, *Propellere iniuriam:* and having brought it to theſe tearmes wherin it now ſtood, hee would giue aſſurance to the world, by the reuenge he theretooke, that hee entered into that warre for this onely end, that he might liue in peace: and ſo required no more but that the Army ſhould be diuifid.

C H A P. X X V I I I.

The execution of the Articles agreed vpon.

THE conditions propounded, were moſt acceptable & pleasing to the ſouldiers; as might appear by them: for, being in the condition of vanquished persons, and therewpon expeſting a hard meaſure of Fortune; to be rewarded with libertie, & exemption of Armes, was moſe then they could expeſt: in ſo much, as where there grew a controverſie of the time and place of their diuifion, they all generally ſtanding

Commentary of the Ciuill Warres.

ſtanding upon the rampier, ſigned both by their ſpeeches and by their handes, that their deſire was it might be done iſtantly; for, it could not bee prouided by any aſſurance, that it would continue firme, if it were deferred vntill another time. After ſome diſpute on each ſide, the matter was in the end brought to this iſſue; that ſuch as had houſes & poſſeſſions in Spaine, ſhould be diuifed preſently, and the reſt at the riuer Varus. It was condiſioned, that no man ſhould be iuiriouſed, that no man ſhould be forced againſt his wil, to be worne under Caſars comauand.

Cæſar promiſed to furniſh the with Corne, vntill they came to the riuer Varus: adding withal, that whatſoever any one had loſt in the time of the warre, which ſhould be found with any of his ſouldiers, ſhould be reſtored to ſuch as loſt it, or if it were not to be had, be paid the value therof in mony. If any controverſie afterward grew amongſt the ſouldiers, Petreius & Afranius of their owne accord brought the matter from time to time before Cæſar. As, when the ſouldiers grew almoſt into a mutiny for want of pay, the Comauanders affirming the pay day was not yet come, it was required that Cæſar might understand the cauſe, and both parties were contented with his arbitrement.

A third part of the Army beeing diuifid in thoſe two daies, hee comauanded two legions to march before their Army, and the reſt to follow after, and continually to incampe themſelues not farre from them: and appointed Q. Eufius Calenus, a Legate, to take the charge of that buſineſſe. This courſe beeing taken, they marched out of Spaine to the riuer Varus, and there diuifid the reſt of their Army.

O B S E R V A T I O N S.

THE riuer Varus diuideth Gallia Narbonensis, from Italie; and was thought an indiſtent place to diuifid the Army, wherby there might be an end made of that warre. Wherein if any man deſire to ſee a parallel drawne, betweene Cæſar and the other Leaders for matter of warre, it ſhall ſuffice to take the iſſue for a ſquare of their direcions; beeing drawne to this head within ſoſt daies after Cæſar came within ſight of the Enemy, as Curio noteth in his ſpeech to the ſouldiers.

Cato, ſeeing the proſperous ſuſceſſe of Cæſar againſt Pompey, ſaid there was a great unceraintie in the gouernment of their Gods: Alluding peraduerture to that of Plato in his Politickes, where hee ſaith, that there are ages, wherein the Gods doe gouerne the world in their owne perſons: and there are other times, wherein they altogether neglect the ſame; the world taking a courſe quite contrarie to that which the Gods directed. But Lucan ſpake from a ſurer ground, where hee ſaith;

Victoria causa Dijs placuit; ſed victa Catoni.
And thus endeth the firſt Commentarye.

Varus fluvius.
Hoc patimur,
nulos ne tecum
vincere cogas.
Luc.

Rerum ab euen-
tū, ſatia notan-
da putet.

Lib. 2. Ciuit.

THE SECOND COMMENTA-
rie of the Ciuill Warres.

(. . .)

THE ARGVMENT.



His Commentarie hath three speciall parts; The first, containing the siege of Marselleis: the strange veworks, and extreame indeauours to take and to keepe the Towne. The second expresteth the vaine labour which Varro, Pompeies Lieutenant, yndertooke, after that Afranius and Petreius were defeated, to keepe the Prouince of Andolozia out of Cæsars power and commaund. And the third part consisteth of the expedition Curio made into Affrica; and endeth with his ouerthrowe.

CHAP. I.

The preparations for the siege, aswell within as
without the Towne.



Hiſt these things were dooing in Spaine, C. Trebonius the Legate, beeing left to besiege Marselleis, had begunne in two places to raise Mounts, to make Mantlets and Towres against the Towne: One, next unto the Port where the Shippes lay; and the other, in the vway leading from Galia and Spaine into the towne, iuft vpon the creeke of the sea, neere unto the mouth of the Rhone. For, three parts of Marselleis are in a manner washed with the sea: and the fourth is that which giueth passage by land; whereof that part which belongeth to the Castle (by reaſon of the nature of the place, fortified with a deepe ditch) would require a long and difficult siege. For the perfecting of those workes, Trebonius had commaunded out of all the Prouince, great store of horses for carriage, and a multitude of men; requiring them to bring rods to make Hurdles, and other materialls for the worke: which beeing prepared and brought together, hee raised a Mount of fourescore foote high.

Cæſar.

K.

But

Observations vpon the second

But such was the prouision, which of ancient time they had stored up in the towne, of all equipage and necessaries for the warre, with such prouision of munition and engines, that no Hurdles made of roddes or Osters, were able to beare out the force thereof. For, out of their great Balista, they shot beames of twelue foote long, pointed with Iron, with such force, as they would pearce through fourre courses of Hurdles, and sticke in the earth. Whereby they were forced to roose their Gallery, with timber of a foote square, and to bring matter that may by hand. To make the Mount, a Testudo of sixtie foote in length was alvayes caried before, for the levelling of the ground, made of mighty strong timber, covered and armed with all things which might defend it from stones, or what else should be cast vpon it. But the greatness of the worke, the height of the wall, together wth the multitude of Engins, did retard and hinder the proceeding thereof.

Moreover, the Albici did make often salies out of the towne, setting fire to the mounts and to the turrets; which were kept by our souldiers with great facilitie and ease, forcing such as salied out to returne with great losse.

O B S E R V A T I O N S.



Auing described in the former Commentaries these Engines & workes heire mentioned, the Reader may please (for his better satisfaction) to review those places; as also further to note, that the word Artillery, was brought downe to these ages from the vse of ancient Engins, which consisted of those two primitives, *Arcum* and *Telum*. And, according as diuersitie of Art & wit found meanes to fit these to vse and occasions, so had they seuerall and distinct names; whereof I find chiefly these, *Balista*, *Catapulte*, *Tolennes*, *Scorpiones*, *Onagri*: Of each of which, there are diuers and seuerall sorts; as first, of the *Balista*, some were called *Centenaria*: others, *Talentaria*, according to the weight of the bullet or weapon they shot. Of the rate and proportion whereof, *Vitruvius*, and his learned interpreter *Daniel Barbarus*, haue made accurate description. Againe, some were made to shoothe stones: as appeareth by that of *Tacitus*, *Magnitudo eximia, quartadecima legionis Balista ingentibus saxis hostilem aciem prouerbat*; and others, to shoothe dardes and piles of timber, headed with Iron; as is manifested by this place. Moreover, the maner of bending of these Engines made a difference, some being drawne vp with a wrinch or scruie, and some with a wheele, some hauing long armes, and others hauing short: but the strings were generally either all of sinowes or of womens haire, as strongest & surest of any other kind. Of these, *Vegetius* preferreth the *Balista*, and the *Onagri*, as vniuersall when they were skilfully handled. The word *Onagri*, as *Amianus Marcellinus* noteth, was of a later stamp, and imposed vpon those Engines which former time called *Scorpiones*; and was taken from the nature of wilde Asses, that are said to cast stones backward with their feete at the Hunters, with such violence, that oftentimes they dashed out their braines.

In

Commentary of the Ciuill Warres.

In the time of Barbarisme, all thele Engines were generally called *Mangonella*: as appeareth by *Viginierus*, in his Annotations vpon *Onofander*. Which is likewise shewed, by that which *Maister Camden* hath inserted in the description of Bedfordshire, concerning the siege of Bedford Castle, in the time of Henry the third, out of an Author that was present; *Ex parte orientali sunt una Petrarria, et duo Mangonella, que quotidie turri infestabant: et ex parte occidentis duo Mangonella, que turrim veterem contrinerunt, et unum Mangonellum ex parte Australi, &c.* But our powder hauing blowne all these out of vse, it were to no purpote to insulte longer vpon them.

CHAP. II.

The Marsellians prepare themselues for a Sea-fight.



N the meane time, *L. Nasidius* beeing sent by *Cn. Pompeius* with a Nauie of sixteeen shippes (amongst which, some fewe had their beake-head of Iron) to the succour and supply of *L. Domitius* and the Marsellians, he passed the straights of *Sicilie* before *Curio* had intelligence thereof: and putting into *Messana*, by reason of the suddaine terrors of the principall men, and the Senate that tooke them selues to flight, he surprised one Ship in the road and caried her away, and so held on his course to Marsellies. And, hauing sent a small Bark before, he certified *Domitius* and the rest, of his comming, exhorting them by all meanes, that ioyning their forces with his supplies, they would once againe give fight to *Brutus* Nauie.

The Marsellians, since their former ouerthowre, had taken the like number of shippes out of their Arcenall, and new rigged and trimmed them, and with great industrie furnished and manned them for that seruice: for, they wanted neither Oare-men, Mariners, Sailers, nor Pilots, fit for that purpose. To these they added certayne Fisher-boates, and fenced them with fights and coverings, that the Oare-men might be safe from casting weapons; and these he filled with Archers and Engines. The Nauie beeing thus furnished and prepared, the Marsellians (incited and stirred vp with the prayers and teares of old men, woomen and maides, to give help and defence to their Citie in time of extreme danger; and to fight with no lesse courage and confidence then formerly they had accusstomed) wooten all aboard with great courage, as it commeth to passe through the common fault of Nature; whereby we put more confidence in things vnsene and vnkowne, or otherwise are more troubled therat: according as it then happened. For, the comming of *Nasidius* had filled the City full of assured hope and courage: and therupon, hauing a good wind, they left the Port, & came & found *Nasidius* at *Tarenta* (a Castle belonging to the Marsellians) & there fitted the selues for a fight; incouraging each other againe, to a valiant cariage of that seruice, and consulting how it might be best performed.

K 2.

91

Cesar.

Messina.

Tolous.

The

The right squadron was giuen to the Marsellians, and the left to Nasidius. And to the place repaired Brutus, having increased the number of his Shippes: for, those sixe which he tooke from the Marsellians, he had added unto the other which Cesar had caused to be made at Arleate, and had mended them since the last fight, and fittid them with all necessaries for mes of warre. And therupon, exhorting his souldiers to contemne the Enemy, as a vanquished partie, having already foiled and ouerthrown them when they were in their strength, they set forward against them with great assurance.

Out of the Campe of C. Trebonius, & from all those higher places they might easily perceiue and see in the Cittie, how all the youth whiche remained in the towne, and all the aged, with their wiues and children, did from the publique places of guard, and from the towne walles, stretch out their handes towards heauen: or otherwise runne to their Churches and temples; and there prostrating themselves before their Images, did desire victorie of their Gods. Neither was there any of them all that did not thinke, the event of all their fortunes to consist in that daies seruice: for, the chiefeſt of all their able men, and the best of all ſorts and degrees, were by name called out, and in treaſure to goe aboard to the end if any diſaſter or miſchaunce ſhould happen, they might ſee nothing further to be indeauoured for their ſafetie; and if they ouercame, they might reſt in hope to ſave their Cittie, either by their owne valour or by forraine helpe.

O B S E R V A T I O N S.

 *Omnimis fit vicio natura, vt invisis, latitantibus, atque incognitis rebus, magis confidamus, vehementiusque exterreamur, vt tum accidit. In cales of hazard, things brought vnto vs by report, doe more abuse our judgement, either in conceiuing too great hopes, or yelding too much to distrust, then any matter preſent can moue or inſorce: for, theſe perturbations attending vpon our will, are inlarged more according to the qualitie of our deſires, then as they are directed by diſcourse of reaſon; and ſo draw men either eaſily to believe what their wiſhes doe reuiue, or otherwife to reiect all as utterly loſt.*

The vncertaintie whereof, and the diſappointment ensuing theſe deceiuable apprehenſions, hath brought the hope of this life into very ſlight account, beeing reckoned but as the dreame of him that is awake; and as *Pia fraus*, or a charitable deluſion, to ſupport vs through the hard chaunces of this world, and to keepe mans hart from breaking: for, every mans helpe is hope; which neuer affordeth preſent reliſe, but alwaſgeth the bitterneſſe of extremitieſ, by *Dabit Deus his quoque finem.*

C H A P.

C H A P. III.

The fight, and the Marsellians ouerthowre.

Cesar.

 *H*is fight beeing begun, the Marsellians were wanting in no point of valour: but bearing in mind ſuch exhortation as a little before had beeene giuen them by their friends, they fought ſo reſoluteſly as though they meant not to fight againe; or as if any one ſhould chaunce to miſcarie in that battell, he ſhould make account that he did but anticipate for a ſmall moment of time, the fatall end of his fellow Cittizens, who upon taking of the towne, were to undergoe the ſame fortune of warre. Our Shippes putting on by little and little, were glad to giue way to the nimbleneſſe and mobility of their ſhipping, which by the ſkill of their Pilots were well managed. And if it happened that our men had found meaſes to grapple with any of their ſhippes, they preſently came on all ſides to their reſcue. Neither did the Albici ſhew themſelves backward when the matter came to hands, or were they inferior to our men in courage or valour. Moreover, out of the leſſer Ships were caſt infinite numbers of darts, and other weapons, wherewith our men buſied in fight were ſuddainely wounded.

In this conflict, two of their Triremes, having ſpied Brutus ſhippe (which by her flagge might eaſily be diſcerned) came violently againſt him from two contrary parts: but the danger being foreſene, Brutus did ſo preuale through the ſwiftneſſe of his ſhip, that he a little outſcript them; whereby they coming with their full ſwinge, did ſo encounter one another, that they were very much ſhaſken with the blowe: for, the Beake-head of one beeing broken off, the water was ready to come in on all ſides. Which beeing obſerved by ſome of Brutus partie that were neere about, they ſet upon them (beeing thus diſtrefſed) and quicklie ſunk them both.

The ſhippes that came with Nasidius, were found of no uſe; for, there was not offered there unto them, either the ſight of their Country, or the exhortatiōns and praierſ of their kinſfolkes and allies, as moтиues to hazard their liues in that quarrell: ſo that of them there was none wanting. Of the ſhippes that came out from Marsellies, ſiue were ſunkē, and fourē taken. One escaped with Nasidius fleet, which made towards the hither Spaine. One of them that remained, was ſent before to Marsellies; who comming as a messenger before the reſt, and approaching neere unto the towne, all the multitude ran out to heare the newes: which beeing once knowne, there was ſuch a generall mourning and deſolation, as though the towne were iſtantly to be taken by the Enemy. Notwithſtanding, they left not off to make ready ſuch neceſſaries, as were requisite for defence of the ſame.

O B S E R V A T I O N S.

His was the second fight the Marsellians made, to keep the sea open for the ayde and relief of the Towne; beeing otherwise straightlie besieged by land, and yet not so tenderly cared as their shuting vp by sea: the free passage whereof, brought in all their profit in time of peace, and their succours in times of warre; for which regard it was, that they commended to their gods, the successe of that enterprise, with as much devotion, as teares, vowed and prayers could expresse.

The benefit a Towne besieged receiueþ from an open inlet by sea, cannot be better manifested, then by the siege of Oaſtend; for, by that occasion ſpecially, it indured the moſt famous ſiege that was in Christendome theſe many yeeres. This L. Nalſidius, was rather a conſtant friend to the cauſe, then a fortunate Admirall: for afterwards, he refuſed not to take the like ouerthow for Pompey the ſonne, at Leucades, as hee did now for the father. And ſurely it falleth out (whither it be through the vncertaintye of ſea-faring matters, or that men haue fairer pretences at ſea, to auoid occaſions of hazard, then are found at land; or that *Pauca digna nascuntur in Mari*, according to the proverbe, or for what other cauſe I knowe not) that there are few of thofe which fought honor in this kind, who haue attained the leaſt part of their deſires. And yetneuertheleſſe, ſome there are of famous memorie: as * Barbaruſſa, aterroure of the Leuant ſeas: Andreas Auria, of Genua, renowned for his great ex‐ploits vpon the Turke; together with diuers of our owne Nation; as nameleſ, Sir Francis Drake, who for ſkill and fortune at ſea, is held matchable with anie other whatoeuer: Befides, M. Candish, for viages to the South, and Sir Martin Furbiſher, for diſcoueretis to the North.

Howbeit, theſe latter times haue aduantage without comparison of former ages, through the inuenſion of the ſea compaſſ with the neeble: which was not found out little more then three hundred yeeres agoe, by one Flavus, borne in the kingdome of Naples; without which, no ſhippe can ſhape a course in the Ocean: and to which nothing can be added, more then to find a perfect & ready direſtion for longitudes.

C H A P.

C H A P. IIII.

The workes which the legionarie Souldiers made againſt the Towne.

(* * *)



T was obſerved by the legionarie ſouldiers, that had the charge of the right part of the work, that it would much aduantage them againſt the often eruptions and fallies of the Enemy, if they builte a towre of Bricke under the towne wall, in ſtead of a Hold or receptacle: which at firſt they made lowe and littel, onely for the repelling of ſudden affautes. Thither they vually ſeptrete: and from thence, if they were ouer-charged, they made defence, either by beating backe, or prosecuting an Enemie. This towre was thirteene foote ſquare, and the walles thereof ſixteene foote thick: but afterwards (as vſe and expeſience is the maſter of all things) it was found by iugement and industrie of men, that this towre might be of great uſe, if it were raised to any height, and was accordingly performed in this fashion.

When it was raised to the height of a ſtorie, they ſo framed the floore, that the ends of the joiesles did not ſtirre out beyond the ſides of the towre; leaſt any thing might be thrust out, on which the fire which the enemy ſhould cast might take hold: and then paued that floore, with as much bricke as the Mantelers and Gable-beames along the ſides, as a foundation to an upper ſtorie, for the toppe and couering of the towre. And upon theſe beames they raised croſſe timbers, thwirting each other for the ſides of the towre, and coupled them at the top with ſide beames.

These croſſe timbers were longer, and bare further out, then the ſquare of the towre; that there might be meaneſ to fasten couerings and defences, againſt the blowes and darts of the Enemy, whiſt the workemen were ſuuiing the walles and ſides of that building. The toppe or upper ſtorie of this towre, they likewiſe paued with bricke and clay, that no fire might ſaſen on it; and laid Matteredesſes on the toppe thereof, to the end the floore might not be broken, with any weapons ſhot out of Engines, nor the pauement ſhattered in peeces with ſtones cast out of Catapulſt.

Moreover, they made three netting: or mats of Hawſers, equall in length to the ſides of the towre, and fourteene foote in breadth. And upon those three ſides which confrontered the Enemie, they fastened them upon poles to hang before the towre: which kind of defence they had in other places tried to be of proofe, & not to be pearced with any weapon or engine. And as one part of the towre came to be couered, finished, and fortifiſed, againſt any violence of the enemy, they caried their

Casar.

their Mantellets and defences to the rest unfinished. The top of which towre, they framed upon the first storie, and then raised it vp with winches or serues, as farre as the close netting would serue them for a defence. And so couered with these shelters and safeguards, they built vp the sides with bricke; and then againe scrusing vp the toppe higher, they fitted the place to build the sides higher: and as they came to the height of a story, they laid the sysses of the floore in such sort, as the ends thereof were hid and couered with the wall or sides that were of brick; and so from that story, they proceeded to another, by scrusing vp the top, and raising their netting. By which meanes, they built very safelie sixe stories, without any wound or other danger at all; and left windowes and loopeholes in the sides, for the putting out of Engines in such places as they thought convenient. When by means of that towre, they were in hope to defend the works neare about it, they then made a Muscolum or mouse of sixtie foote in length, & of two foote timber square, to conuay them safely from this towre of Bricke, to another of the Enemies, and to the towne wall: wherof this was the forme; They cut two side ground-sils of equall length, and made the space betweene them to containe fourte foote: upon them they erected little columnes of faine foote high, and ioyned them together, putting braces of an easie sloping in such distancies, as therafters were to be placed to bearre vp the roofo: and upon those braces they laid rafters of two foote square, fastening them both at the ridge, and at the euings, with plates and bolts of Iron. They lathed the roofo with lath of foyre fingeris broad, and so the building beeinge made with a gable ridge handfomly fashioned, the top was laid all over with clay, to keepe the Mouse from burning: and then couered with tiles, which were fenced with leather, to the end they might not be wroughed away with pipes or gutters of water, whiche might bee laid to fall vpon them. And least those hides shoulde be spoiled, either with fire or great stones, they laid Mattresses vpon them.

This worke being whollie finished neere unto the towre, through the help and
meanes of defensiu[m] mantelets and gabions; suddenly before the enemy was a-
ware, with a skippe-engine and rolers put under it, they brought it so neare a
towre of the enemies, that it ioyned to the vall thereof. The townesmen, bee-
ing upon a sudaine appalled therat, brought the greatest stones they could get,
and wth leavers, tumbled them downe from the vall vpon the mouse: but
the strength of the wworke did not shrike at the blowes, and vwhatsoeuer fell
upon it,滑id downe the sloping of the roose. Which wwhen they perceiued, they
altered their purpose, and got pots of Rosin and Pitch, and setting them on fire,
threw them downe vpon the mouse, which tumbling downe from the roose,
were remoued away wth long hookes and poles. In the meane time, the
fouliers that were wthin the mouse, pulled out the lower stones that were in the
foundation of the towre. This mouse or Mantlet, was defended by our men
out of the bricke towre, wth weapons and engines: and by meanes thereof the
Enemy was put from the vall and the turrets, so that they could not well de-
fend the same. Many of the stones beeing sapped out of the foundation of the
towre, part thereof suddenly fell, & the rest leaned, as though it wold not stand
long after.

OBSERVATIONS.

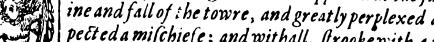
Orasmuch as it requireth the labour of an industrious penne to shadouw out the effects of Indutrie; I will onely produce the euidence of these works, to shew the power it hath in humane actions, rather then by any maimed or shallow discourse, weaken the force of so great an Engine. VVherein, first it may be noted, how in these and the like attempting indeauours, one thing drawes on another, according as practise maketh ouverture to maisteries: For, our understanding growing by degrees, hath no intuitiue facultie to discerne perfection, but by little and little worketh our exactnes; making every Morrow, yesterdaies scholler, as reason findeth means of discourse from causes to effects, or from effects to causes.

And so this Towre, made at first but for a retreit of defence, gaue occasion to let them see the like, or better vse thereof in the offensiuſe part, if it were raised to a height conuenient for the ſame: which they performed with as much Art as the wit of man could vſe in ſuch a worke. For, hauiing made the firſt ſtorie, they then made the rooſe, for the ſhelter and ſaferie of the fouldeir: and leuelling it vp by little and little, they buiſt the ſides, hauiing fenced the open ſpace with netting, for auoiding of danger; arming it with bricke and clay againſt fire, and with Materieſles againſt ſtones and waigths. And then againe they proceeded to the making of that Mantleſ or Muſculum, which gaue them paſſage to the wall; building it with ſtrong or rather ſtrange timber, of two foote ſquare, framed ſo artificially with braces, and ridging rafters, and thoſe ſo fittet, as neither fire, water, weapon, nor weight, could preuale against it. And thus they laboured to gaine their owne ends, and bought Fortune with inmeaſurable indeauerour.

CHAP. V.

The Marsellians got a truce of the Romaines,
and brake it deceitfully.



HE Enemy, beeing then much appalled at the suddaine ruine and fall of the towre, and greatly perplexed at so unexpected a mischiefe; and withall, stroken with a feare of the wrath and indignation of the Gods, and of the sack & spoile of their Cittie, they came all unarmed, thronging out of the gates, wearing holy attire vpon their heads, and stretching out their submisive hands to the Legates and the Armie. Vpon which noueltie, all hostilitie ceased for the time, & the soldiern with drayng themselves from the assault, were caried with a desire of hearing and understanding what would passe at that time.

Caesar

*Inermes cum
insulis.*

When

Obseruations vpon the second

When they came to the Legates & to the Army, they cast themselves all downe at their feete, praying and beseeching that things might be suspended vntill Cesars arriuall. They saw plainly that their towne was already taken, their works were perfited, their owne towre demolished; and therefore they desisted from making any further defence: there could be no let to hinder them from present spoile and lacking, if vpon Cesars arriuall they shoulde refuse to obey his mandates. They shewed further, that if their towne were absolutely ouerthronwe, the souldiers could not be kept from entering the towne in hope of pillage, and would thereby bring it to a final destruction.

These, and many the like things, were uttered by them very mouingly (as men learned and eloquent) with great lamentation and much weeping: whereby the Legates (moued with commiseration) with-drew the souldiers from the fortifications, put off the assault, and left a small guard to keepe the works. A kind of truce beeing through pity and commiseration thus made and concluded, Cesars comming was expected; no weapon was cast, either from the towne wall, or from our side: insomuch, as every man left off his care and diligence, as though all had been ended. For, Caesar had by Letters giuen straight charge to Trebonius, not to suffer the towne to bee taken by assault, least the souldiers (moued through their rebellion and contempt, together with the long trauell they had sustained) (should put all above fourteene yeeres of age to the sword: which they threatened to doe, and were then hardly kept from breaking into the towne; taking the matter very grievously, that Trebonius seemed to hinder them from effecting their purpos. But the enemy, beeing people withoute faith, did enlie watch for time and opportunity, to put in practice their fraude and deceit.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Tis a saying of an ancient Writer, that As our attire doth couer the bodie, so it doth vncouer the nakednes of the mind. Wherupon it is, that men haue found meanes to sute themselves vpon occasion, according to the disposition of their inward affections, as they are either dilated with ioy, or contracted with sorrow, lifted vp with weale, or huzzled with affliction. And accordingly, these Marsellians, in token of their humilitie & submision, came out, wearing an attire here called *Insulae*; which Seruius describeth to be a kind of Coife, made after the forme of a Diadem, with two pendants on each side, called *Vitta*.

Those which the Romans vised of this kind, were fashioned like a Pyramid: the point whereof, did signifie the * Elements, ascending vpwards in such a pointed fashion; and by the two pendants or bands, were denoted the Water and the Earth; beeing made whollie of wooll, as Festus writheth; *Insula sunt filamenta lanae, quibus Sacerdotes, boſia, et templa velabantur*: to shew humblenesse and simplicitie, wherewooll is a Hirogliphick. For, no kind of beasts haue more need of ayde and succour then Sheepe: and ther-ponit was, that all Suppliants were attired with tresses of wooll. Or otherwise, as some wvill haue

Commentary of the Ciuill Warres.

haue it, That the habit of the Petitioner, might call to remembrance the flexible disposition, which is well-beefeming those that haue power and meanes to give helpe and relief: According to the vse of Heathen ages; wherin their Images of their Idols, had their feete tied with cordes of wooll: to shew the midnes and easines which vpon deuote supplications was founde in diuine Powers; wherof wooll was a *symbolum*.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

HE Marsellians, beeing an ancien progeny of the Greeks, notwithstanding the long descent of time, and alteration of aire, did keepe a touch of the naturall of that Nation, as well in such straines of eloquence, as were familiar vnto them aboue other people, as in subtiltie and duplicitie of dealing. Which passage of the Marsellians, is obserued by Tully, as a matter enforcing the due praiers of Eloquence, and the vle it hath vpon all occasions to draw consent, with the sweetnes of a well tuned tongue, aboue that which may be attained either by Engines or a strong hand. VVherein, if we shoulde goe about to compare the force of Armes, with the power of a graue discourse, & set a souldier Parallel to an Orator, there might hence be taken diuers probable reasons, to second that saying, which hath been thought to fauour more of vaine-glorie, then of true judgement; *Cedant armatae, concedat laurea lingue*: Or at least, to make a resemblance of Plutarches two Wrattlers, of whom one beeing alwaies cast, did neuerthelesse perswade the other that he cast him; and so, howsoeuer he became foiled, yet left the place with an opinion of victorie: And is alwaies more easily effected, when it is attended with cunning and deceit, according to that of Valerius Maximus; *Efficacissima vires perfidia, mentiri et fallere*. But, as it is obserued by Philip de Commynes, The example of one sole accident, is sufficient to make manie men wise: so this may serue to teach succeding times, not to trust to words, wherof there is no hold; but to ratifie such compositions with irreuocable performances.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

Hirdly, we may note, how farre the anger of a Romaine Armie was extended, vpon such provocations as are heere mentioned, viz. *Ad interficiendos pueros*, to the flaying of all the males aboue fourteene yeeres of age; for, from that stage of life, they accounted all in the ranke of men: According to the institution of Tarquinius Priscus; who in his triumph of the Sabines, made a speciall Oration in the praise of his owne son, that had assaulted and strooke the Enemy in those warres, beeing then but 14 yeeres of age: and ther-pon, gaue him libertie to weare mans apparel; which was that *Toga pretexta* (edged or faced with Purple) wherof their histories make so often mention.

But

Macro. lib. 1. Saturnal. ca. 8.

Grata fide omnia agere.
*Oratio pro Flat-
co.*
*Aequalis est v-
trorumque dig-
nitatis, nisi pre-
sens necessitas
omnis conditione
vobis in re effici-
at. Tunc nam in
perfervidus, que
presentia magis
exigunt, facit*
*Valent: et Va-
lens statuerit*
L. in cibibus
x. C. de offe.
*Vicar. Vt in cib-
ibus causis re-
carum comitibus
mudiis antefer-
rentur, in mili-
taribus negotiis
comites vicarijs.*
*En los calos ra-
ras en solo ex-
ploracione expe-
ripi. Anto.
Pires.*

*Macro. lib. 1.
Saturnal. cap. 6.*

But to define preciley heerof, were to mittake the furie of the souldier: for, howsoeuer the rule is certaine from the law of Nature, that no finite cause can be infinite in effect, or that a mortal hate should haue a boundlesse reuengey yet occasion made it variable, and as irregular as that of Alexander: who sometimes sau'd all, & at other times (as at the taking of Tyre) sau'd none at all, but such as had taken the protection of the Temple. The inhumane crueltie of the Turkes, exceedeth all former hostilitie in this kind; for, they never sau'ne one out of commiseration, but for priuate vse: and doe rather chuse to destroy man-kind, then suffer it to live for any other purpose then their owne.

CHAP. VI.

The Marsellians, taking aduantage of the Truce, consumed with fire all the Romaine workes: which were afterwards reedified.



After a few daies, when our men were growne remiss & carelesse, suddenly about high noone, as some were gone one way, some another, and others wearied with continuall labour, had giuen them selues to rest, the weapons being eas'd and laid vp; they rush'd out of their gates, & comming with the wind that then blew hard, they set our workes on fire: which was so caried and dispersed with the wind, that the Mount, the Mantlets, the Telsudo, the Towre and the Engines, were all on fire at once, and were burned downe and consumed before it could be knowne how it came.

Our men, aftornisched at so sudaine and unthought-of an accident, caught vp such weapons as were next at hand; and others, running speedily frō the Camp, set upon the Enemy, but were hindered from following them as they fledde, by Engines and Arrows from the towne wall. They, on the other side, beeing retired under the protection of the wall, did at their ease burne downe the Mouse and the brick towre: and so, many moneths labour, was through the perfidios-
nese of the Enemy, and the force of the tempest, consumed & brought to nothing in a moment of time. The Marsellians attempted the like the next day after, ha-
ving opportunitie of the like tempest; and with greater confidence sallied out, & threw much fire vpon the other mount and the towre. But as our men the day before (expecting nothing leſſe then to be surprised in that sort) had neglected more then ordinary their vſuall guards, beeing now made wiser by that which had happened, they had made all things ready for defence: by which meanes, ha-
ving slaine a great number, they drawe the rest backe into the towne, without ef-
fecting any thing.

Trebonius beganne againe to reedife such workes as were ruined and con-
sumed with fire, and that with greater alacritie of the souldier then before.

For,

For, when they saw their great labours and indeauours sore to no better juc-
cuse, beeing ruined by the treacherie of the Enemy, it was a great gall unto them
to haue their valour thus derided. And, forasmuch as there was nothing left in
all the Country for the raising of a Mount, all the trees being already cut downe,
and brought farre and neare to make the first Mount, they beganne a Mount of a
strange and unheare-d of fashion, raised with two side-vualles of bricke, beeing
sixe foote thicke apeece, and ioyned together with floores. The valls were of
equall distance, to the latitude of the former Mount, which was all of solide mat-
ter: and where the space betweene the walles, or the weakeſſe of the work did
require it, there were piles driven betweene, and beames and plankes laid a-
thwart for the ſtrengthening thereof. The floores, made betweene thoſe vualles,
were laid with Hurdles, and the Hurdles were covered with clay.

The ſouldiers beeing thus sheltered, on both ſides with a wall, and defended in front by Mantlets and Gabions, did ſafely, without danger, bring whatſoever was neceſſary for that building; wherby the worke was caried on with great
speed: and the loſe of their former continuall labour, was in a ſhort time recou-
red againe, through the admirable dexterity and valour of the ſouldier. To
conclude, they left gates in the vualles, in ſuch places as were fitteſt for ſal-
lies.

Wher the enemy perceived, that what they hoped could not be repaired againe in a
long time, was with a few daies labour, reedified & finished; wherby there was
no place left to praefice deceit, or to ſallie out with aduantage; neither was there
any meanes left by which they could preuaile, either by force of Armes, or by fire
to conſume our vvorkeſ; and understanding likewiſe, that by the ſame manner
of fortification, all that part of the towne, which had paſſage and acceſſe from
the firme land, might be encompassed with a wall and with towres; that their
ſouldiers ſhould not be able to ſtand upon their workes; and perciuing vvitall,
that our army had raiſed a countermure, againſt the wall of their towne; and
that vweapons might be caſt by hand unto them; that the uſe of their Engines
(wherinein they much truſted) was by the neceſſes of ſpace quite taken away;
and laſtlie, that they were not able to confronit our men (upon equall tearmes)
from their vualles, and from their turrets] they deſcended to the ſame Articles
of rendry and ſubmiſſion, as were formerly agreed upon.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



Ence vvee may obſerue, that a Generall cannot bee too ſecure
of an Enemie, that ſtandes vpon tearmes to render vp a place.
For, the action beeing but voluntarie by constraint; if hap-
peth the conſtraining force be remoued, then that doth ceaſe
which is voluntarie: and to it commeth by conſequēnt to a
reſuall. As appea eth by this pallage of the Marsellians; who being brought
into hard tearmes, as vwell by their two ouer-throwes at ſea (whence they
expelteſ)

L.

Obseruations vpon the seconde

expected no further succour) as also by the siege laid so close by land (where they were so violently assaulted, that their towers of defence made passage for the Romaines to enter vpon them) did neuerthelesse (vpon cessation of those inforsements) alter their purpose, and entertained new hopes: which maketh good that saying, *Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes.*

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

Secondly, we may obserue, that a will forward to vndergoe labour, doth never sticke at any difficultie, nor is at all dismayed with the losse of anie paines: but is rather redoubled in courage and industrie; especially beeing edged on with a desire of reuenge. Which (if Homer may haue credit) doth alwaies adde a third part to a mans strength; as appeared by Diomedes, beeing hurt in the shoulder with one of Pindarus arrowes: for reuenge whereof, hee exceeded himselfe in a fayre proportion of valour, and slew more Troianes by a third part then otherwise he could.

Howsoeuer, as there is nothing so hard, but is subiect to the endeauour of the minde: so there is nothing so easie, as to dispossess our selues of that intent care, which is requisite in these imployments. For, these Romaines, that through the greatness of their spirits had made such first and second workes, as the memorie thereof will last with the world, were surprised when they lay in the *Interim*, as it were vnbent, in as great remissnes and neglect (how-so-ever drawne vnto it by deceit) as if they had beene able to doe no such matter as is heere reported. And therefore it behoueth a Commaundour, to keepe his Armie alwaies seafond with labour; forasmuch as *Exercitus labore proficit, otio confundit.*

CHAP. VII.

Varro raiseth great troopes, to maintaine Pompeis partie in Spaine; but, to no purpose.

VARCUS VARRO, in the further Prouince of Spaine, hauing from the beginning understood how things had passed in Italie, & distrayling how matters would succeed with Pompey, did oftentimes give out very friendly speeches of Caesar; that Pompey had by way of preuention gained him to his party, & honoured him with a Lieutenantacie, whereby hee was obliged in dutie to him: Howbeit, in his particular disposition, he stood no less affected to Caesar; neither was he ignorant of the duty of a Legat, to whose trust and fidelitie, the gouernement of the Prouince was left, as in deposito, upon

Commentary of the Ciuell Warres.

103
upon condition to be rendered vp at all times and seasons, as hee that commaunded in chiefe shoulde require it: He likewise knew very well what his owne forces were, and what was the affection and disposition of all the Countrey towards Caesar.

This was the subiect of all his speeches, without any shew of inclining either to the one or to the other. But afterwards, when he heard that Caesar was ingaged at Marselleis, that Petreius forces were ioyned with Afranius Armie, that great aides were come vnto them, that every man was in great hope and expectation of good successe; and that all the hither Prouince had agreed together, to undertake Pompeis cause, as also what had after happened concerning the want of victuals at Ilerda (all which things were writ, with aduantage, vnto him by Afranius) he then vpon that alteration changed his mind according to the times, and leuied souldiers in all parts of the Prouince: and hauing raised two compleat legions, he added vnto them some thirty cohorts of the Countrey souldiers, to serue for wings to the Army; gathered together great quantity of Corne, as well for the suplye of the Marcellians, as for the prouision of Petreius and Afranius.

Moreover, he commaunded them of Gades to build and prouide tenne Gallies; and ordered further, that many other shoulde be made at Hispalis. Hee tooke all the money and the ornaments out of Hercules temple, and brought the same into the towne of Gades, and in lieu thereof sent sixe Cohorts out of the Prouince to keepe the temple. He made Gaius Gallonius (a Romaine Knight and a familiar friend of Domitius, and sent by him thither to recouer some matter of inheritance) Gouvernour of the towne. All the Armes (as well priuate as publique) were brought into Gallonius house. He himselfe made many bitter invectiues against Caesar; affirming, that a great number of the souldiers were revolted frō him, and were come to Afranius: which hee knew to be true, by certaine and approoued Messengers.

The Romaine Citizens, residing in that Prouince, beeing much perplexed & affrighted therat, were thererpon constrained to promise him 190 thousand Sefters in ready money, for the seruice of the Common-weale, besides twentie thousand waight of siluer, together with one hundred and twentie thousand bushels of Wheate. Vpon those Citties and States which fauoured Caesars partie, he laid greater impositions: for, such as had let fallen speeches, or declared themselves against the Common-weale, he confisqued all their goods, and put a Garrison vpon them; giving iudgement himselfe upon private persons, & constraining all the Prouince, to sweare allegiance to him and to Pompey.

And beeing in the end aduertised what had happened in the hither Prouince, he prepared for warre, with a purpose to dispose thereof in this manner: His resolution was to keepe two legions with him at Gades, vwith all the shipping and the Corne: for, knowing that the vwhole Prouince did intirely affect Caesars Cause, he thought it best for him (hauing made good prouision of shipping and Corne) to keepe the land.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Gblere first, how dangerous it is, for such as stand newtrall between two parties (bearing no affection but to their owne ends) to declare themselves, vpon such appearances as commonly happen in the flux and reflux of a warre: for, if their judgement faile as Varietie did, they are then forced to redeeme their entour, with more offices of partialtie then can afterwards be excused; and so runne into a further degree of emniti, then the party for whom they suffer. And certainly, whether it bee that newtralitie refuseth to take part with the right (which in matter of controuersie must needs stand on one side) or whether it fauoureth an ill nature, to shew no sympathizing affection, with such as otherwise haue correspondence with them; or for what other cause I knowe not: but sure it is, that Newtralls, attending nothing but their owne aduantage, are of no better esteeme, then the bird wherof Leo Africus writeth; which when the King of Birds demaunded tribute, would alwaies ranke himselfe amongst the Fish: and when the King of Fishes required his seruice, would alwaies be with the Birds. Or then the Wweather-cock, wherof there is no other vse then *Indicare regnante*.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



HE Iland of Gades, was knowne to the Romaines by the name of Tartession;

Hic Gades vrb est dicta Tartessus prius.

The towne of Gades was endowed, as Dion witnesseth, by Iulius Cæsar, with the liberties and priuiledges of Rome. To which effect Plini writeth; *Oppidum habet Ciuium Romanorū, quod appellatur Augusta vrbis Iulia Gaditana.* It was a towne of great fame: as appeareth by that of Iuba, king of Mauritania, who made ambitious sute, to haue the title of *Duumviri*, or Two-men of the towne; as Feles noteth, in his Description of the Sea-coast.

*At vis in illis tanta, vel tantum decus
Aetate prisca, sub fide rerum fuit:
Rex ut superbis omniumque prepotens
Quos gens habebat fortium Maurusia,
Ostianio principi acceptissimus
Et literarum semper in studio Iuba,
Interfluque separatus seque
Illustriore remet, vrbis istius
Duumviratu crederet.*

Commentary of the Ciuill Warres.

In this Iland stode Hercules temple; to which, as well Romaines, as other noble Aduenturers of all Nations, made often repaire, to performe their vowe vpon atchieuements of deedes of Armes: which solemnite was not omitted by Hannibal, before his expedition into Italie.

Amongt other Altars in this Temple, there was one dedicated to Penitie and Art; signifying that Art drieuth away Penurie, as Hercules put to flight & subdued Moniters. Those of Afia, and the Mediterranean parts, tooke this Iland to be the furthest end of navigation: for, the Atlantike sea admited no further passage, for want of a load-stone to direct them in that vastnes. And therefore Pindarus saith, That it is not lawfull for wise men nor fooles, to know what is beyond the straignt of Gebraltar, the way in the Ocean beeing 1000 leagues broad. In this towne of Gades, was borne L. Cornelius Balbus, who at his death gaue a legacie to the Romaine people, 25 pence per Pole; together with Iunius Brutus Columella, that wrot so excellently *De re Rustica*.

Et mea quam generat Tarte/s/litora Gades.

It is now called Calces Males, and was sacked by our English, 1596.

Hispalis, surnamed Romulensis, from the Romaine Colonie that was planted there, is leated vpon the Riuier Beatis, in a very pleasant and fertile Countrey, and especially for oyles. The towne is now the Staple for the West Indies, and a very Nurserie of Marchants. Arias Montanus, that great Theologian, was borne in this Cittie.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

GOncerning these CXC thousand Selterces, the learned cannot satisfie themselves with any congruent interpretation thereof. For, if we take them in the Newter, for vij pound x shillings apeece, it amounteth to 1492000 pound, which is thought too much: if in the Mafculine, it will rise not to aboue 1400 pound, which is deemed too little. And therefore the Criticks do mend the place, and read *H-S centies nonages*, which bringeth out 142500 pound: and is thought agreeable to the meaning of the Author.

CHAP. VIII.

The Prouince and the legions reuolt from Varro.

*Cæsar settleth Spaine, and returneth
to Marsellies.*



beit Cæsar was called backe into Italie for many great and important causes, yet he was resolute to leave no sparke or appearance of warre remaining behind him in Spaine: for that hee knew Pompeis deserts to bee such, as had gained him many followers and dependants in the hither Prouince. And therefore hauing sent two legions into the further Spaine, under the conduct

Observations vpon the second

conduct of Q. Caſſius, Tribune of the people, he himſelfe made forward by great journeys, with ſix hundred horſe; ſending an Edict before him, to ſummon the Magiſtrates, and chiefe men of the Citties and Townes, to appear before him by a day at Corduba. Vpon publication of which Edict, there was no Cittie in all that Province, that ſent not ſome of their Senate by the day appointed, to Corduba: Neither was there any Romaine Cittizen of note, that preſented not himſelfe there at that time.

The Princes and States beeing assembled, of their owne accord they ſhot the gates againſt Varro, ſet watch and ward vpon the walls and in the towres, and retained with them two cohorts, called by the name of Colonica (which came thither by chaunce) for the ſafe keeping of the towne. At the ſelfe ſame time, the Inhabitants of Carmona (which is the ſtrongeſt towne of all the Province) cast out the Cohorts that were by Varro put into their Citadell, and ſhot them out of their towne. Whereby, Varro was the rather moued to make hafe to Gades with his legions, leaſt he ſhould bee hindered and cut off, either in the way, or in his paſſage ouer from the Continent: ſuch and ſo fauourable was the generall affection of the whole Province towards Cæſar. And being ſome-what advanced on his iourney, he received Letters from Gades, that as ſoone as it was known there of the Edict which Cæſar had published, the chiefeſt of the Gaditanſ agreed with the Tribunes of the ſouldierſ, which were in Guarizon, to expell Galloniuſ out of the towne, and to keepe the Cittie and the Iland for Cæſar. Which beeing refuſed vpon, they ſent him word to leaſe the towne of his owne accord, while hee might doe it without danger; and if he refuſed, they would then take ſuch further order as they ſhould finde expedient. Galloniuſ, mooued with ſcare, diſlodged himſelfe and went out of Gades.

These things beeing diuulged abroad, one of the two legions, knowne by the name of Vernacula, tooke up their Enſignes, went out of Varros Campe (he himſelfe ſtanding by and looking on) and retired themſelues to Hispalis; and there ſate downe in the Market-place, and in common porches, without hurting anie man. Which the Romaine Cittizenſ, there assembled, did ſo well like of, that euer man was very deſirous to enteraine them in their houſeſ. Whereat Varro, beeing much aſtoniſhed, altered his iourney, towards Ilija Italica, as hee gaue it out; but ſoone after was aduertized by ſome of his friendſ, that the gates were ſhot againſt him. Wherupon, being circumvented and fore-cloſed from all other addreſſeſ, he ſent to Cæſar, to aduertife him that he was ready to deliuere up the legion, to whomſoever he ſhould pleaſe to appoint. To which purpoſe, he ſent him ſex. Cæſar, commandiug the legion to be deliuereſ to him.

Varro, hauiing giuen vp his charge, came to Cæſar at Corduba, & there gaue him a true account of the cariage of his office. The monieſ remaining in his hands he deliuereſ vp, and gaue an Inventory of the Corne and ſhipping which were in any place provided. Cæſar, by a publicke Oration made at Corduba, gaue thanks generally to all men; as firſt, to the Romaine Cittizenſ, for the indeauour they v/ed to be Maifters of the towne. Secondly, to the Spaniards, for driving out the Guiaſons: to them of Gades, that they traueſed and preuented the projects of the adverſarieſ, & had reſtored themſelues to libertie, to the Tribunes of the ſouldierſ,

Commentary of the Ciuiti Warres.

diers, & Centurions, that were come thither to keep the towne, for that by their valour & magnanimitie, the reſolution of the towneſmen was auſſured and conſirmed. He remitted ſuch leuies of money, as the Romaine Cittizenſ had promiſed Varro for the publicke ſervice. He reſtored the goods conſiſqueted, of ſuch as had ſpoken more freely then was pleaſing, and gaue diuers rewards, both publicke and priuate: the reſt he ſatiſheda with hope of good time for the future. And hauiing ſtaied there two daies, he went to Gades: where he gaue order that the moieties and monuments, which were transferred fro Hercules temple to a priuate houſe, ſhould be caried backe againe to the Temple. Hee made Q. Caſſius Gouernour of the Province, & left with him four legions. He himſelfe, in a few daies ſpace, with thoſe ſhips which M. Varro, and thoſe of Gades (by his commaundement) had made, came to Tarraco; for, there the Embaſſadours of almoſt all the other Province, did attend his conning: and hauiing receiued them with priuate and publicke honour, in the ſame fashion as formerly hee had uſed, hee left Tarraco, and came by land to Narbone, and from thence to Marſellis: where he receiued firſt aduertiſement of the law made at Rome, for creating of a Dictator; and that himſelfe was named thereunto, by M. Lepidus, Praetor.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Tis one of Cæſars peculiars, recorded by Suetonius, that hee neuer left behind him any ſparke or iuſpicion of warre, leaſt it might be ſaid hee did not throughly conquer where hee came. For, hee that doth a buſineſſ to halfe, hath as muſh more to doe before it bee done: and the remainder in matter of warre, groweth commonly to a greater head then that which firſt gaue occaſion of Armes; like fire, which is ſmollied for a time, to breake out afterwards with greater furie. And therfore, that he might not be thought to prouoke an Enemy rather then ſubdue him, hee neglected all occaſions how important ſoever, which might draw him into Italie; to the end he might ſettle Spaine in a peace, anſwerable to an aſſolute victorie: Which he easily effected, hauiing ouer-maifted the chiefeſt of the party, and turned their troupeſ out of the Country, as men altogether miſtaken in the matter. The fame whereof ſo preuailed with the reſt, that rather then they would ſtand out, they forſooke their Commanders. And hauiing thus remoued all occaſions of force, hee then proceeded to take away all doubtelneſſe, which might accompane a new reconcilement, by ſhewing ſuch reſpeſt as well beſeemed ancient deſert.

For, firſt, he made a publicke acknowledgement of their general loue and affection towards him; and then taking notice of particuler leuies, ingaged them further, with honours and rewards; righted ſuch as were opprefſed by the adverſarie; remitted all leuies and taxations (to ſhew the diſference be-weene him and the Enemies fauour) & filled all men with hope of good times; as knowing that faire words, accompanied with large promises, are powerful instruments to work out whatſoever is deſired. And to hee tooke a little more

Observations vpon the second

time to settle thole Prouinces without further trouble: as belieuing in the proverbe; that, What is well done, is twice done.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

 Varro heire mentioned, made more profession of knowledge and Artes, then any other of his Nation, beeing thereupon stiled by the name of *Dofus*; & yet in the judgement of learned Philosophers, was fitter to perswade then to teach. Tully, beeing deprived of publique offices, handled Philosophy a little in his owne language: Pliny and Seneca, lesse then Varro or Tully. But what are these to Aristotle or Plato? Or rather, what hath learning to doe with a Romaine Generall? whose knowledge consisted in their Militarie discipline, and in the powerfull meanes of victorius indeavour. Whererin Varro was as ignorant, as was Don Raymundus, the eleventh King of Arragon, in managing of Armes; who taking his sword in one hand, and his buckler in the other, held the horse bridle in his teeth. Howbeit, if *Qui minus facit, minus peccat* were a good excuse, it were fitting to make him blamelesse, that deserved so well of learning aboue all others of that Empire. But forasmuch as his actions appeare so farre inferiour to that which is conceited of his vnderstanding, let that be acknowledged which is true, that *Considerare agere pluris est, quam cogitare prudenter.*

This Ilipa Italica, was the chiefe towne of the Turditani in Andolozia; and is conjectured by the ruines yet remaining, to stand ouer against Seuill.

Tarraco is that which is now called Arragon, a Colony of Scipio his planting, whereof the Prouince taketh appellation; which is extended (as Plinie witnesseth) from Catalonia to Navarre, and Castile, along the Alpes. Blaize de Vigenere reporteth, that in the yeare 516, there was a Councell held at Tarraco, by tenne Bishops: wherein it was decreed, that Sunday should alwayes beginne presentlie after Euening prayer (or their Vespers) on the Saturday. From whence it is, that the Spaniards doe not worke at all after that time, and doe eate vpon Saturdayes at supper, the head, the feet and the entralls of such flesh as is killed in the Shambles (together with other prettie bits which they call *Morfillas*) without prohibition or scruple of conscience. In this towne of Tarraco, was borne Paulus Oforius, that noble Orator.

Corduba, otherwife called Colonia Patricia, was held the next of worth & dignitie to Seuill, but for excellent wits, to be preferred aboue all the townes of Spaine; for, heire first were borne the two Senecas, the father the Rhetorician, and the sonne the Philosopher: together with their kinsman, Annæus Lucanus, the diuine Poet, of whom Martiall writheth;

*Duoque Senecas unicumque Lucanus
Facunda loquitur Corduba.*

Besides, of later times, Auenzoar, Auicenna, and Auerrois, as excellent a Philosopher, as the other was a Phylition: of whose works

Fama

Commentary of the Ciuill Warres.

Fama loquetur Anus.
And from hence come thole Cordouan skinnes, so much in request.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

 Concerning the office of a Dictator, whereunto Cæsar was named by the Praetor Lepidus, we are to obserue, that the Dictatorshippe was the greatest place of dignitie in their government, as Polibius noteth. The Consuls, saith hee, hauing each of them but twelve Lictors apiece, that caried bundles of Rods before them, as ensignes of Magistracie, the Dictator had alwaies 24; to shew that the soueraine power diuided betweene the two Consuls, was then reduced to one sole commaund. The occasions of establishing a Dictator, were diuers; howbeit, it was commonlie to take order in some great matter of consequence, which fell out to be extraordinarie, and required the commaund of one man. And as it is in the fastes or records of the Capitoll; either *Repub: regend: causa*, as was this first Dictatorship of Cæsars: or otherwise, *M. Fabius, Ambustus dict: seditionis causa*: And at another time, *Cn: Quintius Varus Dictator, clavis figendi causa*: which was one of the superstitions they vied in time of pestilence, and so diuers the like: of all which, there is this forme expressed by Tully; *Si quando duellum granus, discordie Ciuium crescent vnius ne amplius sex menses, nisi senatus creuerit, idem turis quod duo Consules teneto, si que aue sinistra dictus Magister Populi es.*

But, forasmuch as *Magister Populi* was a harsh and odious name to the people, they called him by a more modest name, Dictator: whereof Varro giveth this reaon; *Dictator quod a Consule dicebatur, causis dicto audientes omnes essent.* And as none could name a Dictator but the Consull (for Cæsar was named by the Praetor in an extraordinarie time) so none could be named to that place, but such as were or had beene Consulls; *Consulares legere ita lex iubebat de Dictatore creando lata.* To which may bee added the circumstance of time, which was alwaies in the night; *Nocte deinde silentio ut mos est Papyrum Dictatorem dixit.* The Dictator had soueraine power, but limited for a time: which was commonly sixe Moneths; whereby they are specially distinguished from Monarkes: and thereupon, Cicero adjudgeth Sillas Dictatorship to be a mere tyranny, and so doth Plutarch Cæsars; because both were prorogued beyond the time prefcribed by the law. Cæsar held this Dictators place but elauen daies, and then left it off: but afterwards had it for his life, and so came to be stiled *Dictator perpetuus*.

Lib. 3.

De legibus.

Linie. lib. 2.

1. Philip.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

The Marsellians give vp the Towne.



HE Marsellians beeing much opprest, and almost worne out with all sorts of inconveniences, & brought to an extreme exgent of victuall, defeated and ouerthronne in two fightes at sea, broken & cut in peeces oftentimes in their sallies out, afflicted with a grieuous pestilence through Gods appointment, and alteration of diet (for, they laved of nothing but of old l'anick and mustie Barly, which vvas long before laid vp in publicke for this purpose) their towre beeing ouerthronne, and a great part of their vall downe; out of hope of any succours fro the Prouinces, or of other Armies, which they knew were come into the hands and power of Cæsar, they seriously determined (without fraude) to give vp the towne. But a few daies before, L. Domitius, understanding their resolution, hauing got three shippes (wherof two he assigned to his familiar friends, the third he tooke him selfe, and taking the opportunitie of a troublesome storne) put to sea: vwhich beeing perceived by the shippes that by Brutus commandement did continually guard the mouth of the Haven, they vvaied their Ankers, & made after them. Notwithstanding, that, vwherein Domitius was, held on her course, and by the helpe of the soule weather got out of sight. The other two, beeing afraid of our shippes, returned back into the Haven.

The Marsellians, according as was commaunded, brought their Armes and Engines out of the towne, drew forth their shippes, both out of their Haven and their Arcenalls, and deliuered vp their publicke treasure: which things beeing accomplished and performed, Cæsar, willing to saue them, rather for the Nauie and antiquity of the towne, then for any merit of theirs, left two legions there for a Guarizon, and sent the rest into Italie. He himselfe tooke his way towards Rome.

O B S E R V A T I O N S.



Ence wee may obserue, that when men refuse to be led by reason, as the best meane to guide them to conuenient ends, they are commonly constrained by the commaunding warrant of Necesarie, to vnder-goe the same thing vpon harder condicions. As it happened to the Matellians, who not regarding the Armie then present, and ready to take a strict account of their answers (which with good excuse doth commaund a newtrall State) chose rather to be shut vp with a siege; that of all miseries is accounted the worst: and therein so caried themselues, as they left no stone vremoued to make good their refusall; but for want of better helpe, brought their Fraude to play a part, to their greater diffaduance.

Commentary of the Ciuill Warres.

diffaduance. And if the Conquerour had not tooke all occasions to shew his clemencie, they might happelie haue paid deare for their contempt. But where either desert or other motiues wanted, there *nomen et vetustas* was sufficient to make Cæsar constant to his owne ends: which, as neare as the course wherin he was ingaged would afford him, were alwaies leuelled at the general applause of his actions; taking that to be no little helpe to worke himselfe into the soueraintie of the State: obseruing it the rather in cases of great and happy successe; which are ever more restrained then lesser fortunes. Howsoever, it cannot be denied, but that Clemencie is a proprietie of excellent honour: which Cæsar shewed in sauing the towne.

III

In maxima fortuna, minima licentia est. Salust.

Seruare propriis est excellentis fortunis. Seneca de clement. lib. 1

CHAP. X.

Curio transporteth two legions into Affricke.



Bout the same time, C. Curio set saile from Sicilie to passe into Affricke: and making no account at all of Atius Varus forces, he caried with him but two legions of the fourre which vvere deliuered him by Cæsar, together with ffe hundred horse. And after he had beene at Sea two daies and three nights, he arriued at a place called Aquilaria, distant twenty two miles from Cluape; vwhere there is a very commodious Roade for shippes in Sommer, sheltered on each side with two large and eminent Promontories. L. Cæsar, the sonne, attended his comming at Cluape, with tenne Gallies; vwhich being taken from the Pirats in the late wvarres, and laid aground at Utica, vvere repaired and newtly trimm'd by Varus: and beeing afraid of the great number of his shippes, for sooke the sea, and ranne his Gallie on shore; and leauing her there, fled by land on foote to Adrumetum, a towne kept by Confinius Longus, hauing one legion onely in gaurizon.

The rest of Cæsars Nauie, seeing their Admirall fli away, put into Adrumetum. M. Rufus the Treasurer, pursued him with twelve shippes, which Curio had brought with him out of Sicilie, to waft the shippes of burthen; and finding the Gallie left vpon the sand, he towed her off, and returned to Curio with his Nauie. Curio sent Marcus before with the shippes, to Utica: and he himselfe set forward thither by land with the Armie, and in two daies tourney came to the Riuere Brigada; vwhere he left C. Caninius Rebilius, the Legate, with the legions, and vrent himselfe before with the Caualry, to view a place called Cornelius Campe: vwhich was held very fit and conuenient to incampe in, beeing a direct ridge of a hill, shooting out into the Sea, steepe and broken on each side, and yet shelving by a little more gentle descent, on that side which was next Utica; beeing distant from thence (if the nearest way vvere taken) a little more then a mile. But in that shorkest cut, there rose a Spring, in that part which was furthest off

Cæsar.

... quae se Brigada hunc agit, scilicet ad arce. Luc. lib. 4.

off from the sea, and so made a marsh or bogge: vwhich who so ever would a void, must fetch a compass of sixe miles to goe to the towne.

A view beeing taken of this place, Curio beheld afarre off, Vetus Campe, ioyning to the towne wall, at the gate called Bellica; maruaulously fortified through the strong situation of the place, hauing the towne on the one side, and a heate vrch which stood before the towne on the other: and by reason of the great circuit of building which is contained, made a narrow and difficult passage to the Campe. Hee observed, further, great store of carriages, whch by reason of this suddaine alarum, were brought out of the Countrey towards the towne: for the intercepting whereof, he sent the Caualry. And at the same instant, Vetus like wise had sent out of the towne, D C. Numidian horse, and C C C. foote, whch King iuba (a few daies before) had sent to Utica, for the strengthening of that partie. This Prince had acquaintance wth Pompey, by reason that his father lodged wth him, and bare a spleene to Curio, for the law which he preferred when hee was Tribune of the people, for the confiscation of iuba his kingdome. The Caualrie on either side met together, and the Numidians were not able to abide the charge of our men; but some one hundred and twenty beeing slaine, the rest be tooke them selves backe to the Campe at the towne.

In the meane time, vpon the arriuall of our Gallies, Curio commaunded it to be proclaimed, that such Victuallers, and shippes of burthen, as were in the Bay at Viica (beeing in number about two hundred) and would not presentlie come to the Cornelian Campe, shoule be held and taken for enemies. At which Pr clama-
tion, vpon an instant of time, they all waied anchor, and came to the place whither they were commede: whereby the Army abounded withall necessarie prouissons. This beeing done, he returned to the Campe at Bragada; and, by the acclamation of the whole Army, was saluted by the name of Imperator.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

His Chapter beginneth with the thirdpart of this booke, containing Curio his passage into Affrick : concerning whom, it is to bee obserued, that in the beginning of these broiles, no man was more enemy to Cæsar, nor made more bitter inquietudes to the people against him, then he did in his Tribune-ship; but afterwards fell off, & was gained by the voluptuous inticements of M. Anthonie, together with a huge mafs of money which Cæsar sent him. Whereupon he plaied the turn-coate, and with might and maine assisted that Partie; preuailing much with the Communaltie, by his eloquent and perwasiuſe ſpeeches: the liuely force whereof, is able to stirre vp affection in ſtones. For which caufe it is, that Velleius Patercul. noteth, That no man brought a more burning or dangerous fire-brand to the kindling of thofe Ciuill warres, then did Curio; beeing a man of an exellent diſcoufe, audacious, prodigall of his owne and of other mens, ſubtile, ingeniouſ, extreame vitiouſ, and alwaies well ſpoken, to the ruine of the publique weale. Which ſweetneſſe of words came vnto him by inheritance,

as Plinie witnesseth; *Vna familia Curionum, in qua, tres continua serie oratores extiterunt.* Of whose monstrous prodigalities, the same Author hath made a very large account. And out of these over-weening humors it was, that he became so vnwarie as to diuidre his Armie; neglecting the Enemy, and the variableness of warre; which altereth as the Moone, & keepeth no constant shape whereby it may be knownen. Concerning the dismembering of an Armie, lightly, and vpon heedlesse rashnes, Cyrus giueth graue aduise, in the beginning of the sixt booke of Zenophon. To which (for the present) I refer the Reader.

Clupea was a towne in Affrick, named by Plinie, *Oppidum liberum*, & sited upon the Promontorie of Mercury, in the territories of old Carthage: it was so called, because it caried the forme of a Target retorted; and for the same cause it was called Aspis:

In Clypei speciem curuatis turribus Aspis.

This Promontorie, which Curio chose to incampe in, was famous for three things. First, it was reputed the place where Antæus the Giant dwelt, vwhich Hercules slew, by strangling him in his Armes; that hee might not touch the Earth, from whom it is said, he received fresh strength. Secondly, P. Cornelius Scipio, that subdued Affrick, made that place his chiefe Camp of strength: and so it came to be called Cornelius Campe. And lastly, for this expedition which Curio made, to lose two legions, and himselfe withall; as vnwilling to see the morow, after such a losse: for, *Vita eſt anidus, quisquis non vult, mūdo ſecum percutere mori.*

Lib. 7. cat.
Lib. 36. cat.
Nimis con-
suetus ej.
Sph. lib. 1.
4. de bello
daico.

Sil. Ital.

Seneca Trae

CHAP. XI.

Curio marcheth to Utica: his Caualry put to flight
great troopes comming from king Fuba. His
Armie was strangely possessed with
an idle feare.

HE next day, hee brought his Army to Vtica, and incamped himselfe neare unto the towne: but before the fortification of his Campe was finished, the horsemen that stood Centinell, gaue notice of great forces of horse and foote, coming towards Vtica, from king Iuba: and at the same time, a great dust was seene rise in the aire, and presently the first troopes began to come in sight. Curio, astonisht at the novelty of the thing, sent his horse before, to sustaine the first shock, and to stay them: he himselfe, calling the legions with all speed from their worke, imbatelled his Army. The Caualry, encountering with the Enemy (before the legions could be well vnfolded and put in order) did put to flight all the Kings forces, that came marching without feare or orders; and slew a great number of the foote troopes: but the horse, making haste, got almost

Caesar.

Observations vpon the second

all safe into the towne, by the way of the sea-shore. The next night after, two Centurions, of the Nation of the Marsi, fledde from Curio, with twenty two of their souldiers, to Atius Varus.

These Centurions, whether it were to please Varus, or otherwise speaking as they thought (for, what men wish, they easily believe; and what they think, they hope others doe thinke the same) did confidently affirme, that the mindes of the whole Army, were altogether alienated from Curio; and that it was very expedient, that the Armies should come in sight, and find means to speake together. Varus, beeing persuaded to that opinion, the next day, early in the morning, drew his legions out of the Campe: the like did Curio; either of them putting their forces in order, vpon a small Valley vwhich lay betweene both their Armies.

There was in Varus Army, one Sex. Quintilius Varus, who (as it is formerly declared) was at Corfinium; and beeing let goe by Caesar, went into Affrick. It fortuned that Curio had caried ouer those legions, vwhich Caesar had formerly taken at Corfinium: so that a few Centurions beeing slaine, the Companies and Maniples remained the same. This occasion beeing so fitly offered, Quintilius (going about Curio his Army) began to beseech the souldiers, that they vould not forget the first oath they had taken, to Domitian, and to him their Treasurer: nor bear Armes against them, that had runne the same fortune, and incurred the same siege; nor fight for those, vwho (by way of reprobation) had calld them fugitives. To these hee added some promises, to put them in hope of a good recompence, out of his owne liberality, if they vould follow him and Atius.

Having delivered this vnto them, Curio his Army stood mute, and declared not themselfes by any signe, either one way or other: notwithstanding, Curio his Campe was afterwards possessed with a great feare and suspition: vwhich was quickly augmented, by diuers reports raised vpon the same. For, every man forged opinions and conceits; and out of his owne feare, added some thing to that which hee had heard of another. Which when it was spred from one author to many, and one had received it from another, it seemed there were many authors of the same thing. For, Ciuitall warre is alwaies compounded of such men, as hold it lawfull to doe and follow what and whom they please.

Those legions, which a little before were in the seruice of the Enemy, did willingly imbrace what was offered them; for, old acquaintance, had made them forget what benefites Caesar had lately bestowed on them: beeing also of diuers Countries and Nations; and not all of the Marsi or Peligni, as those the night before, vwhich were their Cabin-mates and fellow souldiers: vwhere-upon, they tooke occasion, to publish abroad in worse termes, that which others had vaine lie giuen out; and some things were coined by those, that would seeme most diligent in doing their duty.

THE

Commentary of the Ciuitall Warres.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



Bsterue first, from the revolt of these Centurions, that a fellow or two of ranke and fashion, falling from a Partie, doe gaine easie credite to their aduertisements, by averting any thing which the Enemy desireth. Whence it is, that forasmuch as fugitives can little otherwise availe (one man beeing but as no man) they feke fauour and reputation with the Partie they flie vnto, by their aduise and discouerie; and consequently, the remuneracion of espiall, which according to the president made by Fabius to the Spies of Clufine, is worth a mans labour.

And hercyn, Reuolters (especially those of judgement) are very dangerous instruments; not onely in weakening or making frustrate such desaignes as may be contrived against an Aduerterarie: but also in discouering the secrets of their owne Partie, and disclosing of that which is absolute and well, vntill it be made knownen. For, there is no subtilting thing so perfect, but hath alvvays some part or other open, to give an easie paſſage to destruction: according to that of the Poet;

Omnia sunt hominum tenui pendentia filo.

And therefore, it is no small meanes of preseruing each thing in being, to make shew of strength, and conceale weaknesses, as the registers of assured ruine: for which caufe it is, that fidelitie is commended, as the foundation of humaine societie; and perfidious treachery, divulging the secrete imperfections thereof, is the plague and bane of the same.

Livre. lib. 10.

*Fides fundamētum societatis
humane: perfida
dia vīo ciuitatis
peſi. Plato, 1.5.
de legib.*

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



S there is nothing more dangerous in an Army, then feare: so there is nothing sooner bredde to disturbe a multitude, then this paſſion; which metamorphoſeth a troope of men into a heard of Deere. For, hence it appeareth, that one Thersites is able to leuine a whole Army; & an idle conceit, bred in the weak thoughts of ſome Trelantans, begetteſth oftentimes a maine caufe of distrust throughout all the Party: which, as it spreadeth abroad, is ſo deliuereſt from one to another, as the Reporter (not believeng what he telleth) addeth alwaies ſome-what to make the hearer belieue, what he could not himſelfe. And ſo vayne mindes doe multiplye the vaine apprehenſion of idle humours, in ſuch a fashon, as there is more hurt in fearing, then in the thing which is feared.

Epaminondas was more fortunate then all others in this kind: for, while hee ledde the Thebanes as their Commanduer, they vvere neuer taken with any ſuddaine affrightment, nor poſſeſt with any Panick terror, to bereave them of their ſenſes, or ſalfiſie the truth of their understanding:

M 2.

The Spartans
called all cowards
Trelantans.
Plutarch.

*Plus in metu
do eſt mali, quā
in illo iplo quod
metu. Cic. ad
Tertullianum.*

Plutarch.

Observations vpon the second

beeing all (as it leemeth) of the same mind with the Generall; who accounted no death so honourable as that which came by warre. Howbeit, such is the frauelte of humane nature, & so strange are the convulsions of the mind, that a Commaunder must expect to meet with times: wherein, his men will stand in danger of nothing so much as their owne infirmities; beeing troubled rather with strong apprehensions, then for any danger of the thing feare.

CHAP. XII.

Curio disputeth the matter in a Councell
of Warre.

CURIO which causes, a Councell of warre beeing called, they beganne to deliberate vwhat course vwas to be taken. There were some opinions which thought, that it was very expedient to assault and take Varus Campe, for that there vwas nothing more dangerous then idlenes, for the breeding and increase of such imaginations as the souldiers had conceited. Others said, It were better to try the fortune of a battell, & to free themselves by valorous indeauour, rather then to be forsaken and abandoned of their owne party, and left to vnder-goe most grievous and extreame torments. There were others which thought it fit, to returne about the third watch of the night to Cornelius Campe; that by interposing some respite of time, the souldiers might be better settled, and confirmed in their opinions: and if any mischance further happened, they might (by reason of their store of shippings) vwith more ease and safety, returne backe to Sicily.

Curio, misliking both the one and the other, said; That there wanted as much good resolution in the one opinion, as it abounded in the other; for, these entered into a consideration of a dishonourable and vnseeming flight: and those were of an opinion to fight, in an unequal and disadvantageous place. For, with vwhat hope (faith he) can vree assault a Campe so fortified, both by Nature and Art? Or vhat haue we gained, if with great losse and damage, we shall goe away and give it ouer? As though things well & happily attieued, did not get to the Commaunder, great good will from the souldier; and things ill caried, as much hate. Concerning the remouing of our Campe, what doth it inferre but a shamefull retreat, a deceipte in all men, and an alienation of the Army? For, it is not fit, to give occasion to the prudent and well-advised, to imagine that they are disfused: nor on the other side, to the ill disposed, that they are redoubted or feared; and the rather, because feare in this kind, will give them more liberty to doill, and abate the indeauour of good men in well-deferuing. And if (faith he) these things are well knowne unto vs already, that are spoken of the revolt and alienation of the Army (which, for mine owne part, I think either to be altogether false, or at least, lesse then in opinion they are thought to be) is it not better to dissemble and hide them, then that they shoulde be strengthened and confirmed by vs?

Ought

Commentary of the Ciuill Warres.

Ought we not, as we doe bide the wounds of our bodies, to couer the incuueniences of an Armie, least we should minister hope or courage to the Adversarie? But some there are that advise to set forward at midnight, to the end (as I imagine) that such as are desirous to offend, may performe it with more scope and licentiousnesse. For, such disorders are repressed and reformed, either with shame or feare: to both which the night is an enemy. And therefore, as I am not of that courage, to thinke without hope or meanes, that the Enemies Campe is to be assaulted; so on the other side, I am not so scaredfull, as to be wanting in that which is fitting: but am rather of opinion, that we try all things before wee yield to that; and doe assure my selfe, that for the most part, wee are all of one mind concerning this point.

O B S E R V A T I O N S.

SIN matter of Geometry, *Rectum est Index sui, et obliqui*; being equal to all the parts of rectitude, and unequal to obliquity: so is it in reason and discourse. For, a direct and well grounded speech, carrieth such a native equalitie with all it parts, as it doth not only approue it selfe to be leueled at that which is most fitting, but sheweth also what is indirect and crooked, concerning the same matter; and is of that consequence in the varietie of projects and opinions, and so hardly hit vpon, in the lame discourse of common reason, that Plato thought it a peece of diuine power, to direct a path free from the crookednes of error, which might lead the straight and ready way to happy ends. And the rather, forasmuch as in matter of debate, there are no words so waighty, but do seeme balanced with others of equall consideration: as heere it happened, to those that pointing at the cause of this distemperature, conuicted Idlenesse for the Author of their variable and unsettled mindes: And, as Zenophon hath obserued, very hard to be indured in one man, much worse in a whole familie, but noway sufferable in an Army; which the Romaines called *Exercitus ab exercitio*. For remedy whereof, they propounded labour without hope of gaine, & such seruice as could bring forth nothing but losse. Others, preferring securitie before all other courses (as belieuing with Luiie, that Captaines shoulde never trust Fortune further then necessite constrained them) perwaded a retreat to a place of safetie, but vpon dishonourable tearmes. Which vneuennes of opinions, Curio made straight by an excellent Maxime in this kind; thinking it conuenient to hold such a course, as might neither giue honest men cause of distrust, nor wicked men to thinke they were feared. For, so he should be sure (in good tearmes of honor) neither to discourage the better sort, nor giue occasion to the ill affected to doe worse. And thus winding himselfe out of the labyrinth of words (as knowing that to bee true of Annius the Praetor, that it more importeth occasions to do then to say; being an easie matter to fit words to things vnfolded and resolued vpon) he brake vp the Councell.

*Constituere, e-
orum que inter
homines diuini-
ficium.*

*Immutare, i-
matio equi-
pponitur. Sext.
Philol.*

*Parvum semper
dant et amant.
Iac. lib. 4.
Lib. 1. Cyrope.*

*Ducet nullo loco,
nisi, quantum ne-
cessitas conser-
vatur, for-
tunae de-
bet. 2.*

*Ad summum veris
pertinet, cogita-
re magis quid a-
gendi quid quid
loquendi; faci-
le erit, explica-
re consueta ac-
modare vras
verbis. Iov. 33.*

CHAP. XIII.

Curio calleth a generall assembly of the souldiers, and speaketh unto them, concerning their feare, and retraition.



HE Councell beeing risen, he gaue order for a Convocation of the Armie, and there called to remembrance what they had done for Caesar, at Corfinium: how by their fauour and furtherance, he had gained the greatest part of Italie, to bee on his side. For, by you (saith hee) and by your indeavour, all the rest of the Aemunicipall townes, were drawne to follow Caesar: and therfore, not without iust cause did hee at that time repose great assurance in your affections towards him; and the aduersarie partie conceiued as great indignation and spight against you. For, Pompey was not forced away by any battell: but beeing prejudiced by your act hee quitted Italy. Caesar hath recommended me, whom hee held neer unto himselfe, together with the Provinces of Sicily and Africke (without which he cannot defend the City and Italy) to your trust and fidelite. There are some which sollicite and perfwade you to revolt from my commaund: for, what can they wish or desire more, then to make it but one worke, to bring vs both to ruine and ouerthrove, and to ingage you in a most detestable wickednes? Or what worse opinion can they conceiue of you, then that you shal betray them, that professe themselves wholly yours? and that you might afterwards come into their power, who take themselves undone by your meanes?

Hauz you not understood what Caesar hath done in Spaine? two Armies beaten; two Generalls defeated; two Provinces taken; and all within forty daies, after he came in view of the Enemy? Those, whose forces were not able to make resistance when they were whole & entire, how is it possible they shal hold out, beeing beaten and discomfited? You that followed Caesar when the victory stood doubtfull; now Fortune hath adiudged the Causse, and determined of the issue of the Warre, will you follow the vanquished Partie? They gaue out, that they were forsaken and betrayed by you, and doe remember you of the former oath you tooke: but did you forsake L. Domitius, or did he forsake you? Did not he thrust you out, and expose you to all extremity of fortune? Did hee not seeke to saue himselfe by flight, without your knowledge or priuicie? Were you not preserved and kept aline by Caesars clemencie, when you were abandoned & betrayed by him?

How could he tie you vwith the oath of allegiance, when (hauing cast away his heafe of Rods, and laid downe his authority) he himselfe was made a priuie person, and became captiuated to the commaund of another mans power? It were a strange and new religion, that you shal neglect that oath, wherein you stand now imaged; and respect the other, which was taken away by the rendry

Commentary of the Ciuill Warres.

of your Generall, and the * losse of your libertie. But I beleeue you thinke vwell of Caesar, and are offended at Mee, that am not to preach of my merits towards you; which as yet consist in my good will, and are unworthy your expectation: & yet souldiers haue alwaies used to seeke reward vpon the butting up of a warre, which what event it will haue, make you no doubt. And why shal I omit the diligence vwhich I haue already vfed, and how the busines hath hitherto proceeded? Doth it offend you, that I transported the Armie ouer in safetie, vwithout losse of any one shippe? That at my comming, I beat and dispersed at the first onset the whole fleete of the Aduersaries? That twice, in two daies, I ouercame them only vwith the Caudrie? That I drew two hundred Ships of burthen out of the Road and Port of the Enemy? and haue brought them to that extremitie, that they can be supplied by prouision, neither by sea nor by land? All this good fortune, and these Commaunders rejected and forsaken? which will rather imbrace the ignominie you received at Corfinium, or your flight out of Italy, or the rendering up of Spaine, or the preuidiciale successe of the warre of Africke. Truly, for mine owne part, I was desirous and content to be called Caesars soilder: but you haue stiled me vwith the title of Imperator. Which if it repent you, I doe willingly quit my selfe of your grace, and returne it back vnto you: and doe you, in like manner, restore mee to my name againe; least you shal seeme to give me honour vwhich might turne to my reproche.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

N the handling of this accident, the difference commeth to be observed, betweene a Councell of warre, and a Concio, or convocation of the souldiers. The first was more particular, consisting of some choice men, and those the most eminent in the partie; *Ita qui non inuersam populum, sed partem aliquam adesse iubet, non comitia, sed concilium edicere abebet.* Their convocation or preaching was more general, the whole Armie beeing convened together, to bee fitted by perfwation and discourse, to follow the resolution taken by a Councell; and was properly called *Adlocutio*, and sometimes *Conuentus*: *Cicerò perleatam Epistolam Caesaris in conventu militum recitat.* The parties called to a Councell, were according as the Generall valued the occasion: for, some-times the Legates and Tribunes were onely consulted; and now and then the Centuriuns of the first Orders, together with the Captaines of hoste, were called to their aſſistance: and often-times, all the Centuriuns. But howsoeuer, Curio refolued out of his owne iudgement, as great Commaunders commonly doe; and is specially obſerued by Pierre Matthien, of the French King: who euer loueth to heare the opinion of his Captaines, but alwaies findes his owne the best.

Andus Gell. lib. 15. cap. 27.

Com. 5. lib. Galli.

Tom. 2. lib. 4.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

 Mongt other straines of this discourse, it is acknowledged, that Rome could not stand without Sicilie; and the reaon was, for the plentie of Corne which it brought forth: for, Sicily was alwaies reputed as the Granier or Barne of Rome, and accordingly cared by the Senate, as a place without which their Cittie could not continue. The graine of that Iland, is hard, like horne; and cannot well be broken or ground into Meale, vntill it be wet with water, and then dried in the shade, rather then in the sunne: by meanes whereof, it yieldeþ so exceedingly, that it is accounted twentie in the hundred, better then any ponent Wheate; especially, for that it will keepe long in their Vauts and Caues vnder the earth, and seldome or never take heate, beeing of it selfe so hard and dry.

The gluttonous vse of flesh, hath made men ignorant of the vertue and strength of Corne, which the Romaines better vnderstood; for, their legions never tedeþ on flesh, as long as they could get Corne. *Pecora, quod secundum poterat esse inopis & subsidium,* saith Cæsar. And in another place; *vt complures dies militis frumento caruerint, Pecore & longinquieribus viciis adacto extremam famem sustentarent.* And in the same place, *Quo minor erat ad frumenti copia, pecus imperabat.* And againe, *Non illis hordeum cum daretur, non legumina recusabant. Pecus vcrd, cuius rei summa erat in Epiro copia, magno in honore habebant.*

By which places it appeareth, that they never sell to flesh, but when they wanted Corne. Which is doublessle a firmer nutritioun, leſſe excremental, & of better strength, then any other foode what-so-ever; as containing the prime substance of Meate, and the spirit of Wine: for, *Aqua vita*, is as well made of Wheat, as of the lees of Wine. Flesh is good to make Wrastlers of a grosse and heauie constitution, as Plutarach noteth: but the Romaine souldier stood in need of an effectual and snowy vigour, able to vndergoe cariages, fitter for a Mule then a Man; together with such workes, as later ages doe rather heare then belieue, and was attainted by feeding only vpon bread.

The Rabbines & Thalmudists doe write, That the Giants of the old world, first fell to the eating of flesh; making no difference between a man & a beast, but grew so execrable, that they made women cast their fruite before their time, to the end they might eate it with more tendernes and delicacie. Which is also said to be practised by the Canibals, vpon the first discouerie of the Indies. Virginere reporteth, that he knew some great Men in Fraunce, so friand, that they caused oftentimes Does ready to foane, to be killed, and the young ones tooke out aliue, to be made meate for monſtrous appetites. But there is no indifferent Parallel to be drawne, betwene the lobrieue of the auncient Romaine souldier, and the gluttony of these times; farre exceeding that of Agamemnon, which Achilles notid with words of high reproach, calling him Hogs-head of Wine, eyes of a Dogge, and hart of a Deare.

THE

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.



Hirdly, from this laboured and well-couched speech, wee may note, that Eloquence is a very beautifull ornament to Princes, and great Commanders; besidesthe vſe it hath, to leade a multitude to such ends as is wished: for, smooth words preuaile where force booreth not. According to that of Cicero, *Cum populum persuaderi posse diffidimus, cogi fas esse non arbitremur.*

Eloquacia principibus maximis ornamento est.
Cic. 4. de finibus

L. b. 1. famili. Epist.

CHAP. XIII.

Curio bringeth out his troopes, and putteth Varus Army to flight.



HE souldiers, mooneþ vwith this Oration, did oftentimes indurke him in his speech; signifying vwith what griefe they did induce the suspition of infidelite. And as hee departed from the Assembly, every man exhorted him to be of a good courage, and not to doubt of giveng battell, or to make triall of their fidelite and valour. By which meanes, the mindes and disposition of all men beeing changed, Curio resolued (out of a generall consent) as soone as any occasion was offered, to give battell.

Cæsar.

The next day, haing brought out his forces, he made a stand, and imbattelled them in the same place where hee flied in Armes the day before. And Varus likewise drew out his troopes, vwhether it were to solicite the souldier, or not to omit the opportunity of fighting, if it might be affoorded in an indifferent place. There was a valley (as we haue formerly declared) betwene the two Armies, of no very hard or difficult ascent; and either of them expellid who shoulde first come ouer it, to the end they might fight in a place of more aduantage: when vpon a sudaine, all Varus Canalry that stood in the left Cornet of the Armie, together vwith the light armed souldiers that stood mingled amongst them, were seene descending into the Valley. To them Curio sent his Caualrie, together with two cohorts of the Marrucians. The Enemies horſemen were not able to indurke the first encounter of our men; but haing lost their horſes, fledde backe to their party. The light-armed men that came out with them, being left and forsaken, were all slaine by our men in the view and sight of Varus whole Army. Then Rebilus, Cæsars Legate (whom Curio for his knowledge and experiance in matter of warre, had brought with him out of Sicily) said; Curio, thou seest the Enemy: why makeſt thou doubt to ſe the opportunity of time? Curio, without making any other armes, then valling the souldiers to remember vhat they had affiſſed unto them the day before, commanded them to follow him, & ran formoſt himſelfe. The Valley was ſo combersome and difficult, that in gaining the

Obseruations vpon the second

the ascent of the hill, the forme could hardly get up, vnsleſſe they were lifted up by the followers. Howbeit, the Enemy was ſo poſſeſſed with feare, for the flight & ſlaughter of their fellowes, that they did not ſo much as think of reſiſting; for, they tooke themſelues all to be already ſurprized by the Caualrie: ſo that before any weapon could be caſt, or that our men could approache neere vnto them, all Varus Arme turned their backs, and fled into their Campe.

In this flight, Fabius Pelignus (a certaine ſouldier of one of the inferior Companies of Curio his Arme) hauing ouertaken the firſt troope of them that fledde, ſough for Varus, calling after him with a loude voice; as though hee had beene one of his owne ſouldiers, and woulde either aduife him, or ſay ſome-thing elſe to him. And, as hee being often caſled, looked backe, and ſtood ſtill (inquiriing who hee was, & what hee woulde?) he made at Varus (ſhoulder which was vnaſſeſed) with his ſword, and vvas very neere killing him; howbeit, he avoided the danger, by receiving the blowe upon his target. Fabius was iſtantly incloſed about, by ſuch ſouldiers as were neere at hand, and ſlaime.

In the meane time, the gates of the Campe were pefteſed, and thronged, with multitudes and troopes of ſuch as fledde away; and the paſſage was ſo ſtopped, that moare died in that place without blowe or wound, then periſhed either in the battell, or in the flight. Neither wanted they much of taking the Campe; for, many left not running until they came to the towne. But the nature of the place, and the fortification of the Campe, did hinder their aſſeſſe: and Curio his men comming out (prepared onely for a battell) wanted ſuch neceſſaries as were of uſe for the taking of the Campe. And therfore Curio caried backe his Arme, with the loſſe of no one man but Fabius. Of the Aduersaries were ſlaime and wounded about ſixe hundred: who vpon Curio his departure, beſides many other that fauiled themſelues hurt, left the Campe for feare, and vrent into the towne. Which Varus perceiuing, and knowing alſo the aſtoniſhment of the Arme, leauing a Trumpeter in the Campe, and a fewe Tents for ſhew, about the thirde vwatch, he caried his Arme with ſilence out of the Campe into the towne.

O B S E R V A T I O N S.

Tis a part of wiſdom, and oftentimes a maine helpe to victorie, to attend the aduantage of an Enemys rafhnes, and to ſee if his follie will not make way to his ouerthrowe. Whereof Curio made good vfe: for, he kept his Arme in the upper ground, vntill the Caualrie of the Aduersarie were loofely fallen into the Valley; and then ſet vpon them, and cut them all in peeces. The fight whereof, masked the whole Arme, & kept Curio in ſafety, vpon the like diſaduantage, in the combererne paſſage of the ſame Vale: by meaneſ whereof, he put to flight the whole forces of the Enemys, and made a great ſlaughter in the Party. Wherin I may not forget that tricke of a Romaine ſpirit, whereby the Authour commeth memorablie to poſterie, in calling after Varus by name, to make him the ſacrifice for both the Hoaſtes. Whence we may obſerue, that when a battell is ioyned pell-mell, no man

Commentary of the Ciuill Warres.

123

man can be auuffed in his owne valour, nor ſhare out his fortune by the length of his ſword; but is often-times ſubiect to weaknesses of contempt, and vanquished by ſuch as cannot be compared vnto him but in ſcorne.

I haue heard it reported, that at the battell of Eureux, Maturine (that knowne woman in France) tooke priſoner & diſarmed a Caualiero of Spaine: Who beeing brought before the King, and by him demanded whole priſoner he was, or whether he knew the partie that had forced him? Answered, no; but that he knew him to be a gallant man of Armes. Whereat the king ſimiled: and the Gentleman, underſtanding what fortune he had run, was as much diſmaied as a man poſſible could be, that conſidered, *Quod ferrum aquat, in bello, robuſtioribus imbecilliores.*

Zenoph. lib. 7. Cyropa.

CHAP. X V.

Curio leaueth Vtica to meeke with king Juba: his Caualrie ouerthroweth the forces led by Sabura; which led him on to his ouerthrowe.



HE next day, Curio prepared to besiege Vtica, incloſing it about vwith a ditch and a rampier. There vvere in the towne, a multitude of people unacquainted vwith vvarre, through the long peace they had injoyed: and the inhabitants ſtoode very affectionate to Cæſar, for many benefits they had received vfrom him. The reſt of the multitude conſiſted of diuers ſorts of men, much terrified and affrighted by the former encounters: vwhereupon, every man ſpake plainly of giving up the towne; and dealt with Pub. Atilius, that their fortunes and liues might not come in danger, through his pertinacie and vvilneſſe.

While theſe things were adooing, there came meſſengers from King Juba, ſignifying the King was at hand with great forces, and woulde them to keepe and defend the towne: vwhich newes, did much incourage and conſirme the vvaue-ring and affrighted mindes of the Enemys. The ſame vvas alſo reported to Curio: vwhereunto for a while he gaue no credit; ſuch vvas his conſidence in the ſuccesse of things. And now withall, came Letters and Meſſengers into Africk, of that vwhich Cæſar had ſo fortunate atchieued in Spaine: and being abſoluteſly auuffed vwith all theſe things, he was perſuaded the king durſt attempt nothing againſt him. But when he found by aſſured diſcouery, that his forces were within twenty five miles of Vtica, leauing his workes already begunne, he vwith-drew himſelfe into Cornelius Campe; and beganne there to fortiſie his Campe, to get Corne and other prouisiones, and to furnish it with all neceſſaries materiall for a deſſeſe: and ſent preſently a diſpatch into Sicily, that the two legions, and the reſt of the Caualry might be ſent vnto him.

The

The Campe vwherein he lay, was fitly accommodated to hold out the warre, as well by reason of the nature of the place, as the artificiall fortifying thereof, the neareness of the sea, and the plenty of water and salt; vwhereof there was great quantite brought thither, from the Salt-pittes neare adioyning. No stiffe could be wanting, through the great store of wood which was about the place, nor yet any Corne, for the plenty that was to be found in the cofining fieldes: and there-upon, by the aduice and approbation of all men, Curio resolued to attend his other forces, and to draw out the warre in length.

These things beeing thus disposed, by the consent & liking of all men, he heard by some that lately came out of the towne, that Iuba was called back, by occasion of a warre happened vpon the confines: and that by reason of the contiouersies and dissentions of the Leptitanis, he was detained at home in his kingdome; but that Sabura his Lieutenant was sent with some competent forces, and was not farre from Utica. To which reports, giuing too light and easie credit, he altered his purpose, and resolued to put the matter to triall of battell: vhere-onto his youthfull heate, the greatness of his courage, the successe of former time, & his confidence in the managing of that warre, did violently lead him. Being caried with these inducements, he sent the first night all the Cavalry to the Riuere Bragada, vwhere the Enemy lay incamped under the commaund of Sabura: but the king followed after with all his forces, and lay continually within sixe miles, or there-abouts.

The horsemen sent before, and making their iourney in the night, set vpon the Enemy at unawares: and not thinking of their approche: for, the Numidians lodge, scattered here and there in a barbarous manner, without any government or order. And surprising them thus, oppressed with sleepe, and scattered upon the ground, they slew a great number of them: the rest, in great terror & amasement, escaped by flight. Which seruice, beeing thus executed, the Cavalry returned to Curio, and brought the captiues vnto him. Curio was gone out about the fourth watch of the night with all his forces, haing left five cohortes for a gaurison to his Campe: and haing marched sixe miles, he met with the Cavalry, underflood what was done, and inquired of the captiues, who was Generall of the Campe at Bragadum? They answered, Sabura. Omitting for hastie of his way to informe himselfe of the rest: but turning himselfe to the next Ensignes, said; You see souldiers that the confession of the captiues doe agree, with that which was reported by the fugitiues. For, the king is not come; but hath sent some small forces, which cannot make their partie good with a fewe horsemen: and therefore, haft to take the spoile with honour and renoume; that we may now at length, begin to thinke of rewarding your merits.

OBSE-

OBSERVATIONS.

Tis obserued by Marcellinus, that when misfortune commeth vpon a man, his spirit groweth so dull and benummed, as his sensē seeme to be dismilted of their charges. Which appeared heire in Curio: who, hauing taken a prouident and sure course, such as was approoued in every mans judgement, and beleemeed well the wisedome of a Commaundeur, did neuerthelesse, contrarye to all sense and discretion, forgoe the same, and cast himselfe vpon the hazard of that which fugitiues had vainely reported. Concerning which, as it is noted, that incredulitie is hurtfull onely to the vnbelieuer: so this passage proueth, that for a Commaundeur to bee too light of belief, is a danger to the whole Partie, and bringeth many to ruine, that had no part in that Creede. Cæsar, in the relation heireof, noteth three speciall things in Curio, that caried him head-long to this dislaster, and may serue as markes to aviod the like Syrtes.

The first, was *Iuuenilis ardor*, his youthfull courage and heate: which is alwaies attended with strong affections, suring the qualitie and temperature of the bodie, being then in the prime height of strength, & accordingly ledde on with violent motions; where-as age goeth slowly and coldly forward, and is alwaies surer in vndertaking, then hot-spurre youth. And albeit, no man in cold blood could better aduize then Curio, or fore-see with better prouidence: yet his youthfull boldnesse, ouer-swaied his discourse; and drew all to a mischiefe, in despight of his wisedome.

The second, was *Superioris temporis prouentus*, the happy issue of former proceedings: which of all other conditions, is to be suspected, and needeth Gods assistance more then any other fortune; for that no man sooner erreth, or is more vncaple of order, then such as are in prosperitie. And therfore, Pla- to refused to make lawes for them of Syrene; as a matter of great difficulty, to giue ordinances to men that were in happinellie. And doublets, such is the exorbitantie of our nature, that nothing better informeth it then crosles; which are as instructions and warnings, for the preventing of ruining calamities. Wherein, Curio was not beholding to Fortune at all; that dandled him in her lap for a while, to cast him out at length, head-long to his ruine. It had been much better, she had exchanged a frowne with a fauour, rather then to haue given him much good together, and referre an irrecoverable disgrace for the vp-shott.

The third, was *Fiducia rei bene gerende*: which faoureth more of follie then any of the former; beeing alwaies an argument of an imprudent man, to assure himselfe of good fortune: for, Presumption, beeing euer accompanied with Negligence, is subiect to as many casualties, as thole that goe vnaarmed vpon extremitie of danger. And these were the three things that miscarried Curio. Out of which we may obserue with Xenophon, that *Ingens et arduum opus est recte imperare*.

Videmus ipsis quotidie, manus inquietibus factus, letari possunt, sensus hominum est obtundit. Ann. Marcelli.

Solis incredulis noxia res incredulitas. Philo. de nat. Mosis.

Hebetiores quam aductores et plurimi melius rempab. admittant. Thucydides.

Relus secundis maxime deus impavidus. Job. 1. Crys. Job. Educatur et moderatur duidicatur contumus. Sen.

quem blandiuitur, Deceptura malis habet fortunam recipit. Iuc. lib. 4.

Imprudentum fiducia, si fortunam impavidis sponde. Seneca de beneficis. Amata semper numina presumpcio et fui negoti. Egyp. lib. 1. de Insti Crys.

CHAP. XVI.

Curio pursueth the Enemy, with more
haste then good successe.

*C*urio, which the Caualrie had exploited, was certainelie a matter of great seruice; especially the small number of them, being compared with the great multitude of the Numidians: & yet notwithstanding, they spake of these things, with greater ostentation then the truth would beare; as men are willing to divulge their owne praises. Besides, they shewed much spoile which they had taken: Captiues and horses were brought out, that whatsoeuer time was omitted, seemed to be a let and hindrance to the victory; by which meanes, the desires and indeauours of the Souldiers, were no way short of the hope vwhich Curio had conceiued. Who, commaunding the Caudry to follow him, marched forward with as much haste as he could; to the end he might find the Enemy distractet and astonisht, at the flight and ouerthrowe of their fellowes: but the horsemen, haing trauelled all night, could by no meanes follow after. Whereby it happened, that some staid in one place, some in another: yet this did not hinder or discourage Curio in his hopes.

Iuba, beeing aduertised by Sabura of the conflict in the night, sent instantlie two thousand Spanish and French horse, which he kept about him for the safetie of his Person, and such of the foote-troopes as he most trusted to succour and relieue him: he himselfe, vwith the rest of the forces, & forty Elephants, followed softly after. Sabura, suspecting by the horsemen comming before, that Curio himselfe was at hand, imbatelled all his forces; commaunding them, that under a pretence of counterfaict feare, they shold retreat by little and little: himselfe, when occasion serued, would give them the signe of battell; vwith such other directions as shold be expedient.

Curio was strengthened in his former hope, with the opinion of the present occasion. For, supposing the Enemy hid fled, hee drew his forces from the upper ground into the Plaine; vwherein, after he had marched a good space (the Army haing traauled sixteene mile) hee made a stand. Sabura gaue the signe to his men of beginning the battell, ledde on his Army, vwent about his troopes, to exhort and courage his souldiers: Howbeit, he vsead his foot-men onely for a hew a farre off, and sent the Caualrie to give the charge. Curio was not wanting to his men; but wished them to set all their confidence in their valour. The souldiers, howsoeuer harried and wearied, and the horsemen (although but a verie few, and those spent with trauell) yet wanted no courage or desire to fight. But these being but two hundred in number (for, the rest staid by the way) vhat part of the Army soever they charged, they forced the Enemy to give way: but they could neither follow them farre as they fledde, nor put their horses to ame round or long cariere.

At

At length, the Caualrie of the Enemy, beganne from both the wings to circumvent our Army, and to mall them downe behind: and, as our Cohorts issued out from the battell, towards them, the Numidians (through their nimblenesse) did easily auid the sbooke; and againe, as they turned back to their rankes, incloed them about, and cut them off from the battell: so that it neither seemed safe to keepe their order and place, or to aduance themselves out, and under-goe the hazard of aduenture.

O B S E R V A T I O N S.

*H*HE Principles and Maximes of VVarte, are alwaies to bee held firme, when they are taken with their due circumstances: for, euenie Rule hath a qualified state, and consisteth more in cautions and exceptions, then in authoritie of precept. It is true, that nothing doth more advantage a victorie, then the counsell of Lamachus, the third Duke of the Athenians; which was, to set vpon an Enemy, when he is affrighted and distractet: for, to there is nothing to be expected (on his behalfe) but despaire and confusion. But, either to be mistaken therein, or otherwise to make such haste to obserue this rule of warre (as Curio did) that the best part of the Armie shall lie by the way, and the rest that goe on, shal be spent with labour, as they are altogether vnfite for seruice, and yet (to make the matter worse) to bring them into a place of disadvantage, to encounter a strong and fresh Enemy, is to make the circumstances ouer-ways the Rule, and by a Maxime of VVarte, to be directed to an ouerthrowe: Neglecting altogether that which is obserued by Sextus Aurelius Victor; *satis celeriter fit, quicquid comoda geritur.*

Thucid. lib. 7.

CHAP. XVII.

Curio defeated and slaine: Some few of the Ar-
mie get passage to Sicily: the rest, yeeld
themselues to Varus.

*C*esar. *H*HE Enemy was oftentimes renforced by succours from the King: our men had spent their strength, and fainted through wearinesse: such as were wounded, could neither leave the battell, nor be conuainced into a place of safetie. The whole Army, beeing incompaſſed about with the Caualrie of the Enemy (whereby despairing of their safetie, as men commonly do, when their life drawes towards an end) they either lamented a their owne death, or recommended their friends to good fortune, if it were possible that any might escape out of that danger: all parts were filled with feare and lamentation.

N 2.

Curio,

Observations vpon the second

Curio, when he perceived the soldiers to be so affrighted, that they gave eare neither to his exhortations nor intreaties, he commanded them (as the last hope they had of safety) that they shold all sile unto the next hills, and thither he commaunded the Ensignes to be carried. But the Canavlie, sent by Sabura, had also preoccupied that place; whereby our men began to fall into utter despaire, and partly were slaine as they fled by the horsemen, or fell downe without wounding. Cn. Domitius, Generall of the horse, standing with a few horsemen about him, perwaded Curio to save himselfe by flight, and to get the Campe; promising not to leave or forsake him: but Curio confidently replied, that hee wold never come in Cæsars sight, hauing lost the Army committed unto him; and thereupon, fighting valiantly, wwas slaine.

A few horsemen saued themselves from the furie of the battell; but such of the Rereward, as staid by the way to refresh their horses, perceiuing a farre off, the rout and flight of the whole Army, returned safte into the Campe. The footmen were all slaine, to a man. M. Rufus the Treasurer, beeing left by Curio in the Campe, exhorted his men not to be disououred. They praied and besought him, they might be transported into Sicily. Hee promised the they shold; and to that end gaue order to the Maisters of shippes, that the next evening they shold bring all the Skiffes to the shore. But such was the afforsment and terror of all men, that some gaue out, that Iuba his forces were already come: others, that Varus was at hand with the legions; and that they saw the dust of the Army marching towards them: whereas there was no such matter at all. Others, suspected the Enemies Navie wold speedily make to them; insomuch as every man shiffted for himselfe: such as were already on shipp-board, made haste to be gone. Their departure, gaue occasion to the shippes of burthen to follow after.

A few small Barks were obedient to the commaund: but the shore being thronged wwith soldiers, such was the contention, which of all that multitude shold get aboard, that some of the Barkes were sunke with prece of people, & the rest, for fear of the like casualtie, durst not come neare them. Wherby it hapened, that a few souldiers, and Maisters of families (that through fauour or pitty preuailed, or could swim unto the shippes) were carried backe, safe, into Sicily. The rest of the forces, sending by night some of the Centurions as Embassadors to Varus, rendered themselves unto him.

The next day after, Iuba seeing the Cohorts of these souldiers before the towne, cried out presently, that they were part of his booty: and therewpang gave order, that a great number of them shold be slaine; and, selecting a few out of the rest, sent them into his kingdome: Varus complaining in the meane while, that his faith and promise was violated, and yet durst not resist it. The King rode into the towne, attened with many Senators, amongst who was Ser. Sulpitius, & L. Tamaiippus: and remaining there a few daies, gaue such order for things, as he thought fit, and then returned to his kingdome, with all his forces.

OBSER-

Commentary of the Ciuill Warres.

O B S E R V A T I O N S.



ND this was the period which Divine power made, to the hopefull beginning of Curio's designe vpon Affrick; & hapened so suddenlie, as they were lost ere they were aware: Like a tempest at Sea, that swalloweth vp vessells in the same place, where a littel before they swam most proudly, and in the like irrecouerable manner. For, warre is not capable of a seconde error; one faulfe beeing enough to ruine an Armie, and to disable Curio for euer dooing the like: of whom Lucan hath left this memoriall;

*Haud aliam tanta Ciuem tulit indole Roma,
Aut cui plus leges deberent recta sequenti,
Perdita nunc primum nocuerunt secula, postquam
Ambitus, et luxus, et opum metuenda facultas,
Transuerso mentem dubiam torrente tulerunt,
Momentumque fuit mutatus Curio rerum,
Gallorum captus spolijs et Cæsaris Auro.*

His bodie lay vmburied, as a witness of Numidian hate (which is alwaies extreme, like the heat of the Countrey) and of Iuba's particular reuenge, for tendering an Edict to the people, to confisquet his kingdome.

To conclude this Commentary; The losse either Partie sustained vnto this stage of the Warre, was in these particulars: Pompey was driven out of Italie, lost Marfelleis, and both the Prouinces of Spaine; Cæsar received this losse in Affrick, besides that in the Adriaticke sea, where Antonius miscarried, whereof he maketh no mention in these Cōmentaries. And as when Iupiter weighed the fortune of the Greekes, and the Troians, in a paire of Ballance, it fell out the Greekes had more ill lucke then the Troians; so the fortune of these Parties beeing weighed, by the relation made thereroft, it falleth plainely out, that Pompey had the worse.

And thus endeth the second Commentarie.

*Letis hunc munimur abus er-
cendi posuere
modum. Lucan.
Eodem vbi lice-
rit nauigia
forlentur.
Seneca Epist. 4.
Non est in bello
bis pectore. Plu-
tarach.*

*Nullo contellus
Curio bufo.*

Homer. Iliad. 8.

THE THIRD COMMENTARY of the Ciuell Warres.

(. . .)

THE ARGUMENT.

HE former Bookes, containe the drifts and desaignes which these famous Cheefes attempted, and prosecuted, while they were asunder. And now commeth their buckling at hand to be related; together with the judgement which the VVarre gaue of the Cause in question, on Cæsars behalf.

CHAP. I.

Cæsar giueth order at Rome, for matter of Credit and Usury, and other things.

CÆSAR the Dictator, holding the assembly for election of Magistrates; Julius Cæsar, and Pub. Servilius were created Consuls: for, in that yeere he was capable by law to be chosen thereunto. These things being ended, forasmuch as hee found that credit was very scant throughout all Italy, and that money lent vpon trust, was not paid; he gaue order that Arbitrators should be appointed, to make an estimation of possessions & goods, according as they were valued before the wuarre: and that the Creditors should take them at that rate for their moneys. For, this course he thought to be fittest, and most expedient; as wwell for the taking away of any feare of composition, or new assurances, for the quitting and abolishing of all debts (which do commonly fall out vpon wuarres and ciuell broiles) as also for the keeping and preferueng of the Debtors credit.

In like manner, he restored the ancient course of Appeals, made by the Praetors and Tribunes, to the people; as also certaine courses vised, in suing for Magistracie (which were taken away, by a law made in Pompeis time, when hee kept the legions about him in the Cittie) and likewise reformed such iudgements in suites and trialls of law, as were given in Cases, where the matter in controuersie was heard by one Judge, and the sentence pronounced the same day by another Judge. Last of all, vwhere-as diuers stood condemned, for offering their seruice vnto him in the beginning of the Ciuell wuarre, if he shold thinke it fit to accept thereof:

Obseruations vpon the third

thereof: and holding himselfe as much obliged unto them, as if he had used it; he thought it best expedient for the, to be acquitted by the people, rather then by his commandement & authority: least he should either seeme ungratefull, in not acknowledging their deserts; or arrogant, in assuming to himselfe that, which belonged to the people.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

 Cæsar, as he was Dictator holding the assembly for the choice of Magistrates; him selfe, with P. Seruilius Ilicaricus, were made Consuls, in the yeere of Rome 705: which was iust tenne yeeres after his first Consulshippe: whereby he became capable thereof, by the law published by Sylla; wherein it was prouided, That no man should be chosen to an office, within tenne yeeres after he had supplied the same. In this yeere, happened all these things, which are contained in this third Comenterie: as Paterculus noteth in these words;

Cæsar, and P. Seruilius beeing Consulls, Pompey was miserably massacred, after three Consulships, and three Triumphes; and was slaine, the day before his birth day, beeing aged 58 yeeres. The Choice day, was regularie the first of January: and the Assembly was called *Comitium Centuriatum*.

Touching the difference of these Assemblies, the parties present therat, the manner of the choice, and other circumstances appertaining, the Reader may receive information at large, by Rosius. Only it is to be remembred, that *Comitia Centuriata* were never holden without consent of the Senate. And forasmuch as the cheefe part of them were with Pompey, Lucan taketh exception at this Creation.

— *mærentia tecta*
Cæsar habet, vacuus que domos, legique silentes:
Clausaque in fistis tristis foras. Curia solos
Illa videt Patres, plena quos urbe fugauit.

The Persons, that were futers for the Consulshippe, were called *Candidati*; who oftentimes vied extraordinarie meanes to attaine the same: which moued Pompey to make a law, That no man should sue for publicke offices, by bribes, or other corrupt courses, and was called *Lex de Ambitu*; which indeed was but renewed: for, the same was set on foote, Anno Vrb. 395, by Petilius, Tribune of the people: and renewed againe, by Pub. Cornelius Cethegus, Anno 572: and within a while after, made capitall, as farre as banishment concerned the partie. Coponius was so condemned, haing bought a voice, with an * Amphora of Wine. The law, which Pompey now made, was very strict, as Dio noteth: for, it was ordained, That vpon producing of witnesses, the Proces should end in a day, giuing the Accuser two houres, to lay open the matter; and the Defender three, to make aunswere: and the Iudgement instantlie followed. The rigour of which law, Cæsar here reformed.

THE

Commentary of the Ciuill Warres,

133

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

 HE second thing I obserue, is the difficultie of taking vp money vpon credit, in time of trouble or warres: which Cæsar expresteth in these tearmes; *Cum fides tota Italia est angustior*. The word *Fides*, hath euer been taken for a reall performance, of any promise or agreement; which Tully calleth the foundation of lufitice, and the very prop of a Common-weale: taking the Etymon to growe, *quia fiat quod dictum*. According to that of Nonius Marcellus; *Fides nomen ipsum videtur habere cum fit, quod dicitur*. And for that Men commonly are covenant keepers, not so much by the perfection of their nature, as out of strictnes of law, it falleth out, that where there are no lawes, there is no performance; and consequentlie, little or no credit either giuen or kept in time of Warre, because *Silens leges inter arma*.

Cæsar, to prouide for this inconuenience, appointed Commissioners to rate euery mans lands and possessions, as they were valued before the warres, and to satisfie the Creditors with the same. Which Plutarch explaineth in this manner; That the Creditors should take, yeerely, two parts of the reueue of their Debtors, vntill such time as they had paid themselues: and that the Debtors should haue the other third, to liue withall. Whereof it seemed he had some light, by a president in the Consulshippe of Valerius Publicola, which is extant in Littie; *Noui Consules fænem quoque rem lenare aggregit, solutionem aris alieni, in publicam curam verterant, quinque viris creatis, quos menarios, ab dispensatione pecunie appellarunt*.

This general acquittance for debts, the Romanes called *Nova Tabula*: In this respect, as Celius Rodiginus hath it, *Quodcum pecunia credita oberratis condonantur, noue mox cooruntur Tabulae, quibus nomina continentur noua*: and is nothing else, then what is ordinarie amongst our Bankerupts, compounding for so much in the pound with their Creditors, vpon new assurance, and other securtie, whiche they called *Nova Tabula*; agreeing to that of Tullie: *Tabula vero noua quid habent argumenti, nisi ut emas mea pecunia fundum, cum tu habeas, ergo non habeam pecuniam*.

Concerning matter of Vfurie, which was the ground of this mischiefe, Tacitus noteth it, as an old and deadly disease, and the caule of many seditions in that Empire; and is never better likened, then to the biting of a Serpent, called an Aspice: which, vpon the infusion of her venom, putteth the Patient into a heauie slumber; and in a short time, bringeth all a mans substance to death and destruction. And therevpon, it is called *Fanus a fato*, from the fertile and ample increase of money. For, as Basili noteth, The Labourer loseth the seede, and contenteth himselfe with the fruit or increase: but the Vsurer, will haue the fruit, and yet not lose the seede. Whereby there must needs growe great increase. The law of the twelue Tables, was, *Ne quis vniario fanore amplius exereat*.

And is vnderstood for one in the hundred. The highest rate was *Centesima Vfuria*; when the hundred part of the principall was paid euery month to the Credi-

Lib. 1. offic.
rei rehementia
rempub. cōtinet
quam fides.
Lib. 2. offic.

In the life of
Julius Cæsar.

Lib. 7.

Lib. 7.

2. Offic.

*Petus vrbis sa-
crae malum, et
cæsarium ali-
cæberimus cau-
sa. Annal. 6.*

Creditor, and was twelue per Cent. The next was *Ufura deuinx*, when the Debtor paid eleuen in the hundred for a yeare. The third *Dextans*, which was x. per Cent. *Dodrans ix. Bes viij. Septunx vifura, viij. Semis vi. Quincunce v. Triens iiij. Quadrans ij. Sextans ij. Vnicaria*, one in the hundred. Howbeit, Cato to condemned all kind of vsury: for, being demaunded, *Quid maxime in refamiliari expedire? respondit bene pascere: quid secundum? satis bene pascere? quid tertium? bene vestire: quid quartu? arare: et cum ille qui quaesierat dixisset, Quid fenerari? Quid hominem inquit occidere?* Allowing (as it seemeth) no meanes of getting mony, but those which Aristotle tooke to be most agreeing to Nature: which is from the fruities of the earth, and the increaſe of our cattell; with ſuch other courſes as are aunſwerable therunto.

CHAP. II.

A particular view of Pompeis forces.



N the accompliſhing of these things, as also celebrating the Latine Holidaies, and holding the Assemblies of the people, having ſpent eleuen daies, he gaue ouer his Dictatorſhip, left the Cittie, and came to Brundusium. For, he had commanndeſ ſeven legions, and all his Caualrie to repaire thither: howbeit, he found no more ſhipping ready, then would hardly tranport fifteene thouſand legionary ſoldiers, and five hundred horſe; the want whereof, ſeemed to hinder him from bringing the warre to a ſpeedy end. Moreouer, thoſe forces which were ſhipped, were but weak, in regard that many of them were loſt in the warres of Galia, and leſſened likewiſe by their long iourneyn out of Spaine: beſides that, the unwholſome Autumn in Apulia, and about Brundusium, had made the whole Army ill diſpoſed; beeing newly come out of the ſweet aire of Gallia and Spaine.

Pompey, hauiing had a yeeres ſpace to prouide himſelfe of men and munition, and neither warre nor enemy to trouble him, had got together a great Naue out of Asia, from the Cyclad Iles, Coreyra, Athens, Pontus, Bythinia, Syria, Cilicia, Phanicia, and Egypt; and had cauſed another as great a fleet to bee buiilt in all places fit for that purpoſe; had raifed great ſummes of money out of Asia, and Syria, and of all the Kings, Diuaſes, Tetrarches, and free ſtates of Achaia; and had likewiſe compelled the Corporations of thoſe Provinceſ to contribute the like ſum. He had inrold nine legions of Romaine Ciuitiſe, five which he had tranportedit out of Italy, one old legion out of Sicily (which beeing compounded and made of two, he cauſed the Twin) one out of Creet and Macedonia, old ſoldiers, who beeing diſcharged by former Generalls, had reſided in thoſe Provinceſ; two out of Asia, which Lentulus the Conſull had cauſed to be inrold: beſides, he had diſtributed amonſt thoſe legions, under the name of a ſupply, a great number of Theſſaly, Bœotia, Achaia, and Epyrus.

Amongſt

Amongſt theſe, he had mingled Anthonies ſoldiers: and beſides theſe, he expeſted to be brought by Scipio, out of Syria, two legions. Of Archers out of Creſta, Lacedemon, Pontus, and Syria, and the reſt of the Citties, he had three thouſand, ſixe cohorts of Slingers; two Mercenary, & ſeven thouſand horſe. Whereof Deiotarus had brought ſixe hundred Galls; Ariobarzenes ſixe hundred out of Cappadocia; Cotus out of Thracia had ſent the like number, under the leading of his ſonne Salatis. From Macedonia came two hundred, comanndeſ by Rascipolis; a Captainne of great fame and vertue. From Alexandria came ſixe hundred, part Galls, & part Germaines; which A. Gabinius had left there with King Ptolomy, to defend the Towne. Pompey, the ſonne, had brought with the Naue, eight hundred of his ſhepheards and ſervauants. Tarcondarius, Caſtor, & Donilaus, had ſent three hundred out of Gallogrecia; of whom, one came himſelfe, and the other ſent his ſonne. Two hundred were ſent out of Syria, by Coimagenus of Antioch, whom Pompey had preſentet with great giſts: moſt of which were Arbaſſiers on horſebacke.

To theſe were added Dardanes, Befſis; partly for pay and entertainment, and partly got by comannde or fauour; beſides Macedonians, Theſſalians, & diuers other Nations and Citties: in ſomuch as he filled up the number formerly ſpoken of. He prouided great quantity of Corne out of Theſſaly, Asia, Creta, Cyrena, & the reſt of thoſe Regions. He determined to winter at Dyrrachium, Apollonia, & all the mauiſtate towns, to keepe Caſar from paſſing the ſea: and to that end, he had laid and diſpoſed his Naue all along the ſea-coaſt. Pompey, the ſon, was Admirall of the Egyptian ſhippes; and Lelius Triarius, of thoſe that came out of Asia. Cassius comanndeſ them of Syria, and C. Marcellus, with Pomponius, the ſhippes of Rhodes. Scribonius Libo, and M. Octavius, had charge of the Achaian Naue: Howbeit, M. Bibulus comanndeſ in cheife in all ſea cauſes; and to him was left the ſuperintendencie of the Admiraltie.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

 Oncerning the Latine Ferie, it is to be noted, that the Romaines had two ſorts of Ferie, or Holy-daies; the one called *Annales*, which came alwaies to be kept on a certaine day: and there-upon were cauſed *Anniversarij*. The other, *Conceptiua*; which were arbitrarie, and ſolemnized vpon ſuch daies, as the Magiſtrates & Prietis thought moſt expedient, whereof theſe Latine Ferie were chiefe; and were kept on Mount Albane, to Iupiter Latior, for the health and preſeruation of all the Latine people, in league and confederacie with the people of Rome, and were ſolemnized in remembrance of the truce betweene thoſe two Nations: during which feaſt, the Romaines held it vnlawfull to make any warre. The ſacrifice was a white Bull, killed and offered by the Conſulls, and the fleſh diſtributed to the inhabitants of Latinum: according to an ancient Treatie of alliance be-tween them; engrauen for a perpetuall memory, in a Columne of brasse. The particulars whereof, are expreſſed at large, by Dioniſius Halicarnasseus.

Latine Ferie.

Lib. 4. de Antiqui. Roma.

Observations vpon the second

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

HE second thing comming to be noted, is the view taken of Pompeys forces; which are nine compleat legions, besides the supplies heere particularly mentioned, sent from such as bare affection to that Party: and, by indifferent calculation, might amount in all, neere about three-score thousand men, together with the fauour of the Countrey, where the triall was to be made by the stroke of VVarde.

In which Muster, were the souldiers of C. Antonius; whose misfortune these Commentaries haue either willingly forgor, or some other chance hath wip't it cleane out. Howbeit, Florus hath it recorded, that Cæsar hauing sent Dolabella and Antonius to seize vpon the Straights, and entrance of the Adriatick-sea, the one tooke hold of the coast of Slaunia, and the other neere vnto Corfew: when vpon a suddaine came Octavius and Libo, Pompeys Lieutenants, and with great forces (they had aboard their shippes) surprized both the one and the other; whereby Antonius was constrained to yeld vp fiftene Companies, which were these souldiers of Antonius heere mentioned.

Rascipolis, or Rascopolis, was a Thracian of great fame, that followed Pompey; and his brother Rascus tooke himselfe to Cæsar, vpon an appointment made betweene themselues: for, finding in the Countrey where they dwelt, two great Factions in opposition, & doubting which Partie to take, they diuided themselues; as the belt approued part of Newtralitie: And held likewise the same courte, in the warre betweene Brutus and Octavius, continuing into the battell of Philippi. Vpon the issue whereof, Rascus demanded no other reward for his seruice, then the life of his brother: which was easilie graunted.

This Bibulus, Pompeis high Admirall, was fellow Consull with Cæsar, in the yere of Rome 694: but Cæsar so out-stript him in the managing of things, that he much suspected himselfe, as insufficient for the place: which made him keepe his house all that yere. Wherupon came this Distich;

*Non Bibulo quicquam nuper, sed Cæsare factum:
Nam Bibulo fieri Consule nil memini.*

CHAP. III.

Cæsar passeth ouer into Greece, returneth his shipping to Brundusium. Octavius besiegeth Salones.



Cæsar, vpon his arriuall at Brundusium, called the souldiers together; and shewed them, that forasmuch as they were almost come to an end of all their labours and dangers, they would now be content to leaue villingly behinde them their seruants and carriages in Italy, and goe aboard, cleare of those incumberments; to the

Commentary of the Ciuill Warres.

the end, the greater number of souldiers might be taken in; and that they shoulde expect the supple of all these things, from victorie, & his liberality. Every man cried out, That he shoulde command what he would, and they would villingly obay it.

The second of the Nones of Januari, he waied Anchor, hauing (as is formerly shewed) shippes seauen legions. The next day, he came to land at the Promontorie of Ceranium, hauing got a quiet roade amongst the Rocks, and places of danger. For, doubting how he might safely venture vpon any of the knowne Ports of that Coast (whiche he suspected to be kept by the Enemy) he made choice of that place, which is called Phrasalus: and there arriuing in safetie woth all his shippes, he landed his souldiers.

At the same time, Lucrecius Vispillo, and Minutus Rufus (by order from Lelius) were at Orick, with eightene shippes of Asia: and M. Bibulus, was likewise at Corfew, with one hundred and tenne shippes. But neither of these two durst come out of the Port, althoough Cæsar had not in all aboue twelue shippes of warre, to waist him ouer; amongst which, he himselfe was imbarke. Neither could Bibulus come soone enough, his shippes beeing unready, and his Mariners ashore; for that Cæsar was decried neare the Continent, before there was any braute of his comming in all those Regions. The souldiers beeing landed, hee sent backe the same night the shippes to Brundusium; that the other legions, and the Caualrie, might be brought ouer.

Eufus Calenus, the Legat, had the charge of this seruice, and was to vse all celerite in transporting ouer the legions: but, setting out late, and omitting the opportunity of the night wind, they failed of their purpose, & so returned back. For, Bibulus beeing certified at Corfew of Cæsars arriuall, and hoping to meeete with some of the shippes of burthen, met with the emptie shippes, going backe to Brundusium: and hauing taken thirty of them, he wreaked his anger (conceiued through griefe and omission) and set them all on fire, consuming therein, both the Maisters, and the Mariners; hoping by the rigour of that punishment, to terrifie the rest.

This beeing done, hee possessest all the Coast, from Salones to Orick, with shippes and men of warre; appointing guardes with more ailgence then formerly hath been vsed. He himselfe, in the depth of Winter, kept watch a ship-board, not refusing any labour or dutie, nor expecting any succour, if he happened to meet with Cæsar. But after the departure of the Liburnian Gallies from Illiricum, M. Octavius, with such shippes as he had with him, came to Salones; and there hauing incited the Dalmatians, and other barbarous people, drew ifca from Cæsars partie. And finding that he could not moue them of Salones, neither with promise nor threatenings, he resolved to besiege the Tounie. The Place was strong by nature, through the aduantage of a Hill; and the Romaine Cittizens (therre inhabiting) had made towres of wood to fortifie it within: but finding themselues too weake to make resistance (beeing wearied out and spent woth wounds) they fell at length to the last refuge of all: which was, to enfranchise all their bond-slaues, aboue the age of fourteene yeeres; and cutting their womens haire, made Engines therof.

O.

Their

Obseruations vpon the third

Their resolution being knownen, Octauius encompassed the towne about with fve Campes: and at one instant of time, beganne to force them by siege, and by assault. They, beeinge resolved to vnder-goe all extremities, were much pressed through want of Corne; and there-upon, sending Messengers to Caesar, sought helpe of him: other inconueniences, they indured as they might.

And after a long time, when the continuance of the siege, had made the Octauians remisse and negligent (taking the opportunitie of the noone time, when the Enemy was retired aside, and placing their children and women on the vall, that nothing might seeme omitted of that which was vfall) they themselues, together with such as they had lately franchised, brake into the next Campe vnto the Towne. Which beeinge taken, with the same violence they set upon another, and then upon the third, and so vpon the fourth, and in the end, vpon the fift; drivinge the Enemy out of all the Campes: and, having slaine a great number, they forced Octauius, and the rest remaining, to betake them to their ships; and so the siege ended. For, Octauius, despairing to take the Towne, the Winter approaching, and hauing received such losses, retired to Pompey at Dyrrachium.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

21ad. 6. 13. M. 1440 Inf. 4.
Herodot. 1. 162.
Tzecell. 1. 16.
Sergius. 1. 16.
M. 1440. AT hath beeene generally conceiued, that there is little or nove of women in times of wvarre, but that they are a burthen to such as seek honour by deedes of Armes; and doe better sute the licentiousnesse of peace, then the dangers of warfare. Whereof Andromache is made an instance; from that which Homer reporteth of her teares, sighes, & prairies, to with-draw Hector from thosse valorous exploits, which he vndertooke for the defence of Troy: and therefore, are by Quid, wished to handle the distasse and the spind'e; and leaue the warre, as fitter for men, then the weakeenesse of their Sex.

columque
I cape cum calathis, et stamina police torque:
Bella relinque viris.

Neuerthelesse, it cannot be denied, that howsoever the tendernesse of women, doth require a pafsiue course of life, vnder the shelter of a safe roofe, rather then in the bleak stormes of active indeauerour; yet there haue been some Viragos, that haue ouer-topped the pride of men in points of war: amongst whom, Semiramis may leade the rest; together with Tomyris, Cyrus Mistrille by conquest. As also Zenobia, that subdued the Persians; and Helena, Queene of the Russes.

Besides other noble spirits, that could answere such as told them newes of the death of their sonnes in battell; That they had brought them into the world for that onely purpose. Which do proue, as well a reall as a potentiall aptnes of that Sex, to the vse and practice of Armes.

And

Commentary of the Ciuill Warres.

139

And if any man (as vnwilling to afford them to much worth) will knowe wherein they auale the fortune of a Warre, he may take notice, that even in expeditions (wherein they are most subiect to exceptions) they alwaies giue acceptable assistances to their Husbands, both in their prouisions, and otherwise; and are such Companions, as can hardly be left at home, without danger of greater hazard.

But in places besieged, vvomen doe not onely afford haire to make ropes, if need require (as it fell out in this siege) but are able to cast peeces of Millstones vpon the Enemy, with better fortune some-times then any other man: and haue thereby slaine the Generall, to the rasing of the siege, and fauing of the Cittie.

But to take instances of later times: it is not to bee forgotten, that when the Arch-Duke Mathias (after the death of Count Mansfield) commanded the Christian Armie, at the siege of Strigonium; while the Turkes, within the Castle, were making works for a reteir, the women (in the meane time) made good the breaches; and there bestowed such store of Wild-fire, that the Italian Squadrions (commanded by Aldobrandine) beeinge ioynd poldron to poldron, to peace into the breach, seemed all of a fire at once, and were forced to fall off with great terroure and confusion.

Aug. 1 1595.

Judg. 9.

Quod honesti
qui vixit le-
uamentum?
Tac. L. 3. Annal.
Fix presenti
cibis ad manu-
rata conuictu-
rudem.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



Towne assaulted by a warlike Enemie, is not kept or freed with Charmes or Spells; or as the Inhabitants of Tomby, in the East Indies, draue away the Portugalls, with Hues of Bees, when they were possest of the walls: but with such valour as may ouer-maister the Enemy, and extend it selfe to the taking of fve Campes, if need require; which was performed by these Inhabitants of Salones.

CHAP. III.

Cæsar sendeth to Pompey, touching a Peace; taketh in Oricum, Apolonia, and other places.



Cæsar. O 2. Pompey; Tis before declared, that Vibullius Rufus (one of Pompeis Lieutenants) was twice taken by Cæsar, and dismissed; once at Corfinium, and a second time in Spaine. Him did Cæsar deeme (in regarde of the fauours vvhich he had shewed him) to bee a fitte person, to bee sent vwith a Message to Pompey;

Observations vpon the third

Pompey; and the rather, for that hee understood, that hee was in good account and credite wth him.

The summe of his Commission was, to tell him, That it beseemed them both, to give an end to their wrothfulness, to lay downe their Armes, and not to tempt Fortune any longer; either side had bee sufficiently afflicted with losse and damages: which might serue for instruction and example to avoide other inconueniences. Hee, for his part, was driven out of Italy, wth the losse of Sicily, Sardinia, wth the two Provinces of Spaine, as also of the Cohorts of Italie, together with one hundred & thirty cohorts of Romaine Cittizens in Spaine; Himselfe, wth the death of Curio, with the losse of the Africane Armie, and wth the rendry of the soaldiers at Corsew: and therefore they shold haue regard of themselves, and of the Common-wealth.

They had good experiance by their owne losses, what Fortune could do in war. This was the onely time to treat of peace, whilst either Party stood confident in his owne strength, and seemed of equal might & power. But, if Fortune shold chaunce to swy to one side, he that thought hee had the better end of the stafe, would neuer harken to any conditions of peace, nor content himselfe with a reasonable part, because his hope would give him all.

Concerning the Articles of Treatie, so far as much as they could not agree there-of, they ought to seeke them from the Senate and people of Rome. In the meane wwhile, it was fitte that the Common-wealth and themselves shold refestisched, if (without further delay) both of them did take an oath in the presence of their Armies, to dismisse their forces wthin three daies next following: and send awaie their Auxiliarie troopes, wherin they so relied; and consequently, to depend vpon the iudgement and decree of the people of Rome. For assurance whereof, on his behalfe, hee wwould presently discharge as well his forces in the field, as those in guarison.

Ribullius, haing receiued these instructions from Cæsar (thinking it no lesse requisite to aduertise Pompey of Cæsars arriuall, that hee might consult of that, before he deliuere what hee had in charge) posted night and day, taking aevry stage fresh horse; that hee might certifie Pompey, that Cæsar was at hand wth all his forces.

Pompey was at that time in Caudania, and went out of Macedonia, to Winner in Apolonia, and at Dyrrachium. But, being troubled at the newes, he made towards Apolonia by great iourneyes, least Cæsar shold possest himselfe of the maritamate Citties.

Cæsar, haing landed his forces, went the next day to Oricum. Vpon his approach, I. Torquatus, who commauded the towne under Pompey, & had there a garrison of Parthians, shutting the gates, went about to defend the place, commauded the Grecians to take Armes, and make good the walles. But they, refusing to fight against the power and authoritie of the people of Rome, and the towne-men indeauouring of their owne accord to receive him in; hee opened the gates, despairing of all other succours, and gaue vp both himselfe and the towne to Cæsar, and was entertained by him in safetie. Oricum beeing taken-in by Cæsar, without any further delay he went to Apolonia.

Hū

Commentary of the Ciuill Warres.

141

His comming beeing heard of, L. Straberius, the Gouernour, began to carie vwater into the Citadell, to fortifie it, and to require pledges of the inhabitants. They, on the other side, denied to give any, or to shutte their gates against the Consull, or of themselves to take a resolution, contrary to that which all Italy & the people of Rome had thought convenient. Their affections beeing knowne, he secretly conuaind himselfe away. The Apolontians sent Commissioners to Cæsar, and received him into the towne. The Beldinenses followed their example; and the Amatines, together with the rest of the confining Citties. And to conclude, all Epirus sent unto Cæsar, promising to doe what he commauded. But Pompey, understanding of these things, which were done at Oricum and Apolonia, fearing Dyrrachium, posted thither night and day. Howbeit, vpon the report of Cæsars approache, the Armie was so astonished, that for haste on their way, they left their Ensignes in Epirus, and the confining Regions: and many of them (casting away their Armes) seemed rather to flee, then to march as soldiers.

As they came neare to Dyrrachium, Pompey made a stand, and caused the Campe to be intrenched, when as yet the Army was so affrighted, that Labienus stood out first, and tooke a solemne oath, Never to forsake Pompey, but to undergo what chance soever Fortune had allotted him. The same oath tooke the Legates; beeing likewise seconded by the Tribunes of the soaldiers, and Centurions, and by all the Army, that tooke the like oath.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

 Num est tempus (sith Cæsar) de pace agendi, dum uterque sibi confidit, et pares ambo videntur. Which may serue for an excellent Rule, to point out the fittest & seasonablest time, for composition betweene two opposite Parties. For, as in quantities, equality begetteh equalitie, and disparitie, a like vneuenness of nature; so, in other things: as namely, in Treaties of Agreement, the conditions doe commonly rise to either Partie, according as they stand ballanced in the scale of Equalitie; or otherwise, as the difference of their meanes shall allor the. For, if that be true in the extremitie, which Curtius hath, That Lawes are given by Conquerers, and accepted vpon all conditions, by them that are subdued; it doth consequently follow in the Meane, that men find dealing propotionable to their fortune. To which purpose is that of Plato, where he saith, That Peace and Quietnes consist in equalitie; as Trouble and Motion are alwaies in inequalitie.

Leges à vicitori
bus dicuntur;
accipiuntur à
victis. lib. 4.
Quietem, in e-
quabilitate, mo-
riti, in inequali-
tate, semper &
stirrantes. in Ti-
mbo.

O 3.

THE

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

Tappeareth heere, by the fright and astonishment of Pompeis Armie, that the course he tooke to abandon Italie, was out of no good aduice or direction. For, where he might with farre more honour, and no lesse hope of successse, haue contected with Cæsar, in the place where the warre brake out, and kept him to a taske which should haue held him from the conquest of Spaine, or such other atchievements as he easilie wrought in the absence of his Aduersaries: it fell out, that his departure into Greece, sorted to no other end, then by time to abate the edge of the forwardt courages, and to suffer a numerous Armie, to be daunted with noise and clamors of continual victories, gotten vpon a part of themselues; and then to giue occasion to the Conquerour to come in the taile of Fame, and take them disarmed of expectation, to their great amazement.

C H A P. V.

Cæsar tooke vp his lodging for WInter. Bibulus, distressed at Sea for want of prouisions, seemed desirous of a Treatie: which, being caried on the other side with good caution, brake off againe.

Cæsar.

Cæsar, understanding that his passage to Dyrachium was thus intercepted, did forbeare his hast, and incamped himselfe vpon the Riuier Apsus, in the confines of the Apoloniens; that by the meanes of his Guards and Forts, such Cities as had well deserued of him, might be in safety: & there determined to winter, in Tents of skinne, and to attend the coming of his other legions out of Italy. The like did Pompey, pitching his Campe on the other side of the Riuier Apsus; and there assembled all his troopes and forraine aydes. Caleus, hauing (according to Cæsars directions) imbarked the legions, and Caualrie at Brundisium, and taken in as many as his shippings would containe, he set saile: but beeing gone a little out of the Port, he received Letters of aduice from Cæsar, that all the Hauens and the Sea-coast was kept with the Enemis fleet. Where vpon, hee made againe into the Hauen, and calld backe all the shippes: onely one, holding on her course, without regard of the command, caring no souldiers, but belonging to priuate men, arriued at Oricum, and there was taken by Bibulus; who spared neither bond nor free, of as many as were of age, but put all to the sword. Wherby it happened, that in a moment of time, by great chaunce the whole Army was saued.

Bibulus, as is before declared, lay at Oricum with his Nauie. And as he kept the

Commentary of the Ciuill Warres.

143

the Sea and the Ports from Cæsar; so was hee kept from landing in any of those Countries: for, all the Sea-coast was kept by Guardes and Watches, set along the shore, that he could neither waater, get vwood, nor bring his shippes to land vpon any occasion: Insomuch as hee was brought into great straigntnes and exigent, for want of all necessaries; and was constrained (besides all other prouisions) to fetch his waater and vwood from Corfou. And one time amongst the rest, it happened, that the weather beeinge foule, they were forced to relieue themselues, with the deaw which in the night time fell vpon the skinnes, that couered the Decks of the shippes. All which extremities they patiently indured; and would by no meane be brought to leaue the Ports, or abandon the Sea-coast.

But as they were in these difficulties, and that Libo, and Bibulus were come together, they both of them spake from a shipp-board, to M. Acilius, and Statius Marco, Legates (of whom one was Gouenour of the Towne, & the other had the charge of such Guardes as were along the shore) signifying, that they would willingly talke with Cæsar, of matters of great consequence, if they might haue leaue. For a better shew and assurance whereof, they intimated some thing concerning a Composition. In the meane time, they earnestly desired there might be a truce: for, the thing they propounded, importedit matter of great weight, vwhich they knew Cæsar exceedingly affected; and it was thought that Bibulus was able to worke some-what to that purpose.

Cæsar at that time, was gone with one legion to take-in some townes further off, and to set a course for prouision of Corne, which was brought sparingly vnto him; and was then at But brot, opposite to Corfou. Beeing certified there by Letters from Acilius and Marco, of that which Libo and Bibulus had required, he left the legion, and returned himselfe to Oricum. At his arriuall thither, they were called out to treat. Libo came forth, and excused Bibulus, for that he was exceeding cholericke, and had besides conceiued a great anger at Cæsar, about the Aedilisitie and Praetorship: and in regard of that, he did by his Conference, leaft a matter of that utilty and importance, should be disturbed by his intemperate cariage. Pompey is, and was ever desirous, that matters might be accorded, and that Armes might be laid aside; but they, of themselues, could doe nothing therein; forasmuch as by the generall resolution of a Councell, the superintendency of the warre, and the disposition of all things, were referred to Pompey: Howbeit, when they vnderstood what Cæsar required, they would send instantly a dispatch unto Pompey, and be a meanes that he should accomplish all things with good satisfaction. In the meane time, let there be a truce; and till an awn were might be returned from him, let neither Partie offend one another. To this he added some-what concerning the Causse in question. To vwhich, Cæsar did not thinke fit at that time to make any awn: nor doe we thinke there is cause now to make mention thereof.

Cæsar required, that it might bee lawfull for him, to send Embassadours to Pompey vwithout danger; and that they would undertake, that such as he sent, might be well intreated, or take them into their charge, and bring them safely to Pompey. Concerning the Truce, the course of the warre fell out to be so caried, that they, with their Nauie, did keepe his shippes and succours from comming vnto him;

Obseruations vpon the third

him; and he, on the other side, did prohibite them fro landing, or taking in fresh water: and if they would haue that graunted unto them, let them cease guarding of the Coast; but if they would continue that, then would he continue the other. Notwithstanding, hee thought the Treatye of accord might goe on, albeit these were not omitted; for, he tooke them to be no impediment thereto. They wouold neither receive Cæsars Embassadours, nor undertake for their safeties; but referred the whole matter to Pompey: onely they instanced, and very vehemently urged the Truce. But Cæsar, perceiving that all this speech tended onely to auid the present danger, and to supply themselves of such vantages wherewith they were straigntned, and that there was no condition of peace to be expected, he began to thinke of prosecuting the wuarre.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

AS in contradicting with a Partie, it is duly to be cared, that War be not shrowded vnder the faire name of Peace: so a Truce demanded by an Enemy, is to be handled sparingly & with suspition: as a thing neuer commonly required, but when necessity doth moue them thereto; and not to be granted, but as it may inferre the like advantage. But to yeld to a suspension of Armes, aduantageous to an Enemy, & no way gainefull to them that consent vnto it, is neither allowable by reason, nor Cæsars example. And if occasion proue it requisite, it must be but for a little time: for, a Prince armed in the field, that shall entertaine a Truce for any long seafon, shall see his Arme confounded both in courage, and in the parts thereof, which will fall asunder of themselves; and was the meanes by which Lewis, the eleventh, put by Edward the fourth, king of England, from going on with a warrre that might haue given him the possession of the Crown of France. Whence it is, that such as seeke a Peace, desire no more then a cessation of Armes, for some reasonable time, as an introduction inforcing the same.

Concerning leagues, we are to note that there are found three differences. The first, is a league of Peace: which by the Apeſtles rule, should extend to all men, *Habete pacem cum omnibus*: and by example of holy Patriarches (Iſack with Abimelech, Jacob with Laban) may lawfully bee made with Heathen Princes; beeing as the golden chaine, that tieſt all the Nations of the earth in peaceable communite. The ſecond, is a league of Entercoſe, or Commerce; which is likewife by the ſame Patriarch, ſending for Corne into Egypt, and Saſſions entercoſe, with Hiram king of Tyre, together with diuers other examples, allowable with Infidels. For, Nature, being rich in variety of commodities, doth therefore diuide her workes amonſt the kingdomes of the earth, that there might be a muuall entercoſe of exchange, beſtweene the partes of the ſame. The third, is a league of muuall Aſſiſtance; ſuch as Iehophat made with Achab: & is hardly ſafe with any Prince; but no way allowable with Infidels.

Touching

Commentary of the Ciuill Warres.

145

Touching the Perfons to be offered in a Treatye, it is to bee obſerued from Bibulus, that no man, whose preſence may either giue offence, or whose in-temperance may any way interruſt a courte ſorting to a happy iſſue, is fit for any ſuch impleſment.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



Here were, in Rome, certayne Officers called *Aediles*, ab *Aedibus*, as hauing the care of houses & buildings, both publicke and priuate, that they might be buit and maintained in ſuch manner as was agreeable to the ordinances of that State, together with other things whereof they had the charge. *Nunc sum designatus Aedilis* (ſaith Cicero) *habeo rationem quod a populo Romano acceperim, mihi ludos sanctissimos maxima cum ceremonia, Cereri Liberoque faciendos. Mihi Floram Matrem populo plebique Romana, ludorum celebriter placandam: mihi ludos antiquissimos qui primi Romani sunt nominati, maxima cum dignitate ac religione, Iou, Iunoni, Minervaeque esse faciendos. Mihi sacrarum Aedium procurationem; mihi tota urbem tuendam esse commiffam, ob earum rerum laborem et ſolicitudinē fructus illos datos, antiquorem in ſenatu ſententia dicendā locum. Togam pretextam, cellam curvilem, ius imaginis, ad memoriam posteritatemque prodendam.* Wherin it is to be noted, that theſe ſhewes and *Plaies*, were alwaies made and ſet forth at the charge and coſts of the *Aediles*: and thence it was, that the allowing or diſallowing of all Play-bookeſ belonged vnto them. Moreover, they had the charge of all the publicke buildings and works of the Cittie, together with the prouision of viuell and Corne. And, for the miſſing of this office, was Bibulus angry with Cæſar; and would not be regained vpon anie condition.

In Verrem.

The publication of their ſecular *Plaies*, was cried in theſe words: *Conuenite ad ludos ſtēlāndos, quos neque ſpectauit qui quām nec ſpectatūr. S. Suet. in Claudio. Nolentē amicū expere, difficile. Xemp. de ſatilis et d.c. Socratis.*

Casar.

CHAP. VI.

Bibulus dieth. Cæſar vſeth meanes to procure a Treaty of Peace; but preuaileth not.



Bibulus, beeing kept from landing many daies together, and fallen into a grieuous ſickneſſe, through cold and extreme labour (and hauing no meanes of help, nor yet voilling to forgoe his charge) could no longer withstand the violence of the diſease. Hee beeing dead, there was none appointed to take his charge: but every man commaunded his owne flete. The burly burly beeing quieted, vwhich Cæſars ſuddaine arriuall had moued, Bibulus, with the aſſitance of Libo, together with L. Luccius, and Theophanes, to whom

Obscurations vpon the third

in whom Pompey was wont to communicate matters of greatest importance, resolved to deliuer what Cæsar had recommended unto him: & entering into the relation thereof, was interrupted by Pompey, forbidding him to speake any further of that matter. What use or need haue I (saith he) either of my life, or of the City, when I shall be thought to enjoy it by Cæsars fauour? neither can the opinion thereof be remoued, till the warre be ended; that of my selfe I returne backe into Italy, from whence I am come.

Cæsar understood this, from those that were present when hee spake it: and yet notwithstanding, hee indeauoured by other meanes, to procure a Parle of peace. For, the two Campes of Pompey and Cæsar, were onely separated by the Riuere Apsus, that ranne betwene them; where the souldiers had often Colloquies, & by agreement amongst themselves, threw no weapon during the time of their treatie. Where-upon, he sent P. Vatinius, a Legat, to the Riuere banke, to vtter such things as did chiefly concerne a Peace; and to aske oftentimes with a loud voice, Whether it were not lawfull for Cittizens, to send to Cittizens, touching a treaty of peace? being a thing permitted to the Thieues of the Pyreneian Mountaines: or at least, to moue that Cittizens shold not in Armes contend with Cittizens? And hauing spoken much very respectfullie, as well concerning his owne well-fare, as the safetie of all the rest, he was heard with silence, by the Souldiers on both sides.

At length, it was unanswered from the other Party, that A. Varro did offer himselfe for a conference the next day; so that the Commissioners on both sides, might come and goe in safety, and deliuer freely their opinions: for which, a certaine time was then appointed. The next day, great multitudes of either side, presented themselves at the place assynd; and great was the expectation therof, every man seeming to incline to peace. Out of which troope stopt forth T. Labienus, and spake softly touching the peace: and at last, entered into altercation with Vatinius. In the middle of their speech, were weapons suddenly cast from all parts: which hee awoide, beeing couered and defended with Armes. Notwithstanding, many were evouned; and amongst others, Cornelius Balbus, M. Plotius, L. Tiburtius, Centurions, besides many other souldiers. Then said Labienus, Leaue off, therefore, to speake of any composition: for, unlesse Cæsars head be brought, there can be no peace.

O B S E R V A T I O N S.

His small peice of the Storie, containeth diuers notable passages of extremitie, in the cariage of Pompey, and others of his Partizans. As fift (to take them as they lie) that of wilfulnesse in Bibulus: who neither sicknesse, nor despaire of helpe, could moue to intermit the taske he had undertaken; but chose rather to suffer vnto death, in approuing his zeale to the Cause, then to giue himselfe a breathing time for the sauing of his life: and may ferte to admonish any other Bibulus, to value his life aboue that, which a stiffe and wilfull opinion may leade him vnto, beyond the meaure of honorable

Commentary of the Ciuell Warres.

honourable indeauour, or what else may any way be iutly expected; leauing straing to doe much, hee happen to doe nothing: for, that cannot be understood to bee vwell done in an other mans behalfe, that is not well done in his owne.

The secound, is Pompeis resolution; beeing so extreame, as no composition, or other thing whatsoeuer, could giue him satisfaction, but onely a victorious end of that warre. Our prouerbe saith, Better a leane agreement, then a fat remedie. And the casuallties of warre, may moue an experienced Commaunder, to imbrace a safe and quiet peace; as knowing, that he that goeth about to vex another, shall haue his turne of suffering the like misseases: and as warre beginneth, when one partie listeth, so it endeth, when the other side pleafeth.

— *facilis descentus Averni:
Sed revocare gradum, superaque evadere ad oras,
Hoc opus, sic labor est.*

Acad. 6.

And therefore, let no Commaunder, how great souer, refuse all peace, but that which is bought by extremitie of warre; leauing the event (wherof there can be no assurance) fall out as it happened to Pompey: but rather with the vse, let him learne the end of Armes: which is, to make straight that which is crooked; and out of discord and dissenion, to draw meanes of a happie peace.

To which may be added, that other of Labienus, as farre in extremitie as either of the former; whom nothing would satisfie but Cæsars head. It cannot be denied, but that he strooke at the roote; for, his head, was the head of that warre. But to say it, rather then to doe it, was no argument of Labienus worthinesse. For, as Polybius noteth; It is common to most men to magnifie themselves, with words full of wind: yea, and more then that, to follow their desaignes with impious violence. But, to direct their vndertakings to a successfull issue, and to remoue by industrie, or prouidence, such hinderances as happen to trauerse their hopes, is granted but to a few; and now denied to Labienus, notwithstanding this Brauado. And therefore, let such Commaunders, as are in good opinion and esteeme with their Generall, bee well wary of imbarkeing their partie in any cause, further then may beſeeeme the wifdome and experiance of iudicious Leaders; as believing in that of Metellus to king Bocchus: *Omne bellum sumi facile, ceterum acerrime definere: non in eiusdem potestate initium eius et finem esse: incipere cuinis etiam ignauo licere; deponi, cum victores velint.*

Lib. 16.

Succesum fortunam, experientiam laus sequitur Varro, ex Gellio.

Salust.

CHAP.

*Frustra sapit,
qui sibi non sapit.*

CHAP. VII.

Cælius Rufus, moueth sedition in Italie,
and is slaine.

*A*t the same time, M. Cælius Rufus, the Prator at Rome, vndertaking the busynesse of debts, in the beginning of his Maistracie, placed his seate by the Chaire of C. Trebonius, Prator of the towne; promising to be assiting to any man, that woulde appeale unto him, concerning valuation and payment to be performed by Arbitrators, according as Cæsar had ordained. But it came to passe, as well through the equity and indifference of the Decree, as through the lenitie of Trebonius (who was of opinion, that those times required an easie and milde execution of justice) that none were found, from whom the beginning of the Appeal might growe, for to pretend pouertie, or to complaine of particular misfortune, and of the calamity of those times; or otherwise, to propound the difficulties of selling their goods by an out-rope, was every mans practice: but for any man to acknowledge himselfe to bee in debt, and yet to keepe his possessions whole and vntouched, was held a very strange impudencie: so that there was no man found that would require it.

Moreover, Cælius caried a very hard hand, to such as should haue received benefite thereby. And hauing made this entrance (to the end he might not seeme to haue undertake a shamefull or dishonest cause) he published a law, that there should be no Interest paid, for any Monies let out vpon consideration, for thirtie sixe daies of the time agreed on. But when he perceiued, that Seruilius the Consull, and the rest of the Magistrates did oppose themselues against him, therein, and sinding it not to sort with his expectation (to the end he might incite and stirre vp the humours and spirits of men) he abrogated that law, and in steede thereof, made two others. The one, which cut off the yearly rents that Tenants were accustomed to pay their Land-lords, for the houses they dwelt in; and the other, Touching new assurances, and the abolishing of old debts. Where vpon, the multitude ranne violently vpon him, and (hauing hurt diuers that stod about him) pulled him out of his Chaire.

Of these things, Seruilius the Consull made relation to the Senate: who therupon decreed, That Cælius shoulde be remoued fro his Pratorship. And by meanes of that Arrest, the Consull interdicted him the Senate, and also drew him from the * Speaking Place, as he wuent about to make a speech to the people. Cælius, moued with shame and despight, made as though hee woulde goe to Cæsar; but sent Messengers secretly to Milo, condemned to banishment for killing Clodius. And hauing recalled him into Italy, that by great gifts and rewards had gained to his party the remainder of the Company of Fencers, hee ioyned himselfe with him: and then sent him before to Thurin, to excite and stirre vp the Shepheards to sedition; he himselfe going to Casseline.

Commentary of the Ciuill Warres.

149

At the same instant, his Ensignes and Armes beeing staled at Capua, besides his family suspected at Naples, and their attempt against the towne, perceiued; their other desigues beeing discovered, and their Partizans flout out of Capua: fearing some danger, forasmuch as the inhabitants had tooke Armes, and held him as an Enemy, hee let fall his former determination, and brake off his iourney.

In the meane vvhile, Milo, hauing sent Letters to the Municipall townes, that vwhat he did, was by the authority and commaundement of Pompey, according as he received it from Bibulus, he applied him selfe, and solicited such as were in debt: with whom preuailing nothing, hee brake vp diuers prisons, and began to assault Cofa in Thurin: & there he was slaine by Q. Pedius the Prator, with a stone which he cast from the wall.

Cælius, going on (as he gane out) towards Cæsar, hee came to Tury, vvhile, when he had moued diuers of the inhabitants, and promised money to the French and Spanish Canarie, which Cæsar had put there for a Guarizon, he was in the end slaine by them. And so the beginning of great Matters, which put all Italy in feare and trouble, by the indirect practises of the Magistrates, and the iniquitie of the times, had a speedy and easie end.

O B S E R V A T I O N S.



T is to be noted, for the better vnderstanding these Passages, that of those which were chosen Prators, the two chiefeft remained at Rome; the one, to administer justice to the Citizens, which was called *Prator Urbanus*, who in the absence of the Consull, had the superintendencie of the affaires of the State, assembled the Senate, received Packets, made Dispatches, and gaue order in all things: which place was now supplied by Trebonius. The other was called *Prator Peregrinus*: whose office was, to order the causes and suites of forrainers and strangers; whereinto Cælius was chosen: and, beeing of a turbulent and vnquiet spirit, tooke occasion vpon this rent in the State, to raise new garboiles, fit for his owne purposes; as hauing learned, what Aristotle teacheth, That all things which are already stirred, are more easily moued, then other natures, that are yet in quiet. And therevpon, hauing power by his office, to decide causes of Controuersie, hee remoued his Tribunall, and placed it hard-by where Trebonius late, to the end he might oppose the Decrees he made, for the prising of goods, to satisfie Creditors, and draw the people to appeale vnto him; publishing with-all, certaine dangerous Edicts, on the behalfe of those that were in debt.

This Cælius was Ciceros scholler, for Oratorie; and in the opinion of Quintilian, was thought worthy to haue lived longer, if he had been of a staid and settled cariage; but now must stand for an example of a wilfull Magistrate.

Touching *Rostra*, which I haue translated the Speaking-place, it was a part of their *Forum*, vvhile the Consuls, and other Magistrates, spake vnto the people, wherein was built a Chaire or Pulpit, of the beake-heads of shippes,

Omnia commo
ta facilis quam
quicquid mo
quemur. De Me
chanicis.

Lini, lib. 8.

P. which

Obseruations vpon the third

which the Romaines tooke from the *Antiaty*, and there-vpon tooke the name of *Roftra*; memorable amongst other things, for that Antonie lette Tullies head betweene his two hands, in the Chaire, where he had often spoken most eloquently, and with as many good words, as were euer found in humane Oratorie.

CHAP. VIII.

Libo taketh an Iland right ouer-against the Hauen of Brundusium; and is beaten off by a stratagem.



Libo, departing from Oricum, with his fleet of fifty shippes, came to Brundusium, and tooke an Iland, which lieth ouer-against the Hauen, as a place of great importance, by which our Army must necessarily come forth: & shutting in all the Ports, and parts of that shore, as also surprising by his sudaine comming, certaine shippes of burthen, hee sette all on fire, sauing one laden wth Corne, wch hee tooke along wth him. Whereby he put our men into a great feare; and landing certaine souldiers and horsemen in the night time, hee dislodged the Caualrie that were there in Guarison: and so preuailed, through the aduantage of the Place, as hee wroght to Pompey, that he might draw the other shippes on shore, and new trimme them; for, hee wrould under-take, with his fleet alone, to hinder those forces from comming to Caesar.

Antonius was then at Brundusium: and trusting to the valour of the souldiers, armed out threescore Skiffes, belonging to great shippes; and fencing them wth hurdles and plankes, put certaine choice souldiers in them, disposing them in severall places along the shore: and further comanded two Triremes (which hee had caused to bee made at Brundusium, for the exercize of the souldiers in rowing) to goe out to the mouth of the Hauen.

Libo, perceiving these to come out some-what loosely, and hoping to intercept them, sent out five Quadriremes to attack them: which were no sooner come neare unto our shippes, but the old souldiers that were aboard, fledde backe into the Port.

The Enemy, caried on wth a desire of taking them, preaced after somewhat rashly, and vnduisedly: wwhen at length, vpon a signall given, the shippes came suddenly out from all parts, sette vpon them, and at the first shock tooke one of the Quadriremes, wth all the oare-men and souldiers in her; therf, they compelled to flee away shamfully. To wch losse, this was further added, that they were kept from wwater, by the Caualry wch Antonius had disposed along the Coast: through necessity wtherof (as also by reason of the ignominie received) Libo departed from Brundusium, and gaue ouer the siege.

Many

Commentary of the Ciuill Warres.

151

Many moneths were now past, and the Winter came hard on, and yet neyther the shipping nor the legions, came from Brundusium to Caesar. And some opportunities seemed to be omitted, for that the wind was good ofte-times; which Caesar thought they woulde haue taken. And the longer they staid there, the straighter was all the Coast guarded and kept, by such as comanded the fleet; beeing now in great hope to hinder their passage. Whiche they did the rather in-deauer, because they were oftentimes reproched by Letters from Pompey, for that they did not impeach Caesars comming at first: whiche hee did to make them the more carefull, to hinder those supplies. And, in attending so from day to day an opportunity of passage, it woulde wexe worse & worse, the winds growing more easie and gentle.

O B S E R V A T I O N S.

BY how much easier it is to keepe the out-let of one Port, then to guard the Coast of a large Country: by so much was Libo more likely to preuaile, in seeking to shut vp the Hauen of Brundusium, to hinder these supplies from coming vnto Caesar; then the other, that went about to guard all the Maritimatic parts of Epitus, to keepe them from landing, after they were at Sea.

But such is the vncertaintie of enterprises of vwarre, that albeit our course be rightly shapen, yet it doth often faile of leading vs to that which is desired. For, howsooner hee was possessed of this Iland, that lay thwart the mouth of the Hauen, and had thrust out the guard of horsemen, and so became confident of blocking vp the Port: yet there was means found by the aduertise Partie, to give him such an affront, as made him quit the place with more dishonour, then could be recompenced by any thing hee got.

Incerte sunt res bellicae. Thucid.

CHAP. IX.

Cæsars supplies passe ouer into Greece, and take landing.



Caesar, troubled at these things, wroght very sharply to them at Brundusium, not to omit the opportunity of the next good wwind, but to put to Sea, and to shape their course to Oricum, or to the Coast of Apolonia; because there they might runne their shippes on ground: & these places were freeest from Guardes, by reason they could not ride farr from the Ports.

They, according to their accustomed courage and valour (Marcus Antonius, and Fusius Calenus directing the businesse, and the Souldours them-selues beeing forwارد there-into, as refusing no danger for Cæsars sake) having got

p. 2.

Cæsar.

Observations vpon the third

got a South wind, waied Anchor, and the next day, passed by Apolonia and Dyrachium: but beeing discovered from the Continent, Quintus Coponius, Admirall of the Rhodian Navie, lying at Dyrachium, brought his shippes out of the Haven. And as he had almost (upon a slack wind) ouer-taken our men, the same South wind began at length to blowe stiffe, by which meanes they escaped: yet did not he desist from pursuing them; but was in hope, by the labour & industrie of the Mariners, to ouer-way the force of the tempest, and followed them, notwithstanding they were past Dyrachium, with a large wind. Our men vsing the fauour of Fortune, were neuerthelesse afraid of the Enemies Navie, if the wind shoud chance to slacke: & hauing got the Port called Nimpheum, three miles beyond Lissus, they put in with their shippes.

This Port lay sheltered from the South-west wind, but was not safe from a South wind: howeuer, they accounted an ill roade lesse dangerous then the Enemies flete: & yet they were no sooner put in, but the wind (which had blown southerly for two daies together) did now most happily come about to the South-west.

And heere a man may see the suddaine alteration of Fortune; for, they which of late stood in feare of a dangerous Roade, were now by that occasion, received into a safe harbour: and those which threatened danger to them, were forced to bethinke themselves of their owne safetie. So that the time thus chaning, sauall our Partie, and sunke theirs. Insomuch, as sixteeue of the Rhodian shippes were all broken in pieces, and perished with shipwrack; and of the great number of oare-men and souldiers, part were dashed against the Rocks & staine, and part were taken vp by our men: all which, Caesar sent home in safetie. Two of our shippes comming short, and ouer-taken with the night, and not knowing where the rest had taken shire, stode at an Anchor, right ouer against Lissus. Then did Otacilius Crassus, Gouvernour of Lissus, goe about to take with skiffes, and other little shippes, which he had prepared for that purpose; & withall, treated with them, of yelding themselves, promising life and safety, vpon that condition.

One of the shippes carried two hundred and twentie men, of the legion made of young souldiers; in the other, were lesse then two hundred old Souldiers. And heere a man may see, vwhat assurance and safety consisteth in courage and valour of mind; for, the new made souldiers, terrified with the multitude of shippes that came against them, and spent with Sea-sicknesse, vpon oath made not to receive any hurt, did yield themselves to Otacilius: vwho, being brought all unto him, were contrary to his oath, most cruelly slaine in his sight. But the souldiers of the old Legions (howeuer afflicted with the inconuenience of the tempest, and noisomnesse of the Pumpes) did not slacke anything of their ancient valour: for, hauing drawen out the first part of the night in conditions of treatie, as though they meant to yeld themselves, they compelled the Maister to runne his shippes ashore: and hauing got a conuenient place, they there spent the rest of the night.

As soone as it was day, Otacilius sent foure hundred horse, which had the guard of that part of the coast, with others of the guarison, to assault and take them:

Commentary of the Ciuill Warres.

153

them: but they, valiantly defending themselves, slew twaies of them; and so got to our men in safetie. Where-upon, the Romaine Cittizens, residing in Lissus (vwhich towne, Caesar had formerly gien them to bee kept and guarded) received-in Antonius, and assysted him with all things needfull. Otacilius, fearing himselfe, fled out of the towne, and came to Pompey.

Antonius sent backe the greatest part of the shippes that had brought ouer his troops (vwhich were three legions of old souldiers, one of new souldiers, and eight hundred horse) to transport the rest of the souldiers, and horse, that remained at Brundisium: leauing the Pontones, which are a kind of French shippes, at Lissus; to this end, that if happily Pompey, thinking Italy to be empie and vnpurifed, shoud carry ouer his Army thither, Caesar might haue meanes to follow him: and withall, sent Messengers speedily to Caesar, to let him knowe vwhere the Armie was landed, and what men he had brought ouer.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



Olus an virtus quis in hoste requirat, is not so iustifiable by the lawes of true vertue, as that of Achilles; who professed to hate that man more then the gates of hell, that promised one thing, and purposed another. Neither do the Iuristes conclude otherwise; hauing, for the more apparenie of truth, drawne it to a Question, An perfidia in perfidum vti, Ius sit? alleging Labienus practise, against Comius of Arras, together with that which admitteth no Aunswier, that their example standeth as a presidient, to deale with them, as they deale with others. But, to falsifie religion, as Otacilius did, and to make an oath the Broker of vnworthy ends, is abhorred by God and Man, and accordingly succeedeth.

The most remarkeable instance in this kind, is that (which is to be vvished were forgotten) of Lewis King of Hungaria: who, hauing concluded the honourable peace, that euer Christian Prince had before that time made, with any of the Turkish Sultanes, and confirmed the same by an oath, taken vpon the holy Euangelist, did neuerthelesse, at the perswasion of Julian, a Cardinall (who tooke vpon him, by power from the Pope, to disannull the league, & absolu him from the oath) breake the peace, & gaue battell to Amurath at Varna (where the Infidel tooke occasion impiously to blasphemie, in calling for vengeance on such, as in their deedes had denied the God-head of their most sacred and blessed Lord) and was there slaine, to the vtter ruine of his kingdome, and the reproche of Christian Name. Neither did the Cardinall escape the vengeance, which his treacherie had drawne vpon that roiall Armie: but beeing there wounded vnto death, was found lying in the high way, by Gregorie Sanoze, ready to give vp the ghoste; & seemed but to stay to take with him, the bitter curses of such as passed by, flying from the battell, as the due reward of his perfidious absolution.

*Aenead. 2.
Homer. 9. Iliad.*

*Hirtius lib. 8.
de bello Gallico.*

Pladiflame.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

CIN case of difficultie and hazard (as Cæsar noteth) there is alwaies great helpe in a good courage. For, whether it be, that good hap attendeth a valourous cariage, or that vertue bee able to remoue all opposition, or what other cause there is besides; but thus it falleth out, that such as enteraine a noble resolution, are euer safest in extremitie of perill; and in stede of losse, get honour and renoune.

Braisidas found a Mouse amongst dried figs, which bit him so that hee let her goe, and there-upon said, to those that stood by; That there was nothing so little, that could not saue it selfe, if it had a hart to defend it selfe against such as assaulted it.

And hecnein we may obserue that to be true, which the Poet hath deliuered; *Seris venit vsus ab annis*: Time and Practice, doe much availe to perfite this courage in the mindes of Men of Warre; as knowing afore-hand the weight of such labours, and having incountered the like dangers, euen to the redēming of themselues from the iawes of death. Whence it is, that the Comick faith, No man can possibly come so well furnished to any course of life, but that time and experience doe alwaies teach him what he knew not before: where-as others, that goe rawlie to worke, are so daunted with the vnusual lookes of war, as they (forgetting the profeson of Armes) doe run head-long into the danger they seeke to avoide; beeing able to give no other account of their seruice, but that they matched Many bodies, and but a few Men.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

Call write, that Lutarch, Valerius Maximus, Appian, Suetonius, and Lucan, doe all write, that Cæsar, impatient of the stay of his forces at Brundusium, imbarke himselfe in a small Frigat, of twelve oares, disguised in the habit of a flauie, and put to sea to fetch his Legions; notwithstanding, all the Coast swarmed with the Enemies shipping: but meeting with a contrarie wind, which would not suffer him to get out of the Riuier Anius, the Maister commaunded the Mariners to cast about, and get to shor. Wherupon, Cæsar discouering himselfe, incouraged him to goe forward, for that he carried Cæsar and his fortunes.

The Maister, forgetting all danger, made out againe, to get to sea; but was by force of the tempest drituen to returwe, to Cæsars great griefe. And albeit there is no mention made hecneof in these Commentaries, yet the authortie of so many graue Authors, is not to be contemned.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

Cæsar hasteth to meet with Antonius, and preuenteth Pompey.



Cæsar and Pompey, had both intelligence, almost at one instant of time, of Antonius fleet: for, they saw it passe by Apolonia, and Dyrrachium, and directed their tourneys along the Coast after them: but they understood not for a while where they were landed. Howbeit, having notice thereof, either of them tooke a contrarie resolution. For, Cæsar purposed to ioyn with Antonius, as soone as possibly he might: and Pompey resolued to hinder their meeting, and by ambusments (if he could) to set vpon them at vnawares.

The same day, either of them drew their Armie out of their standing Camps, vpon the Riuier Apsus: Pompey secretly, and by night; Cæsar openly, and by day: but Cæsar had the greater circuit to fetch, and a longer journey to goe up the Riuier, to find a Foord. Pompey, having a ready way, and no Riuier to passe, made towards Antonius by great iourneys: and when hee understood that hee came neare unto him, chose a conuenient place, and there befflowed his forces; keeping every man wthin the Campe, and forbidding fires to be made, that his coming might be the more hidden. Wherof Antonius beeing presently aduertised by the Greckes, he dispatched Messengers to Cæsar, and kept himselfe one day wthin his Campe. The next day, Cæsar came unto him. Vpon notice thereof, Pompey left that place; leauing he should be intrapped betweene two Armies, and came with all his forces to Asparagus (which appertained to them of Dyrrachium) and there, in a conuenient place, pitched his Campe.

O B S E R V A T I O N S.

CHere two Armies are in a Country, and one of them hath succours comming to renforce them, each of those Parties, are by the example of these glorious Commaunders (*ceteris paribus*) to make towards those succours: the one, to cut them off; and the other, to keepe the standing. And to that end, it futed Pompeis condition to go secretly: howeluer Cæsar noteth it, as a touch to his valour: so on the other side, it stood not onely well enough with Cæsars Party, to goe openly, but also was an argument of his courage and magnanimity, and might raise him estimation in the opinion of the Greckes. The disadvantage which Pompey could take thereby, was the danger to bee inclosed with Armies: which he, foreseeing, auoide.

CHAP.

Scipios preparation in Asia, to come into
Greece, to assist Pompey.

Bout this time, Scipio, hauing sustainted diuers losses, neere the mount Amanum, did neverthelesse call him selfe by the name of Imperator; and, there-upon, commanded great summes of money to be levied of the Citties and Potentates of those quarters: taking, fro the generall Receivers of that Province, all the Moneies that were in their hands for two yeeres past, and commaunding them to disburse (by way of loane) the receipt for the yeere to come; and requiring horsemen to be levied throughout all the Province. Hauing gathered these together, hee left the Parthians, being neare Enemies vnto him (vvhoso a little before had slaine M. Crassus, the Generall, and besieged M. Bibulus) and drew the ligions out of Syria; beeing sent specially thither to keepe and settle that Province, much annoyed through feare of the Parthian warre.

At his departure, some speeches were giuen-out by the souldiers, that if they were ledde against an Enemy, they vwould goe; but against a Citizen and Consall, they would not bear Armes. The Army beeing brought to Pergamum, and there garrisoned for that Winter in diuers rich Citties, he distributed great largesse and gifts; and for the better assuring of the souldier vnto him, gaue them certaine Citties to riste.

In the meane time, he made bitter and heauie exactiōns of money, throughout all the Province: for, he put a tribute vpon slaues and free-men by pole, set impositions vpon the pillars and doores of houses, as also vpon graine, oare-men, armes, ingines, and carriages; and what couer had a name, was thought fitt to yeeld money, by way of imposition: and that not onely in Citties and Townes, but almost in every Village and Castle: wherein, he that caried himselfe most cruelly, was held both the wroorthiest man, and the best Citizen.

The Province was at that time full of Officers and Commaundements, pestered with Ouer seers and Exactors: vvhoso, besides the money levied by publique authoritie, made their particular profit by the like exactiōns. For, they gaue-out, they were thrust out of their houses, and their Countrey, and in want of all necessaries; to the end they might with such pretences, couer their wicked & hatefull courses. To this was added, the hard and heauie Vſury, which oftentimes doth accompany warre, when all moneyes are drawnen and exacted to the publique: vvhenein the forbearance of a day, vvas accounted a discharge for the vvhole. Whereby it happened, that in those two yeeres, the whole Province was ouer-grownne with debts: and yet, for all that, they stuck not to leuier round sums of money, not onely from the Cittizens of Rome, inhabiting in that Province; but also, vpon every Corporation, and particular Cittie: which they gaue out, vwas

by

Commentary of the Ciuiti Warres.

157

by way of loane, according to a Decree of Senate, commaunding the Receivers to aduaunce the like summe by way of loane, for the yeere to come.

Moreover, Scipio gaue order, that the Moneies vvhich of old time had beeene treasured-up in the Temple of Diana at Ephesus, should be taken out, with other Images of that Goddesse: but as hee came into the Temple (having called vnto him many of the Senators that were there present) hee received a Dispatch from Pompey, That Caesar had passed the Sea with his legions; and that, setting all things apart, hee shoud hasten to him with his Armie. These Letters beeing received, he dismissed such as he had called vnto him, and beganne to dispose of his journey into Macedonia, setting forward vwithin a few daies after: by vvhich accident, the Treasure at Ephesus was saued.

O B S E R V A T I O N S.

Tis Seneca his conceit, that Iron, beeing of that excellent vse in things pertaining to Mans life, and yet so much vnder-valued to Gold and Siluer, will admit of no peace, as often as there is question of Money; but raiſeth continuall garboiles & extremities, as a reuenge that the World doth misvalue it: and fell out as true in those better Ages, as it dooth in these daies, that are of baser Metall. For, what greater violences in the State of Rome, then those concerning Tributes and Impositions? A particular whereof, may be made out of this Chapter. For, first, we find a Tribute by pole, without respect of state or condition; which they called *Capitatio*. And then a ſecond, as grievous as that, beeing a taxe laid vpon euerie doore in a house, which they called *Oſtaria*: whereof Tully maketh mention, in the eight Epitile of his third Booke. And laſtly, an other vpon every piller in a mans house, which they called *Columnaria*: mentioned likewife by Cicerio, *Columnarium vide ut nullum debeamus*. Howbeit, Alciatus understandeth this, to be that we read in Dionysius Halicarnasseus, That when Treafure failed at the ſiege of Modena, they laid an Imposition vpon every tile that was found on the Senators houes in Rome: which gaue the *Trium-virat* occaſion, to make the tiles as heauie to the reſt of the Romaine Cittizens; and this, faith he, was called *Columnaria*.

Some Popes, out of their occaſions, haue gone farre in this kind, & found meaſes to lay Impositions vpon all things pertaining to the vſe of man. Infomuch as Pasquill begged leauie to dry his ſhirt in the Sunne, before there were any Imposition laid vpon the Light. The rule is diuerſly giuen in this behalfe, That the Fiske doe not ſwell aboue his proportion. Alexander is commended for making his Subiects the keepers of his Treafure. And Claudianus, giueth Honorius this Elogium;

Nec tua priuatis crescent eraria dannis.

Basilius aduifeth, that money thus raiſed, be not at any time dipped, either in the teares or in the blood of the people. But Tully draweth it to a more certaintie, by making Necclitie the ſquare of ſuch commands. *Da operam (ſaih hee)*

Propter Aurum
et Argentum
nunquam pacem
facit ferrum. li.
14. Epit. 93.
Ferrum minus
arbitrio instrumentum.
Aurum et
argentum mortis
Mancopia. E-
pictus.
Capitatio.

Oſtaria.

Columnaria.
13 ad Attium.
Epit. 1.

In the P. pacis
of Sixt. Quintus.
Fiscus reipubli-
cæ quod so cre-
cente, auras re-
liqui tabescunt.
Sext. Aurelius
Victor.
In Parent.

2. De officiis.

Obseruations vpon the third

hee) ut omnes intelligent, si salus esse velint, necessitati esse parendum. And so the opening of priuate mens purses, is but to keepe them shut and safe, from such Enemies as would consume all; according as Scipio once aunswered, when the Romaines blamed him, for spending their Treasure: Howsoever, Scipio knew well what he did, in getting into his hand such store of Treasure; for, Warre cannot any way be maintained, but with plenty of Money: neither can any State continue, if the reuuenue which supporteth the Common-weale, bee abated; as Tacitus hath well obserued, *Dissoluitur imperium, si fructus quibus respub. sustinetur diminuantur.*

CHAP. XII.

Cæsar sendeth forces into Thessalia, Aetolia and Macedonia; Scipio commeth into Greece.



Cæsar, beeing ioyned vwith Antonius, drew that legion out of Oricum, which hee had formerly lodged there, to keep the Sea-coast; and thought it expedient to make triall of the Provinces, and to aduaunce further into the Countrey. And, vwhere-as Embassadours came unto him out of Thessalia & Aetolia, assyning, that if hee would send forces to protect them, the Citties of those Provinces would readily obey what hee commanded: Hee sent L. Cassius Longinus, with the legion of young soldiery, called the seauen and twentith, and two hundred horse, into Thessalia: and C. Calutius Sabinus, with five cohorts, and a few horse, into Aetolia; exhorting them specially, to take a course for prouision of Corne in those two Provinces, which lay neare at hand.

He sent likewise Cn. Domitius Caluinus, with two legions, the eleventh and the twelfth, and five hundred horse, into Macedonia: of which Province (for that part thereof, which is called Franke or Free) Menedemus, a principlall man of that Countrey, beeing sent as an Embassador, had professed exceeding great forwardnesse on their behalfe. Of these, Calutius, vpon his comming, was entertained with great affection of the Aetolians: and, having cast the Guarison of the Enemy out of Caledone and * Naupactum, became Maister of all Aetolia. Cassius arrived vwith the legion in Thessalia; and finding there two Factions, was accordingly received, with contrary affections.

Egesætus, a man of ancient power and authoritie, fauoured Pompeis partie: and Petreius, a man of a most noble house, endeauoured by all meanes, to deserue vwell of Cæsar. At the same time also, came Domitius into Macedonia: and as Embassadours began to come thicke unto him, from diuers States of that Province, it was told him, that Scipio vvas at hand with the legions, and came with great

Commentary of the Ciuill Warres.

159

great fame and opinion of all men: vwhich is oftentimes a fore-runner of novelties. He, making no stay in any part of Macedonia, marched directly with great furie towards Domitius; and when he came vwithin twenty miles of him, turned his course sudainly, to Cassius Longius, in Thessalia: which he did so speedilie, that newes came together of his comming, and of his arriuall. For, to the end he might march with greater expedition, he left M. Faouinius at the Riuere Halicamon (vwhich diuideth Macedonia from Thessalia) with eight cohorts, to keepe the carriages of the legions: where hee commauded them to build a Fort.

At the same time, the Caualrie of King Cottus, which vvas wont to keepe in the Confines of Thessalia, came flying sudainly to Cassius Campe: whereat, he beeing astonisched (understanding of Scipios comming, and seeing the horsemen, whom he thought to be his) made towards the hills which inclose Thessalia, and from thence marched towards Ambracia. And, as Scipio made haste to follow after, Letters ouer-tooke him, sent from Faouinius, that Domitius was at hand with the legions, and that he could not hold the place wherein hee was left, without Scipios helpe.

Vpon the receipt of vwhich Letters, Scipio altered both his purpose and his iourney; & leaving Cassius, made haste to help Faouinius: so that continuing his iourney night and day, he came vnto him in very good time. For, as the dust of Domitius Armie, approaching, was feene to rise, the fore-runners of Scipio his Armie was likewise discouered. Wherby it happened, that as Domitius industry did helpe Cassius, so did Scipio his speede sauie Faouinius.

O B S E R V A T I O N S.

Cæsar, beeing now ready with his forces to proceed against Pompey, the first thing he did, was to make triall of the Provinces of Greece, and to get their fauour and assistance, for his better furtherance in contesing his Aduerarie. For, as an Armie standeth firme by two speciall meanes, first, in themselues, as they are able to resist any opposing force; and secondly, through the fauour of the Country, wherein they are ingaged: so, on the other side, their ouer-throw either proceedeth frō their owne weakenesse; or otherwise, when the Provinces adioyning, doe refule such mutual respects, as may relieue the wants of a consuming multitude. And therfore, hauing got all the forces together which he looked for, or could any way expect, hee sent out to try the affection of the Countrey, and to alter that in a moment, which Pompey had beene settling for a yeare together, and then resolued to attack him neerer.

And doublefie, if Scipio had not by chance interrupted their course, vpon his comming out of Asia, to aide Pompey, they had as easily got all Thessalia and Macedonia, as they did Aetolia: and were neuerthelesse so ordered & disposed, as they got more honour of Scipio, then he could win of them.

CHAP.

In Macedonia,
que velint sibi
candida naci;
ad Halicamon
ducere, que ni-
gra et fusa ad
Axium.

Observations vpon the third

hee) ut omnes intelligant, si saluus esse velint, necessarii esse parendum. And so the opening of priuate mens purfes, is but to keepe them shut and safe, from such Enemies as would confuse all; according as Scipio once aunswered, when the Romaines blamed him, for spending their Treasure: Howsoever, Scipio knew well what he did, in getting into his hand such store of Treasure; for, Warre cannot any way be maintained, but with plenty of Money: neither can any State continue, if the reuuenue which supporteth the Common-weale, bee abated; as Tacitus hath well obserued, *Dissoluitur imperium, si fructus quibus respub. subfinetur diminuantur.*

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He sent likewise Cn. Domitius Calenus, with two legions, the eleventh and the twelfith, and five hundred horse into Macedonia: of which Province (for that part thereof, which is called Franke or Free) Menedemus, a principall man of that Countrey, beeing sent as an Embassador, had professed exceeding great forwardnesse on their behalfe. Of these, Calutius, vpon his comming, was entertained with great affection of the Aetolians: and, having cast the Garrison of the Enemy out of Caledone and *Nampactum, became Maister of all Aetolia. Cæsius arrived with the legion in Theffalia; and finding there two Factions, was accordingly received, with contrary affections.

Egeſetus, a man of ancient power and authoritie, fauoured Pompeis partie: and Petreius, a man of a moſt noble houſe, endeauoured by all meaneſ, to deserue vewell of Cæſar. At the ſame time alſo, came Domitius into Macedonia: and as Embassadors began to come thicke unto him, from diuers ſtates of that Province, it was told him, that Scipio vvas at hand with the legions, and came with great

Commentary of the Ciuill Warres.

great fame and opinion of all men: vvhich is oftentimes a fore-runner of nouelties. He, making no stay in any part of Macedonia, marched directly with great furie towards Domitius; and when he came vwithin twenty miles of him, turned his course ſuddainely, to Cæsius Longius, in Theffalia: which he did ſo ſpeedily, that newes came together of his comming, and of his arriuall. For, to the end he might march with greater expedition, he left M. Fauonius at the Riuver Halicamon (vvhich diuideth Macedonia from Theffalia) vwith eight cohorts, to keepe the carriages of the legions: vvhile hee commauded them to build a Fort.

At the ſame time, the Caualrie of King Cottus, which vvas wont to keep in the Confines of Theffalia, came flying ſuddainely to Cæsius Campe: whereat, hee being aſtoniſed (underſtanding of Scipios comming, and ſeeing the horſemen, whom he thought to be his) made towards the hills which incloſe Theffalia, and from thence marched towards Ambracia. And, as Scipio made haſte to follow after, Letters ouer-tooke him, ſent from Fauonius, that Domitius was at hand with the legions, and that he could not hold the place wherein hee was left, without Scipios helpe.

Vpon the receit of vvhich Letters, Scipio altered both his purpose and his iourney; & leaving Cæsius, made haſte to help Fauonius: ſo that continuing his iourney night and day, he came vnto him in very good time. For, as the duff of Domitius Armie, approaching, was ſene to riſe, the fore-runners of Scipio his Armie was likevyle diſcovered. Whareby it happened, that as Domitius induſtry did helpe Cæsius, ſo did Scipio his ſpeeđe ſave Fauonius.

OBSEERVATIONS.

Cæſar, beeing now ready with his forces to proceed against Pompey; the firſt thing he did, was to make triall of the Provinces of Greece, and to get their fauour and aſſiſtance, for his better furthrance in conſefting his Aduerſarie. For, as an Armie ſtandeth firme by two ſpeciall meaneſ, firſt, in themſelues, as they are able to reſiſt any oppoſing force; and ſecondly, through the fauour of the Countrey, wherein they are ingaged: ſo, on the other ſide, their ouer-throw either proceedeth frō their owne weakeſſe; or otherwiſe, when the Provinces adioyning, doe reſuſe ſuch muſtuall reſpects, as may relieue the wants of a conſumming multitude. And therfore, hauing got all the forces together which he looked for, or could any way expeſt, hee ſent out to try the affection of the Countrey, and to alter that in a moment, which Pompey had beeſe ſettling for a yecce together, and then reſouled to attack him neerer.

And doubtleſſe, if Scipio had not by chaunce interrupted their course, vpon his comming out of Asia, to aide Pompey, they had as eaſily got all Theffalia and Macedonia, as they did Aetolia: and were neuertheleſſe ſo ordered & diſpoſed, as they got more honour of Scipio, then he could win of them.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

The Passages betweene Domitius
and Scipio.

Cesar.
Scipio abode two daies in his standing Campe, vpon the Riuuer Haliacmon, which ranne betweene him and Domitius Campe. The third day, as soone as it began to be light, he passed his Armie over the Riuuer by a Foord, and incamped himselfe. The next day in the morning, he imbatteleth his forces before the front of his Campe. Domitius, in like manner, made no difficultie of bringing out his legions, resoluing to fight. And whereas there lay a field of sixe miles, betwene both the Campes, he led his troopes imbatteleth under Scipios Campe; who neuerthelesse refused to moue any iote from his standing: yet for all that, Domitius souldiers were hardly kept from giving battell: but specially a Riuuer, lying under Scipios Campe, with broken and uneasie bankes, did hinder them at that time.

Scipio, understanding of their alacrity, and desire to fight; suspecting it might happen, that the next day he shoulde be forced to fight against his will, or vwith great dishonour keepe himselfe within his Campe, hauing vith great expectation in the beginning, gone on rashly, and vnauduisedly, was now dishonoured vith a reproachfull end. For, in the night time he rose, vwithout anie noise or vvarning for the trus sing up of the baggage; and passing the Riuuer, returned the same way he came: and in an eminent place, neere unto the Riuuer, he pitched his Campe.

A few daies after, he laid an ambusment of horsemen in a place, vwhere our men had formerly accustomed to forrage. And, as Q. Varus, Generall of the horse in Domitius Army, came out according to his ordinary use, they set upon him at a suddaine: but our men did valiantly sustaine the on-set; and euery man betaking himselfe speedily to his ranke, they altogether of their owne accord, charged the Enemy: and hauing slaine fourre-score, they put the rest to flight, vith the lost only of two of their men.

OBSEERVATIONS.

SCIPIO T appearreth heire, that to shew a readines and resolution to fight, vpon such grounde as are iustifiablie by the rules of Warre, is no small advantage to the prosperous carriage of the same. For, albeit Scipio was great in his owne strength, and as great in the opinion and expectation of men: yet when he found such an alacrity in the Enemy, to give and take blowes, and a desire to entertaine seriouly all occasions of giving battell; he was so farre from prosecuting what he had pretended, as hee rather

rather chose the fortune of a safe retreit, and consequentlie, to turne the aduantage which the world in opinien had giuen to his Armie, to his owne reproach, and disadvantage: vwhere-as on the other side, to bee found for the most part vntwillig to hazard the triall of a Field, or indisposed to fight vpon any occasion, doth invite an Enemy to attempt that, which otherwife hee would not; and giueth them courage to beat him from all his purposes, as knowing the resolution of their Aduersarie, and the meanes they haue, either to take or leue at their pleasure.

CHAP. XIV.

Domitius draweth Scipio to a losse, by an Ambusment. Young Pompeis attempt vpon Oricum.

Cesar.
After these things, Domitius hoping that Scipio might be drawne to fight, hee made as though hee were in great want and scarcitie of Corne: and there-upon, rising from the place vwherein hee was incamped, vith the vsuall cry of remouing, according to the custome of Warre, and hauing marched three miles, hee lodged all his Armie, with the Caualrie, in a convenient and secret place.

Scenper Eadem. Scipio, beeing readie to follow after, sent his horsemen, and a great part of his light-armed souldiers, to discouer vhat way Domitius tooke: vwho, marching forward, as the first troopes came within the Ambusment (suspecting some-what by the neighing of the horses) fell backe againe. Those that followed after, seeing the former troopes so fuddainly to retire, stood still.

Our men, finding themselfes discouered, & thinking it in vaine to attend the rest, hauing got two troopes of horse within their reache, they contented themselfes vith them: amongst vwhom, was M. Opimius, the Generall of the horse. The rest of those two troopes, they either put to the sword, or tooke aliuine, and brought them to Domitius.

Cesar, as is before shewed, hauing withdrawne the Guarizons from along all the Sea-coast, left onely three Cohorts at Oricum, for the defence of the Towne: and to them, he committed the custodie and safe keeping of the Gallies, vwhich he had brought out of Italy; whereof Aciilus the Legate had the charge, being left Gouvernour of the towne. Hee, for the better securisie of the shipping, had drawn all the fleet into a back angle, behinde the towne, and there fastened them to the shore: and in the mouth of the Hauen, had sunke a great ship, and set another by her, vpon which he built a towre, to keepe the entrance of the Port; & filled the same with souldiers, to defend the Hauen from any suddaine attempt.

Observations vpon the third

Vpon notice wherof, Pompeis sonne, beeing Admirall of the Egyptian fleete, came to Oricum, and with many haulfers and hookes, waded vp the sunke shippes, and assaulted the other shippes, set by Acius for the defence of the Hauen, with shippes wherin hee had made towres, which stood by counterpoize, that hee might fight vwith aduantage of height, supplying continually fresh men: and attempting also, as well from the Land side, to take the towne by scaling Ladders, as by Sea vwith his Naue; to the end hee might distract and dismember the forces within.

In the end, with extreame labour, and multitude of weapons, hee ouercame our Partie, and tooke the shippes, haing cast out such as had the guard: whosed all away vwith Skiffes and Boates. At the same time, beeing likewise seized of a small height, on the other side of the towne, in the nature of a Pene-insule, hee conuaind ouer fourre small * Gallies, with Rollers and Leuers into the inner part of the Harbor, lying behynd the towne; insomuch, as setting on each side vpon the Gallies tied unto the shoure, empty & un furnisched, hee caried fourre of them away, and burned the rest.

This beeing done, he left D. Lelius, whom hee had taken from the Egyptian fleete, to keepe the passage, that no victuals, or other provisions, might bee brought into the towne, either from Helide or Amantia: and hee himselfe, going to Lissus, found thirty shippes of burthen, vvhich Antonius had left within that Hauen, and set them all on fire. And as hee went about to take Lissus, the souldiers which Caesar had put there for a gaurison to the towne, together with the Romaine Citizens, & the townsmen therof, did so vwell defend the same, that after he had continued there three daies, and lost a few men in the siege, he left the place, without effecting any thing.

O B S E R V A T I O N S.



N Ambushment is easily at all times laid: but to do it so that it may not bee suspected, and in such manner, that the Enemie may fall into the danger thereof, is that which is to be aymed at therein. And therefore, to give the better colour to such desaignes, the tricke hath beeene to pretend feare (and so flight) or want of Corne, or some-what else, to draw the Enemie to follow after, with more boldnesse and resolution. And so to haue it wel done, there must be two deceits to affil each other; as in this of Dornitius, to make shew of remouing, through scarcitie and want: and then to lie in waite for an aduantage: According to that of the Spaniard; *A vn Traydor, dos Alevos.* For, the preuention of such snares of deceit, the rule is genera lly givenen by O-nosander, That the departure or falling away of an Enemie, is alwaies to bee suspected.

And for the more securitie therein, experienced Commanders haue been carefull before they stirred their Armie, to make exact discouerie, euen to the place

Commentary of the Ciuell Warres.

163

place where they intended to lodge. For, as in Phyllicke, it is the greatest part of the cure, to know the disease: so in matter of war, the danger is almost ouer, when it is perceived whence it may growe.

The manner obserued in discoueries, hath vsually been to send the Parties out in three Companies or troopes; The first, consisting of a small number, to beat the way at eare, and to range about from place to place, as shall be found conuenient: the second Companie, beeing some-what stronger, to second and relieue the first, if there be occasion: and the third, able to ingage a good number of the Enemie.

And after this manner, Cyrus disposed of his fore-runners: as appeareth in Zenophon. But this, being subiect to the consideration of time and place, and other circumstances, may varie, as shall seeme expedient to the wisedome of the Generall.

5 Cyropa.

CHAP. XV.

Cæsar marcheth towards Pompey; offereth him battaile; cutteth him off from Dyrrachium.

Cæsar.

After Cæsar understood that Pompey was at Asparagus, he marched thitherward with his Armie: and taking by the way the towne of the Partinianis, wherein Pompey had put a Gaurison, the third day he came to Pompey in Macedonia, and lodged himself fast by him. The next day hee drew out his forces; and putting them in order, presented him battaile. But vwhen hee found that he would not accept thereof, hee drew backe his Army into the Campe, and bethought himselfe of some other course. For, the next day, taking a difficult and narrow way, bee set forward with all his forces towards Dyrrachium: hoping either to draw Pompey to fight, or to force the towne, or at least to cut him off from all Conuoies and Ammunition, which was there stored vp for the vwhole prouision of the warre; as afterwards it came to passe. For, Pompey beeing ignorant at first of his purpose, inasmuch as he tooke a contrarie way, thought he had been driven thence, through scarcitie and want of Corne. But, beeing afterwards aduertisid by the discouriers what course hee tooke, he rose the next day, in hope to meet him a neerer way. Which Cæsar inspecting, exhorted the souldiers to indure a little labour with patience. And, setting a small part of the night, in the morning he came before Dyrrachium, eue. vus the first troope of Pompeis Armie was discovered afar off: and there im- cam ved himselfe.

Pompey, beeing cut off from Dyrrachium, when hee could not accomplish his purpos, fell to a second resolution, and fortified his Camp in an eminent place, called Petra: from whence there was an indifferent passage to the shippes, and sheltered

2.

*Quinque vocat
collim Thaulan-
tus incola Pe-
trum. Lucan.*

Obseruations vpon the third

sheltered likewise the Haue from certaine winds. Thither he commanded part of the shippes to be brought, together wth Corne, & prouision of victuall, from Asia, and such other Countries as were in his obedience.

Cæsar, doubting that the warre woulde prove long and tedious, and despairing of any succour of victuall from the Coast of Italie, for that all the shire was (with great diligence) kept by Pompeis partie: And that the shipping which in Winter hee had made in Sicilia, Gallia, and Italia, were staid and came not to him, hee dispatched L. Canuleius, a Legate into Epirus, to make prouision of Corne.

And forasmuch as those Regions were farre off, hee appointed store-houses and Magasins in certaine places, & imposed cariage of Corne vpon the Countrey bordering about them. In like manner, hee commaunded, what graine soever shoulde be found at Lissus, Parthinis, or any other place, to be brought unto him: wch was very little, forasmuch as the Countrey there-about, was rough and mountainous, and affoorded no Corne, but that which was brought in from other places; as also, that Pompey had taken order in that behalfe, and a little before, had ransacked the Parthianians, & caused his horsemen to carie away all the Graine, wch was found amongst them.

O B S E R V A T I O N S.

THE first thing that Cæsar did, after their approach neare one vnto another, was to offer battaile; as the best Arbitrator of the Cause in question, and most fitting the vsance of the auncient Romaines. But, forasmuch as the indeuours of such as are in action, are alwaies ordered by him that is the Sufferer: and that Pompey refused to accept thereof, knowing himselfe to bee much stronger in forces, better accommodated, having a faire greater partie in the Country, and the Sea whollie at his command (which advantages, were like to end the busyness, without hazard of a battaile) Cæsar bethought himselfe of some other project, which might take away the scorne of that refusall, by vndertaking such things, as much importeth the state of his Aduersarie. For, in such cases, when an Enemie will not fight, some-what must be done, to cast dishonour, or greater inconueniences, vpon him; or at least, to make ouertures of new opportunities. And therefore, hee tooke a course, either to draw Pompey to fight, or to force the Towne, wherin all his prouisions of warre were stored vp; or other-wise, to evict him off from the same. The least of which, was a sufficient acquaintance of any disgrace, which the neglect of this offer might seeme to inferre; Having thereby occasion to vse that of the Poet, *Iam sumus ergo pares.*

CHAP.

Commentary of the Ciuill Warres.

165

CHAP. XVI.

Cæsar goeth about to besiege Pompey.



Cæsar, beeinge informed of these things, entered into a deliberation, vwhich he first tooke from the very nature of the place vwherein they vvere; for, vwhere-as Pompeis Campe was inclosed about wth many high and steepe Hilles, hee first tooke those Hilles, and built Forts vpon them: and then, as the condition of each place woulde bear, hee made works of fortification, from one Fort to another, and determined to inclose Pompey about wth a Ditch and a Rampier. And especially, vpon these considerations; for that hee was greatly straitened through want of Corne, and that Pompey beeinge strong in horse, hee might wth lesse danger, supply his Army from all parts with prouision: as also to the end hee might keepe Pompey from forraging, and so make his Caualry vnserviceable in that kinde. And further, that hee might abate and weake the exceeding great reputation, vwhich Pompey had attained vnto amongst foraine Nations, vwhen it shoulde bee noised throughout the world, that hee was besieged by Cæsar, and durst not fight.

Pompey woulde by no means bee drawne to leave the commoditie of the Sea, and the towne of Dyrrachium, having there laid vp all his prouision of vvarre, Armes, weapons, Engines, of what sort soever; besides Corne, wch was brought from thence to his Armie by shipping. Neither could hee hinder Cæsars fortifications, unless hee would accept of battaile, wch for that time hee was resolued not to doe; only it remained, as the last thing hee could thinkie of, to possesse himselfe of as many Hilles as hee might, and to keepe as much of the Countrey as hee could, wth good and strong guard: and by that meanes, to distract, as much as possible hee might, Cæsars forces, as accordinglie it fell out. For, having made twentie fourre Castles and Forts, hee tooke in twentie five miles of the Countrey in circuit, and did forrage within that space, and there caused many things to be set and planted by hand, whiche in the Interim, serued as foode for horses.

And, as our men perceiued their fortifications to be caried, and continued, from one Castle to another, without intermission; they beganne to feare, least they had left some places to fallie out, and so vwould come upon them behind, before they were aware.

And the reason they made their vvorke thus perfect, throughout the vvhole inward circuit, was, that our men might not enter in vpon them, nor circumuent them behind. But they (abounding in number of Men) exceeded in their works, having also on the inside a lesse compasse to fortifie.

Q. 3.

And,

Cæsar.

Observations vpon the third

And as Cesar went about to take any place, albeit Pompey was resolved not to fight, or interrupt him with all his forces: neuerthelesse, hee sent out his Archers and Slingers, of which he had great numbers; by whom many of our men were wounded, and flood in great feare of the arrowes: and almost all the soldiers, made them coates, either of quilt or stiffening, or of leather, to keep them from danger.

To conclude, either Party vised all force and meanes to take places, and make fortifications; Cesar, to shut up and straighten Pompey what he could: & Pompey, to inlarge himselfe, and possesse as many hills as conueniently hee might; which gave occasion of many skirmishes and encounters.

O B S E R V A T I O N S.

A may heere take notice, of the strangest enterpize, that euer was undertaken by a iudicious souldier. For, where else may it be read or understood, that a weaker Partie, went about to besiege a strong aduersarie, and to inclose a whole Country by Cattles and Towres, and perpetuall fortifications from hill to hill; to the end he might shut him vp, as he lay incamped in the field? But herein appeare the infinite and reflckts in-deuours of a Romaine spirit, and the wortkes they wrought to atchieue their owne endes: and yet not bespides the limits of reaon. For, if that of Seneca haue any affinitie with truth, That a man is but a common, or rather contemptible thing, vniuersallie he raiseth himselfe aboue ordinary courses; it is more speciially verified in a Souldier: whose honour, depending vpon the superlatiue decree, must seeke out projects beyond all equalitie: and the rather, vpon such inducements, as are heere alledged; which shew good reason he had to be so madde.

C H A P. XVII.

A Passage that happened betwene both Parties, about the taking of a Place.

Amongst these fights and encounters, it happened, as Cesar's ninth Legion had taken a certaine Place, and there began to fortifie, Pompey had possesst himselfe of the Hill next adiung there-onto, and beganne to hinder our men from their worke. And hauing from one side an easie accessse vnto it; first with Archers and Slingers, and afterwards with great troopes of light-armed men, and engines of Battery, hee beganne to disturbe them in their busyness. Neither were our men able, at one and the same time, to defend themselves, and goe on with their fortifications.

Cesar.

Commentary of the Ciuill Warres.

Cesar, seeing his souldiers wounded, and hurt from all parts, commaunded them to fall off, and leave the Place. But, forasmuch as they were to make their retreit downe the Hill, they did the more urge and preache upon them; & would not suffer them to fall backe, for that they seemed to forsake the Place for feare. It is reported, that Pompey shold then, in a vaine-glory, say to those that were about him. That he would be content to be taken for a Generall of no woorth, if Cesar's men could make any retreit from thence (where they were so rabblyngaged) without great losse.

Cesar, fearing the retreit of his souldiers, caused Hurdles to be brought, and sette against the Enemie, in the brimme of the Hill; and behind them, vnde a trench of an indifferent latitude, and incombered the place as much as possibly hee could. Hee lodged also Slingers in conuenient places, to defend his men in their retreit.

These things beeing perfited, hee caused the legions to be drawne backe. But Pompey's partie, beganne with greater boldnes and insolencie, to preesse our people: and putting by the Hurdles, which were set there as a Baricado, they passed ouer the ditch. Which when Cesar perceiued, fearing, least they shold rather seeme to be beaten off, then be brought backe, whereby a greater scandale might consequently ensue, haing almost from the mid-way incouraged his men, by Antonius, who commaunded that legion, hee willed that the signe of charging the Enemie shold be giuen by a Trumpet, and gaue order to assault them.

The souldiers of the ninth legion, putting themselves suddenly into order, threw their Piles: and running furiously from the lower ground, vp the steepe of the Hill, draue the Enemy head-long from them; who found the Hurdles, the long poles, an: the ditches, to be a great hindrance unto them in their retreit. It contented our men to leaue the place without losse: so that haing slaine many of them, they came away very quietly, with the losse of few of their fellowes. And haing staled about that place awhile, they tooke other hills, & perfited the fortifications vpon them.

O B S E R V A T I O N S.

A His Chapter sheweth, that aduantage of place, and some such industrious coulles, as may be fitt to the occasion, are of great conuenience in extremities of warre: but, aboue all, there is nothing more availeable to cleare a danger, then valour. Valour is the Hercules that ouer-commeth so many Monsters: and verifieth that laying, which cannot be too often repeated; *Virtute faciendum est, quicquid in rebus bellicis est gerendum.* But of this, I haue already treated.

C H A P.

CHAP. XVIII.

The scarcitie which either Partie endured
in this siege.

THE carriage of that warre was in a strange & vnusuall manner, as well in respect of the great number of Forts and Castles, containing such a circuit of ground within one continued fortification, as also in regard of the whole siege, and of other consequents depending there-upon. For, whosoever goeth about to besiege an other, doth either take occasion frō the weakness of the Enemy, daunted, or striken with feare, or ouercome in battaile, or otherwys beeing moued there-onto by some iniurie offered; Whereas now it happened, that they were farre the stronger, both in horse and foote: and generally, the cause of almost all sieges, is to keep an enemy from prouision of Corne. But Cæsar, beeing then farre inferiour in number of souldiers, did neuerthelss besiege an armie of intire and untouched forces, especially at a time when they abounded with all necessary prouisions: for, every day came great store of shippynge from all parts, bringing plenty of all things needfull: neither could there any wind blowe, which was not good, from some part or other.

On the other side, Cæsar, hauing spent all the Corne he could get, far or neere, was in great want & scarcitie: and yet notwithstanding, the souldiers did beare it with singular patience; for, they remembred how they had suffered the like the yeere before in Spaine, and yet with patience and labour, had ended a great and dangerous warre. They remembred, likewise, the exceeding great want they indured at Alecia, and much greater at Auaricum. And yet, for all that, they wuent away Conquerors of many great Nations. They refused neither Barlie nor Pease, when it was given them in stead of Wheate. And of Cattell (whereof they were furnished with great store out of Epirus) they made great account.

There is also a kind of roote, found out by them that were with Valerius, called Chara, which eaten with Milke did much reliene their want; & made withall, a kind of bread, whereof they had plenty. And when Pompeis Party happened in their Colloquies, to cast in their teeth their scarcitie and misery, they woulde comonly throwe this kind of bread at them, and scatter it in diuers places, to discourage them in their hopes. And now Corne beganne to be ripe, and hope it selfe did reliue their want, for that they trusted to haue plenty within a short time. And oftentimes the souldiers, in their watches and conferences, were heard to let fall speeches, that they woulde rather eat the bark of trees, then suffer Pompey to escape out of their hands.

Besides, they underſtodd, by ſuch as ranne away from the Enemy, that their horſe of ſervice could ſcarce be kept aliue; and that the reſt of their Cattell were all dead: and that the souldiers themſelves, were in no good health, through the narrownesſ of the place wherin they were pent: as alſo by meaneſ of the ill ſauor and

Commentary of the Ciuiti Warres.

169

and multitudine of dead bodies, together with continual labour, beeing unaccustomed to trauaile and paines; but especially, through the extreame want of waſter: For, all the Riuers and Brookes of that quarter, Cæſar had either turned another way, or dammed vp with great works. And, as the places were mountainous, with ſome intermission, and diſtincſion of valleys, in the forme and fabriſh of a Caue or Denne: ſo hee ſtappeth the ſame with great piles beaten into the ground, and interlaced with fagots and hurdles, and then ſtrengthened with earth, to keepe backe the waſter: In ſomuch, as they were conſtraineſ to ſeekke lowe grounds, and Marſh places, and thereto ſinke Welles. Which labour, they wouere gladdē to vnder-take beſides their daily works, albeſt theſe Welles ſtode farre diſtant from their Guarisons, and were quickly dried vp with heat.

But Cæſar's Armie was in exceeding good health, and had plenty of waſter, together with all kind of prouisions, excepting Wheate; whiſh the ſeafon of the yeere daily brought on, and gaue them hope of ſtore, Harueſt beeing ſo neare at hand.

In this new course of warre, new policies and deuices of warfare were im- uented, and put in practice by either Partie. They, perceiving by the fires, that our Coborts in the night time kept watch at the works, came ſtealing out, and diſcharged all their Arrowes upon them, and then preſently retreated. Wherewith, our men beeing warned, ſound out this remedy; that they made their fires in one place, and kept their watch in another.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

 Oraſmucſ as all matter of attempt, doth much import the fortune of a warre, wee may not omit to take notice of the reaſons heere exprefſed by Cæſar, which are the true moriſes of vndertaking a ſiege. The firſt is drawnen, either from the weakneſſ of an Enemy, or as hee is daunted with feare, or ouer-come in battaile. For, hauing there-pon no confidence in his owne power, doth reſt himſelfe in the ſtrength of the Place, which he holdeth and poſſeſſeth: which giueth their aduerſaries occaſion, to lay ſiege vnto their Hold; and either to force them, or ſlue them vp like women.

The ſecond is, when one State hath offered iniurie to another (which alwaies importeth loſſe) beyond that which stood with the courſe of reſpect formerly held betweene them. For reuenge whereof, the other ſide laiſt ſiege to ſome of their Townes, to repaire themſelves by taking-in the ſame.

And thirde, the finall cauſe of all ſieges, is to keep an Enemy from viuall, and other manner of prouision; and ſo to take them by the belly, when they cannot take them by the eares. Which is a part ſo violent, in requiring that which is due to Nature, as it hath made the Father and the Sonne fall out for a Moſe: as it hapned at Athens, besieged by Demetrius.

Plutarch.

THE

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

HE second thing worthy our consideration, is the patience and deportment of Cæsars souldiers, in their so great wants and necessities; as first, in helping themselues, with this roote called *Gbara*, described by *Dioscorides*, to be a little seed, tasting somewhat like Aniseed, good to help digestion, and having such a root as a *Caret*, which beeing boiled, is very good meat; and is the same which our Physicians call *Caraway-seed*: where-with they serued their turne with such contentment, as they seemed to haue beene trained vp in the Schoole of Frugalitie; a vertue worthy of all regard, and the onely meanes to make easie the difficulties of warre; beeing as necessary for a souldier, as the vse of Armes: and is that which was aimed at in the aunsweare of *Cyrus*, to shew the seruices in a souldiers diet. For, beeing daunded, what he would haue made ready for supper? Bread; faith he; for, we will suppe at the Founaine.

Neither hath it been thought fit, to giue way to the naturall losness of the stomacke apperte, vpon any occasion: but, to vse the like moderation in the time of plentie. For, *Zeno* tooke the aunsweare of them, that would excuse their liberal expenses, by their abilitie of meanes, for no better painement, then they themselues would haue taken the excuse of their *Cookes*, for putting too much salt on their meat, because they had salt enough.

Cæsar punished his Baker, for giuing him better bread then his souldiers had. And *Scipio* caſciered a cupple of Romaines, at the siege of Carthage, for feaſting a friend in their Tent, during an assault. Whiche austeritie of life, raised the Romaines to that height of honour, and made them Maifters of the world, from the Eaſt to the Westerne Ocean.

Secondly, as a conſequēt of this contentment, we may note their resolution to hold on their course of ſiege, purpoſing rather to eate the bark of trees, then to ſuffer Pompey to escape their hands. It is an excellent point in a General, to keepe himſelfe from irresolution; beeing a weakeſſe of ill conſequēt, and not vnlke the diſease of the *Staggers*, variable, vncertaine, and without bottom or bound: where-as conſtancie to purpoſes, produceth noble and worthy ends.

An inſtance whereof, is *Fabius Maximus*, who notwithstanding the reproach and ſcandal cast vpon him, continued firme in his determination, to the ſauing of his Country. And if it bee ſo well beſeeming a Leader, it is of much more regard in the ſouldier: eſpecially conſidering that of *Xenophon*; *Non facile in officio potest miles contineri ab eo qui necessaria nō subministrat*. For, as the ſame Author obſerueth in another place, *Nullus est adeo fortis aut validus, qui posſit aduersus famem aut frigus pugnando militare*.

THE

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.



Mongſt all the parts of the Romaine discipline, their Watch deſerueth a particular deſcription; ſupplying in the Armie, the office of the naturall eye in the bodie: which is, to giue notice of any approaching danger, for the preuenting of the ſame. Polybius hath left it to posteritie in this manner; Of each ſort of the Legionarie foote, as namely, the *Hæfati*, *Principes*, and *Triarij*, and likewife of the horſe, there was choſen one, out of the tenth and laſt Maniple, that was made free from watch and ward. This partie, as the Sunne began to decline, came dailie to the Tent of the Tribune, & therē had giuen him a little Tabler, wherein the watch-word was writ; which Tabler, they called *Teffera*: and then returning to his Companie, deliuered it to the Centurion of the next Maniple, and that Centurion to the next; and ſo in order, vntill it came to the firſt and chiefest Companie, which was lodged next vnto the Tribunes: and by the Centurion thereof, was returned to the Tribune before Sunne ſetting.

And if all the Tablets were brought-in, then did the Tribune knowe, the word was giuen to all. If any wanted, they made inquierie, and by the notes of inſcription, finding which was miſſing, they puniſhed the deſault as they ſaw cauſe. And this was their watch-word, by which their Party was diſtinguished from an Enemie; and in likelihood (for, Polybius doth not affirme ſo much) was by the Centurion giuen, to ſuch of his Maniple as were to watch that night.

Their night watches were thus ordered; A Maniple, or Companie, was alwaies appointed to watch at the Generalls Pavillion. The Treasurer had three watches, and euerie Legat, two; A watch conſiſting of ſoure men, according to the generall diuision of their night into ſoure parts: each of thofe ſoure haſing his turne appointed him by lotte, for the firſt, ſecond, third, or fourth watch, and the reſt ſitting by. The *Volites* kept watch without the Camp, and the *Lectures* of horſe at the gates: besides, euerie Maniple had a priuate watch within it ſelue.

Oſthose that were appointed to watch, a Lieutenant of each Maniple, did bring to the Tribune in the euening, ſuch as were to keepe the firſt watch of the night: and to them were deliuered leſſer Tablets, then were giuen out at firſt, called *Tefferaule*, appropriated to euerie particular watch; one for himſelfe, and three other for his fellowes.

The truſt of going the Round, was committed to the horſemen: for, it belonged to the firſt Commanduer of horſe, in each legion, to giue order to his Lieutenant, to appoint before dinner, ſoure young men of his troope, to goe the Round the next night; and in the euening, to acquaint the next Commanduer to appoint Rounders for the night following. These horſemen, being thus appointed, did cast lots for the firſt, ſecond, third, and fourth watch; and then repaired to the Tribune: of whom they had order what, and how many waſches

Obseruations vpon the third

ches to vifit, hauing receiued the watch-word before, from their Commauder: and then all foure went to attend at the Tent of the *Primipile*, or chieft Centurion of a Legion: who had the charge of diſtinguishing the foure waſches of the night by a Trumpet.

When time ſerved, for him that was to goe the Round the firſt waſch, hee went out accompanied with ſome of his friends, and viſited thoſe waſches which were aſigned unto him. And if he found the watch-man waking, and in good order, he then tooke that Tablet from him which hee had receiued of the Tribune, and departed. But, if he found him ſleeping, or ouer his place, he tooke wiſneſſe thereof, and departed. The ſame did the reſt of the Rounders, as their waſches fell out in course. And as the day beganne to breake, all the Rounders brought in the Tablets to the Tribunes. And if all were brought in, there was no more to doe: but if any wanted, it was found out by the Character, what watch had failed; which beeing knowne, the Centurion was caſled, and commaunded to bring thoſe that were faultie. If the offence were in the watch-man, the Rounder was to proue it by wiſneſſes: if not, it fell vpon himſelue; and a Councell of warre beeing preſently caſled, the Tribune gaue iudgement to kill him with a club. And in this manner did the Romaines keep watch in the Campe.

CHAP. XIX.

A relation of diuers incounteres, that happened betweene both Parties.



In the meane time, Pub. Sylla, whom Cesar (at his departure from the Campe) had left to comandaund the Armie, beeing certified thereof, came with two legions to ſuccour the Cohort: at whose approach, Pompeys partie was eaſily beaten off, beeing neither able to indure the ſhocke, nor ſight of our men. For, the firſt beeing put off, the reſt gaue backe, and left the place: but as our men purſued them, Sylla caſled them backe, & would not ſuffer them to follow farre after. Howbeit, many men thinke, that if hee would have preſſed hard vpon them, the warre had ended that day. But in my opinion, he is not to be blamed; for, there is one charge and power peculiar to a Lieutenant, and another to him that comandaundeth in Chiefe: the one, dooing nothing but by order and preſcription; and the other, diſpoſing euery thing as hee ſhall thinke fit.

Sylla (in Cefars abſence) hauing freed his men, was content there-with, & would no further ingage them in fight (which might happily proue ſubiect to ill fortune) leaſt he ſhould ſeeme to affiue vnto himſelue, the place and authoritie of a Generall. There were certaine things that made the reſtreit of Pompeis men very diſſicult and hazardouſ. For, hauing aſcended from a bottome to a

Hill,

Commentary of the Ciuill Warres.

173

Hill, they now found themſelues upon the top thereof. And as they were to make their reſtreit downe againe, they ſtood in feare of our men, preacing on the from the higher ground, neither was it farre from ſunne-ſetting; for, hoping to end it ſpeedily, they drew out the buſines vntill it was almoſt night: whereby, Pompey was forced to take a reſolution from the time, and to poſſeſſe himſelue of a Mount, no further from the Fort then out of ſhot. There hee made a ſtand, fortified the place, and kept his forces.

At the ſame time, they fought in two other places: for, Pompey, to ſeparate and diſtract our troops, auaulted diuers forts together, to the end they might not be ſuccoured from the next Guarisons. In one place, Volatius Tullus, with three Cohorts, ſuſtained the aſſault of a Legion, & made them to ſake the place. In another part, the Germanes ſallying out of our works, ſlew many of the Enemie, & returned back to their fellowes in ſafetie. So that in one day, there were ſixe ſeverall fightes; three at Dyrrachium, and three at the fortifications: of all which an accouut beeing taken, there were found ſlaine of Pompeys Partie, to the number of two thouſand; with many Centurions, and other ſpeciall men, caſled out to that warre. Amongſt vvhom, vvas Valerius Flaccus, the ſonne of L. vvhoo, beeing Praetor, had obtained the Province of Asia: beſides, there were ſixe Enſignes taken. Our Partie, loſt not aboue twenty men in all thoſe fightes; howbeit, in the fort, there was not one man but was hurt.

Four Centurions of one Cohort loſt their eyes; and, for argument of their in-deauour, and great danger, they made report to Cefar, of thirtie thouſand arroves ſhot into the fort, together with a Target of one ſeua, a Centurion, which was ſhewed unto him, beeing pearced through in two hundred and thirty places, whom Cefar (as hauing well deserved of him, and the Common-wealth) rewarded with ſixe hundred pound ſterling; and aduaunced him from the Companies of the eight ranke, to be the chiefeſt Centurion, or *Primipile* of the Legion: for, it appeared, that by his meanes ſpecially, the fort was ſaued. For, the Cohort, bee-doubled their pay, as well in Money, as in Corne and Apparell: and rewarded them nobly, with ornaments of Militarie honour.

Pompey, hauing vrought all that night, to fortifie his Trenches, the daies following, he built towres xxv. foote high; which beeing finished, he added mantlets to that part of the Campe. And after five daies, hauing gotten a darke night (blutting all the Ports of his Campe, and ramming them vp) in the beginning of the third vwarre, hee drew out his Armie in ſilence, and betooke himſelue to his old fortifications.

O B S E R V A T I O N S.



He breach of the Historie in this place, is like a blotte in a faiſte Table, or as a gappe in a daunce of Nympthes, and dooth much bleſſe with the beaute of this Diſcourse: But, for al-much as it is a loſe of that vvhich remaineth.

R.

One

Euocati.

Milibus ducen-
ti aris.

Primipilus.

Out of which, we may obserue the notice they tooke of well deseruing: according to the institution of their discipline, supported specially by *Præmium* and *Pena*. The recognition whereof (according to the judgement of the greatest Law-givers) is the meanes to raise a State to the height of perfection. *Ex enim impendit labore et periculum, unde emolumenū et honos peratur.* The Romaines, saith Polybius, crowned the valour of their soldiery with eternall honours. Neither did any thing so much excite them to the achievement of noble Acts, as their Triumphs, Garlands, and other Ensignes of publique renowne: which Cæsar specially obserued above the rest. For, besides this which he did to *Catilus Sæua* (recorded by all the Writers of these warres) Plutarch relateth, that at his being in Britaine, he could not containe from imbracing a soldiery, that caried himselfe valiantly in defence of diuers Centurions. And where-as the poore man, falling downe at his feete, asked nothing but pardon for leauing his Target behind him; he rewarded him with great gifts, & much honour. Howbeit, the difference which Salust hath made in this kind, is too generally obserued, that It more importeth a Common-weale to punish an ill member, then to reward a good act: for, a vertuous desire, is by neglect a little abated; but an ill man becomes vnufferable. And thence it is, that merit is never valued but vpon necessity. It is fit, that hee that will have the honour of wearing a Lions skin, should first kill the beast, as Hercules did: but, to kill a Lion, and not to haue the skin, is not so auailable as a meaneer occupation. Anthony Gueuara giueth another rule, obserued in that governement, which is the true *Idea of Perfection*: *En la casa de Dios jamas fue, ni es, ni sera, merito sin premio, ni culpa sin pena.*

CHAP. XX.

Cæsar moueth Scipio to mediate a Peace.



Aetolia, Acarnania, & Amphiloclis, being taken by Cæsarius Longinus, and Calvisius Sabinus, as is before declared, Cæsar thought it expedient to attempt and try Achaia, and to proceed further in that course: whereupon he sent thither L. Calenus, and Q. Sabinus, and to them he added Cæsarius, with his Cohorts. Their comming being bruited abroad, Rutilius Lupus, to whom Pompey had left the charge of Achaia, determined to fortifie the Isthmus, to keepe out Fusius. Calenus in the meane time, with the fauour and assent of the States, tooke-in Delphos, Thebes, & Orcleomenum, besides some other places, which he tooke by force. The rest of the Citties, he laboured to draw to Cæsars party, by Embassages sent about unto them: & therin was Fusius occupied for the present. Cæsar, every day following, brought-out his Army into an equal & indifferent place, to see if Pompey would accept of battle; insomuch as he led them under Pompeis Camp, the vaward being within shot of the Rampier. Pompey, to hold the fame & opinion he had attainted, drew out his forces, & so imbatteleth them before his Camp, that their rere-ward did touch the Rampier;

Rampier; and the whole Armie was so disposed, that every man was under the protection of such weapons as might be shot from thence.

While these things were doing at Achaea, and at Dyrrachium, it was certainly knowne, that Scipio was come into Macedonia. Caesar, not omitting his former purpose, sent Clodius unto him; a familiar friend to both of them, and one whom Scipio had formerly so commended to Caesar, that hee had taken him in the number of his nearest favourites. To him hee gaue Letters and Messages, to be deliuerned to Scipio: whereof this was the effect; that hee had vfed all meanes for peace, and yet had preuailed nothing at all: which hee tooke to be the fault of such as had the charge of the busines, being fearefull to treat with Pompey thereof in an unseasonable time. But Scipio had that credit & respect, that hee might not onely deliuern freely what hee thought fitt, but might also (in some sort) re-straine him, and reforme his errour. For, being Commander in cheife, ouer an Armie; besides his credit, hee had strength to compell him. Whiche, if hee did, evrie man woulde attribute the quiet of Italie, the peace of the Provinces, and the safetie & preservation of the Empire, to him only. All these things did Clodius make knowne to Scipio: and for the first due, was well heard: but after wards, could not be admitted to speech; Faonius, reprehending Scipio, for going so far with him, as afterwards we understand vpon the ending of the war: vwhereby hee was forced to returne to Caesar, without effecting any thing.

Cæsar, that he might with greater facilitee keepe in Pompeis Caualrie at Dyrachium, and hinder them from forrage, fortified and shutte vp two passages (which, as we haue before declared, were very narrow) with great works, and there built Castles. Pompey, understanding that his horsme did no good abroad, within a few daies, conuainit them within his fortification by shippinge. Howbeit, they were in extreme necessitie, and want of forrage: insomuch, as hauing beaten off all the leaues of the trees, they fed their horses with young Reedes, brusfed, and beaten in pecces. For, they had spent the Corne which was sowed within the works, & were forced to bring food for their Cattel, from Corcyra and A-carnania, by long & tedious navigation; and where it fell short, they made it vp with Barly, and so kept life in their horses: but afterwards, when-as not onelie their Barly, and other food was spent in all places, & the grasse & heareis dried vp, but the fruit also wasted, and consumed off the trees, their horses beeing so leane, as they were not able to stand on their legges, Pompey thought it expedient, to thinke of some course of breaking out.

OBSERVATIONS.

IT may seem a cunning trick of Cæsar, & perhaps it was his end, to indeauer with faire pretenses, to ingage Scipio so far in contriuiing a Peace, as being Generall of an Armie, he might assume vnto himselfe a commandiung authority; and there-upon, bred such a ialousie, as would keepe Pompey and him asunder.

Neverthelesse, it is every way worth a mans labour, to make overtures of peace howsoeuer: especially considering, how it changeth the relatiue in the

*Et morsu spoli-
are nimus, le-
chumque minan-
tes, vellere ab ig-
notis dubias ra-
dicibus herbas.*

Obseruations vpon the third

condition of men, which in warre, is *Homo homini Lupus*, and in peace, *Homo homini Deus*. And, prouing good, will doublelesse continue, if inconuenient, the sooner broken; and so the case is but the same it was before.

Secondly, we may note, that there is nothing so difficult, but pertinacie and teſteſſe labor, directed with diligent & intent care, wil in the end ouercome it: For, Cæſar, that at the firſt ſeemed to undertake impoſſibilities, going about to beſiege a great part of a Country, & to ſhutte vp a huge Armie in an open place, did neuertheleſſe (by indeauour) bring the to ſuch extremitie of want, that if, as Democritus ſaid, the Bodie ſhould haue put the mind in ſute, for reparation of loſſe, which her ambition and wilfull obſtinacie had drawne vp on it, ſhee would neuer be able to pay damages.

Touching the *Iſthmus*, which Rutilius Rufus went about to fortifie, it is a necke of earth, ioyning an Illand vnto the Continent. For, as the Inlet of the Sea, betweene two Lands, is called *Porthmus* (wher-vpon the towne of Portmouth in Hampshire hath that appellation, as ſited vpon the like Inlet) ſo any ſmal langer, or necke of earth, lying between two Seas, is called *Iſthmus*. Whereof, this of Achaia is of ſpeciall note in Grecce; beeing the ſame that ioyned Peloponēſus to the Continent, & was of ſpeciall fame for the ſite of Corinth.

These necks of earth, called *Iſthmus*, are of the nature of thofe things, as haue been often threatened, and yet continue the ſame. For, albeit the ambition of great Princes haue ſought to alter the fashion of the earth in that behalfe, yet I know not how their deſires haue foorted to no end. *Perſodere namigibili Alueo has angustias tentauere Demetrius Rex, Dictator Cæſar, Caius Princeps, at Domitius Nero, infausto ut omnium patuit exiuto incepto.* In the time of King ſeloftris, and ſince, in the Empire of the Othomans, they went about to bring the Red-ſea into Nile; but ſeating it would be a meaneſ to drowne the Land, one ſea beeing lower then another, they gaue ouer the enterpriſe. And it may be vpon like conſideration, or otherwife, fearing to correct the workeſ of Nature, they forbare to make a paſſage betweene *Nombre de Dios*, and *Panama*: and ſo to ioyne one ſea to the other, as was ſaid to be intended.

CHAP. XXI.

An Accident which fell out by two Bretheren of Sauoy, in Cæſars Armie.

Here vvere in Cæſars Campe, two bretheren of Sauoy, *Rocſilius* and *Aegus*, the ſonnes of *abucillus*, who for many yeres together, was accounted the principall and chiefe man of that State: theſe were men of ſingular worth, and had done Cæſar verie great ſervice in all the warres of Gallia; and in that reſpect, Cæſar had aduaunced them to great & honorable Charges in their Countrey, and cauſed them

Commentary of the Ciuill Warres.

177
them (extraordinarily) to be taken in the number of the Senators, and beftowed much of the Enemies lands upon them; besides great ſummes of ready money, & of poore had made them rich.

These men were not onely well reſpected by Cæſar, but were in good account throughout all the Armie. Howbeit, relying too much on Cæſars fauour, and puffed vp with foolish & barbarous arrogancie, they diſdained their owne men, deceiuing the horſemen of their pay, and avertiſing all pillage from publique diſtribution, to their owne particular. The horſemen, prouoked with theſe iniurieſ, came all to Cæſar, and complained openly thereof: adding, further, that their troopes were not full, nor anſwerable to the Lift or Maſter-role, by which they required paſtment.

Cæſar, thinking it no ſit time of punishment, and withall attributing much to the worth of the men, put off the whole matter, and chid them priuately, for making a gaine of their troopes of horſe; willing the Caualrie to expeſt a ſupply of all their wants fro his fauour, according as their ſervice had well deſerved. Neuertheleſſe, the matter brought them into great ſcandal and contempt wth all men: Which they plainely perceived, both by the ſpeeches of other men, as alſo by that they might iudge themſelues, their owne conſciences accuſing them. With which reproach, and ſhame, they were ſo moued (& thinking peraduenture that they were not quit therof, but deſerred until ſome other time) that they reſolved to leaue the Armie, to ſeek new fortunes, and make prooſe of other acquaintances. And, having imparted the matter to a few of their followers, to whom they durſt communicate ſo great a diſloyaltie, firſt they wrent about to kill *C. Voluſenus*, Generall of the horſe (as after the warre was ended was diſcovered) that they might come to Pompey, vpon ſome deſerued ſervice: but after they found it hard to accomplish, they tooke vp as much money as they could borrow, as though they meant to haue paid their troopes, what they formerly had deſrauded them of; and hauing bought many horſes, they went to Pompey, together with ſuch as were acquainted with their purpoſes.

Pompey, finding them Gentlemen of horſe, liberally brought vp, attended with a great retinew, and many horſes, and both of them very valiant, & in good account with Cæſar; and wthall, for that it was an unusuall and ſtrange accident, he ledde them about the works, and ſhewed them all the fortifications: for, before that time, no man, either ſouldier, or horſeman, had fledde from Cæſar to Pompey; where-as daily they came fro Pompey to Cæſar: especially, ſuch as were inrold in Epirus and Aetolia, which were at Cæſars denotion.

These two Bretheren, exactly understanding all things in Cæſars Campe (as well concerning ſuch works as were perfect, as ſuch others wherein men ſkilfull in warre might find defeſſe; together with the opportunity of time, & diſtances of places: as alſo the diligence of the Guardes, with the nature and indeauour of every man that had a charge) related all particularly to Pompey.

*panam tempor
ante oculos v- r-
ſari putant qui
peccauerint.
Cir. in orati. pro
Milone.*

O B S E R V A T I O N S.

WE may heere obserue the sinceritie, & direct cariage of inferior Commanders in the Romaine Armie, by the scandal theſe two Sauoiens ranne into, for making ſafe Muſters, and defrauding the ſouldiers of their due: A matter ſo ordinarie in theſe our times, as cuſtome ſeemeth to iuſtifie the Abuse. For, what more common in the courſe of our moderne warres, then to make gaine of Companies by muſtering more then they haue in pay? & by turning that which is due to the ſouldier to their own benefit? The firſt wherof, if it be dueſlie weighed, is an offence of a high nature againſt the State; and the ſecond, ſuch an iuſtric to the ſouldier, as can hardly be anſwered.

It is merilie (as I take it) ſaid by Collumella, That, *in foro conceſſum latrocinium*. But, for thoſe to whom is committed the ſaferie of a kingdom, to betray the trut h repoſed in them, by raſing their meaneſ with dead paies, & conſequently, ſtealing the Caufe with dead ſeruice; as alſo, by diſabling their Companions & fellow-ſouldiers, from doing thoſe duties which are requiſite, for want of due enterainment, is a thing deferring a heauie cenge, & will doubleſle fall out onto them, as it did to theſe two Bretheren. The ſequell wherof, will appeare by the ſtorie, and conſirme that of Xenophon; *Dij haud impunita relinquent impia et nefaria hominum fata.*

2d. 8. Comp.

CHAP. XXII.

Pompey, attempting to breake out, put Cæſars Partie to great loſſe.

Cæſar.

Pompey, beeing informed of theſe things, and hauing formerly reſoluſed to breake out, as is already declared, gaue order to the ſouldiers, to make them couerings for their Morions, of Osiers, and to get ſome ſtore of Bauins and Fagots: which beeing prepared, he ſhipped a great number of the light-armed ſouldiers, and Archers, together with theſe fagots, in Skiffes and Gallies. And about mid-night, drew threſcore Coborts out of the greater Campe, and the places of Guarizon, and ſent them to that part of the fortification which was next unto the Sea, and furtheſt off from Cæſars great Campe. Thither alſo he ſent the ſhippes beforementioned, filled with light-armed men and fagots; together with as many other Gallies as were at Dyrrachium: and gaue direcſions how every man ſhould imploie himſelfe.

Cæſar had left Lentulus Marcellinus the Treasurer, with the Legion newly inrold, to keepe that fortification; who, for that he was ſickly, and of an ill diſpoſition of body, had ſubſtituted Fulvius Poſthumus as his coadiutor.

There

Commentary of the Ciuill Warres.

179

There was in that place, a Trench of fifteen foote deepe, and a Rampier againſt the Enemie, of tenne foote in altitude, and as much in breadth. And about ſix hundred foote from that place, was raised another Rampier, with the front the contrary way, but ſome-what lower then the former. For, ſome few daies before, Cæſar (fearing that place, leſt our men ſhould bee circumuened with their ſhippes) had cauſed double fortifications to be made in that place; that if (peraduenture) they ſhould bee put to their ſhifts, they might neuertheleſſe make good reſiſtance. But the greatness of the works, and the continual labour they diſtily indured, the fortifications beeing cauied eighteene miles in circuit, would not ſuffer them to finiſh it. Whereby it happened, that hee had not, as yet, made a Rampier along the Sea ſhore, to ioine theſe two fortifications together, for the deſence thereof: which was informed Pompey, by theſe two Sauoiens, & brought great damage and loſſe to our people. For, as the Coborts of the ninth Legion kept watch and guard upon the Sea; ſuddainely, by the breake of day, came Pompeis Armie; which ſeemed very ſtrange unto our men: and inſtantly there-upon, the ſouldiers from a ſhipboard, auſtaſſed with their uapones, the inner Rampier; and the reſt began to fill up the Trench.

The legionary ſouldiers, appointed to keep the inner fortifications, hauing planted a great number of Ladders to the Rampier, did amuſe the Enemie with weapons, and Enginſ of all ſorts; and a great number of Archers were throned together on each ſide. But, the couerings of Osiers which they were on their head-peeces, did greatly defend them from the blowes of ſtones, which was the only weapon our men had for that purpoſe. And as our men were ouer-laid with all theſe things, and did hardly make reſiſtance, they found-out the deſect of the fortification, formerly mentioned: and landing their men betweene the two Rampiers, they charged our people in the reare, and ſo diuining them from both the fortifications, made them turne their backs.

The Alaram beeing heard, Marcellinus ſent certaine Coborts to ſacour our men: who ſeeing them ſlie, could neither reaſure them by their comming, nor withstand the furie of the Enemie themſelues: in ſomuch, as what reliſe ſo-ever was ſent, was diſtracted by the fear, and aſtoniſhment of them that fled away. Whereby, the terror and the danger was made much the greater, and their re-treat was hindered, through the multitude of people.

In that fight, the Eagle-bearer beeing grievousliy wounded, and fainting for want of ſtrength, looking towards the horſemen; This haue I, ſaid he, in my life time, carefully and diligenty defended for many yeeres together; and now, dyng, with the ſame fidelitie doe reſtore it unto Cæſar: ſuffer not (pray you) ſuch a diſhonour, the like whereof, neuer happened in Cæſars Armie, but returne it unto him in ſafetie: by which accident, the Eagle was ſaved; all the Centurions of the firſt Cobort beeing ſlaine, but the firſt of the Maniple of the Principes: and now the Enemie, with great ſlaughter of our men, approached neare Marcellinus Campe.

The reſt of the Coborts beeing greatly aſtoniſhēd, M. Antonius holding the next Guarizon to that place, upon notice thereof, was ſene to come downe from the upper ground, with twelue Coborts. Upon whose comming, Pompeis Partie was

Obseruations vpon the third

as repreſted and ſtated, and our men ſome-what reaſſured, guing them time come againe to themſelves, out of that aſtoniſhment. And not long after, Cæſar having knowledge thereof by ſmoke made out of the Forts, according to the ſe of former time, came thither alſo, bringing with him certaine Cohorts out of the Guariſons.

O B S E R V A T I O N S.

LI T is an old ſaying, that Thieues handſell is alwaies naught. But, Traytors handſell is much worse: as appeareth by the falling away of theſe two Sauoiens; who were the firſt that left Cæſar in this war, and the firſt that brought Pompey good fortune: themſelves ſtanding culپable of as great an offence, as if they had alienated the whole Army. In the courſe whereof, we may ſee plainly that which I haue formerly noted; that it is an excellent thing to be ſtill attempting upon an Enemie, ſo it be done upon good grounds and cauſions: for, while Pompey ſtood vpon the deſiue ward, the honour of the contention fell continually vpon Cæſar. And doubtleſſe, he that obſerueth Cæſars proceedings in the cariage of all his wars, ſhall find his fortune to haue ſpecially growne, from his actiue and attempting ſpiri-rite.

In this Eagle-bearer, we may ſee veriſied, that which Paterculus affirmeſth of Mithridates, That a valiant ſpirit is ſometimes great by the fauour of Fortune; but alwaies great in a good courage.

For theſe titles of degrees, as *Princeps prior*, and the reſt here mentioned, haue formerly diſcourſed at large of the parts of a legion, & the Hierarchie of their diſcipline, I will rather reſerve the Reader therevnto, then bumbast out a volume with diſtafelfull repetitions.

CHAP. XXIII.

Cæſar purpoſeth to alter the courſe of Warre; attempteth to cut off one of Pompeys Legions.

Cæſar.

Cæſar, underſtanding of the loſſe, and perceiving that Pompey was got out of the fortifications, and was incamped vpon the ſea, in ſuch ſort as he might freely goe out to forrage, & haue no leſſe acceſſe with ſhipping then formerly hee had; changing his courſe of warre, which had not ſucceeded to his expeſtation, he incamped himſelfe fast by Pompey. The wroks being perfeſted, it was obſerved by Cæſars Diſcouerers, that certaine Cohorts, to the number of a Legion, were brought behind a wood into the old Campe.

Commentary of the Ciuill Warres.

181

Campe. The ſite of the Campe was after this manner: The daies before, Cæſars ninth Legion, oppoſing themſelves againſt Pompeis forces, and working vpon the fortifications (as is before declared) had their Campe in that place, adioyning unto a wood, and not diſtant from the ſea aboue four hundred paſes. Afterwards, Cæſar, changing his mind for ſome certaine cauſes, tranſferred his lodgings ſome-what further off from that place. A few daies after the ſame Campe was poſſeſſed by Pompey. And foraſmuch as hee was to lodge more legions in that place, leauing the inner Rampier ſtanding, hee inlarged the fortification, ſo that the leſſer Campe beeing included in the greater, ſerved as a Castle or Citadell to the ſame. Besides alſo, hee drew a fortification from the right angle of the Campe, four hundred paſes out-right, to a Riuier, to the end the ſouldiers might watter freely, without danger. And he alſo changing his mind, for ſome cauſes not re-quiſite to be mentioned, left the place too: ſo that the Campe ſtood empty for many daies together; and all the fortifications were as perfit as at the firſt.

The Diſcouerers brought newes to Cæſar, that they had ſeen an Enſigne of a Legion caried thither. The ſame was likewiſe confirmed, from certaine Forts which ſtood vpon the higher grounds. The place was diſtant from Pompeis Campe, about D. paſes. Cæſar, hoping to cut off this legion, and deſirous to repaire that daies loſſe, left two Cohorts at worke, to make a ſfew of fortifying, and he himſelfe (by a contrarie way, in as couer特 a manner as he could) ledde the reſt of the Cohorts, in number thirtie-three (amongſt whom was the ninth legion, that had loſt many Centurions, and was very weake in ſouldiers) to vards Pompeys legions, and the leſſer Campe, in a double batteile. Neither did his opinion deceiue him: for, he came thither before Pompey could perceiue it.

And albeit the fortifications of the Campe were great, yet auſſaulting it ſpedily with the leſt Corner, wherein he himſelfe was, hee drave Pompeys ſouldiers from the Rampier. There ſtood a Turne-pick in the Gate, which gaue occaſion of reſiſtance for a whiile: and as our men would haue entered, they valiantlie defended the Campe; T. Pulcio, by whose meaneſ C. Antonius Armie was beſtraied, as we haue formerly declared, fighting there moſt valiantly: yet neuertheleſſe, our men ouercame them by valour; and cutting vp the Turne-pick, entered firſt into the greater Campe, and afterwards into the Castle, and ſlew ma-ny that reſiſted, of the legion that was forced thither.

But Fortune, that can doe much in all things, and ſpecially in warre, doth in a ſmall moment of time, bring great alterations; as it then happened: for, the Cohorts of Cæſars right Corner, ignorant of the place, followed the Rampier which went along from the Campe to the Riuier, ſeeking after the Gate, and taking it to be the Rampier of the Campe: but when they perceiued, that it layned to the Riuier, they preſently got over it, no man reſiſting them; and all the Cana-rie followed after thoſe Cohorts.

O B S E R-

Eritius.

OBSERVATIONS.

 Ompey, hauing cleared his Armie of that siege, it booted not Cæsar to prosecute his purpose any longer: for, when the end is miss'd, for which any course is vndertaken, it were folly to seeke it by that meanes. We must rather chuse new waies, that may lead vs to the end of our hopes, then follow the old track, which sorteth to no effect. And yet nevertheless, the sufficiencie of the Generall, is no way disabled: for, Albeit a wise man doth not alwaies keep one pase, yet stil he holdeth one and the same way.

Secondly, that of Xerxes appeareth to be true, that Great attempts are alwaies made with great difficultie and danger. Wherein, the wisdome of the heathen world ascribed all to Fortune, as the sole cause of all Markable events; and that which filled vp both the pages of all the Bookes, wherein men noted the course of things: *Clades in bello accepta, non semper ignavia, sed aliquando Fortuna temeritatis sunt imputanda*, saith Archidamus; and is that which is aymed at by Cæsar.

CHAP. XXIIII.

The fight continueth, and Cæsar loseth.

 In the meane while, Pompey, after so long a respite of time, hauing notice therof, tooke the first Legion from their works, and brought them to succour their fellowes: and at the same time, his Cavalry did approach neare our horsemen; and our men that possessed the Campe, did discouer an Army imbat-telled comming against them: and all things were suddainlie changed. For, Pompeys legion, assur'd with a speedy hope of succour, began to make resistance at the Decuman gate, and voluntarily charged our men.

Cæsars Cavalrie, beeing got ouer the Rampier, into a narrow passage, fearing how they might retreit in safetie, beganne to flee away. The right Cornet, secluded, and cut-off from the left, perceiving the terrors of the horsemen (least they might be indanger'd within the fortifications) betooke themselves to the other side, from whence they came: and most of them (least they should be surpriſed in the straites) cast themselves ouer workes of ten foote high, into the ditches: and such as first got ouer, beeing troden vnder-foote, by such as followed after; the rest, sau'd themselves, in passing ouer their bodies.

The soldiers of the left Cornet, perceiving from the Rampier, that Pompey was at hand, and that their owne side fledde away, fearing least they shoulde bee shut vp in those straights, hauing the Enemy both without and within them, thought

Commentary of the Ciuell Warres.

183

thought it their best course to retурne backe the same way they came. Whereby there happened nothing but tumult, feare, and flight: insomuch, as when Cæsar caught hold with his hand, of the Ensignes of them that fledde, and commannded them to stand; some for feare left their Ensignes behind them, others, forsaking their horses, kept on their course: neither was there any one of them that would stand. Notwithstanding, in this so great a calamity and mishap, these helps fel out to relieve vs; that Pompey fearing some treachery (for that, as I think, it happened beyond his expectation, who a little before saw his men fly out of his Camp) durst not for a good while approach neare the fortifications: and our men, possessing the narrow passages and the Ports, did hinder the horsemen from following after. And so, a small matter fell out to be of great moment, in the carriage of that accident, on either side. For, the Rampier, which was caried from the Campe to the Riuere (Pompeys Campe beeing already taken) was the onely hindrance of Cæsars expedite and easie victory: and the same thing, hindering the speedy following of their horsemen, was the onely safetie and help of our men.

In those two fights, there were wanting of Cæsars men, nine hundred and threescore; and horsemen of note, R. Felgines, Tutilanus Gallus, a Senators son, C. Felgines, of Placentia, Agranius, of Puteolis, Sacrativorus, of Capua, fife Tribunes of the soldiery, and thirtie Centurions. But the greatest part of these perisihed in the Trenches, in the fortifications, and on the Riuere banckes, prest to death with the feare and fight of their fellowes, without any blowe or wounding given them. There were lost at that time, thirtie two militarie Ensignes.

Pompey, vpon that fight, was saluted by the name of Imperator; which title he then obtained, and so suffered himselfe to be stiled: howbeit, he vied it not in any of his Missions, nor yet wore any Laurell in the bundle of Roddes caried before him.

Labienus, hauing begged all the Captiues, caused them (for greater ostentation) to be brought out in publicke; and to give the more assurance to such as were fledde there, from Cæsars partie; calling them by the name of fellowe soldiery, in great derision asked them whether old soldiery were wont to flee? and so caused them all to be staine.

Pompeis partie tooke such an assurance and spirit vpon these things, that they thought no further of the course of wvar, but carried them selues as though they were already Victors: not respecting (as the cause of all this) the paucitie of our men, nor the disaduantage of the place, and the straightnesse thereof, the Campe beeing possessed, and the doubtfull terror both within, and without the works: not yet the Armie diuided into two parts, in such sort, as neither of them were able to help or succour the other. Neither yet did they add to this, that the fight was not made by any valiant encounter, or in forme of battell, but that they received more hurt from the narrownesse of the place, and from their owne disorder, then from the Enemy.

And to conclude, they did not remember the common chances, and casualties of wvarre: wherein oftentimes, very small causes, either of false suspition, or of suddaine feare, or out of scruple of Religion, doe inferre great and heauie losses; as often as either by the negligence of the Generall, or the fault of a Tribune,

Observations vpon the third

June, the Armie is misorder'd: but as though they had overcome by true force of their prouesse, & that no alteration of things could after happen; they magnified that daies victorie, by Letters and report throughout the whole world.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



Sometimes we may thinke to repaire a losse, and thereby hazard a greater misfortune. For, albeit the saying be common, that A man must seek his coate where he lost it, as Dicers do; yet there is alwaies more certaintie in seeking, then in finding: For, the circle of humaine affaires, beeing caried round in a course, doth not suffer happynesse to continue with one Partie. And there-vpon it was, that Pittacus dedicated a Ladder to the Temple of Mitylene, to put men in mind of their condition: which is nothing else but going vp and downe. The life of a souldier is a mere Hermaphrodite, and taketh part of either sexe of Fortune; and is made by Nature, to beget Happines of Aduersitie, and Mischances of Good-happe; as if the Caufe of all caufes, by intermixing sweet with sower, would lead vs to his Prouidence, and consequently to himfelfe, the first Mover of all Motions.

The diuersitie of these events are so inchain'd together, as one seemeth to haue relation to the other: for, this taske admitted not of *Veni, vidi, vici*; nor went on with Alexander, marching ouer the Plaines of Asia, without rub or counterbuffe. But the busynes was dispoled, heere to receeue a blowe, & there to gaine a victory: And so, this losse at Dyrachium, made the battell at Pharalia the more glorious; and beautified the course of this warr, with variety of chances. The best vse of these Disasters, is that which Cæsarius made of his croſſe fortunes, *Mei cæſus, etsi ingrati, mihi tamen extitere disciplina.*

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



The Mathematicks, by reason of their certaintie, doe admite demonstration, as well from the conclusion to the principles, as from the principles to the conclusion: so, in the actions of mans life, it is not hard to asigne the precedent cauſes, by the leuell; the event, beeing oftentimes an vnderstanding ludge of things that are past. And although it doe no where appeare, what was the caufe of Labienus leauing Cæſar, yet his insolent cariage towards thele Capriues, may make at leaſt a probable coniecture, that his revolt proceeded from his owne diſposition, rather then from any caufe on Cæſars behalfe. For, where a man hath once done an iniurie, he wil neuer ceaſe heaping one wrong after another, and all to iuſtifie his fift etroure: Where-as on the other ſide, a noble ſpirit, free from ill deſert, will demeane himſelfe, anſwerable to his firſt innocencie.

CHAP.

Commentary of the Ciuill Warres.

185

CHAP. XXV.

Cæſar speaketh to the Souldiers concerning this mishap, and forsaketh the Place.



Cæſar, beeing druien from his former purpoues, refolute to change the vvhole course of the warre; so that at one & the ſame time omitting the ſiege, and withdrawning the Guarizons, hee brought all the Armie into one place, and there ſpake unto the ſouldiers: exhorting them not to thinkē much at those things that had happened, nor to be amuzed therewith; but to counterpoife this losſe (which vwas in a mediocritie) with manie happy and fortunate battailes they had gained.

Let them thank Fortune, that they had taken Italy without blowe or wound; that they had quieted and put in peace, both the Prouinces of Spaine, full of warlike men, and direc'ted by ſkilfull and practiſed Commanders; that they alſo had subdued the fertile bordering Prouinces: and likewife, that they ſhould remember, vwith what facilite they were all transported in ſafetie through the midſt of the Enemies fleets; not onely the Hauens and Ports, but all the coaſt being full of hipping.

If all things fell not out proſperouſly, Fortune was to bee helped by their in-duſtrie. The losſe which was received, might bee attributed to any man rather then unto him: for, he had given them a ſecure place to fight in, had poſſeſt himſelfe of the Enemies Campe, driven them out, and overcome them in fight. But whether it were their feare, or any other error, or Fortune herſelfe, that would interrupt a victorie alreadie gained, every man was now to labour to re-paire the damage they had ſuſtained, with their valour: vwhich if they did indeauour, hee would turne their losſe into aduantage, as it formerly fell out at Gergonia; that ſuch as before were affraid to fight, did of their owne accord, offer themſelues to battell.

Having ended his ſpeech, hee displaced ſome Enſigne-bearers. The Armie, there-upon, conceived ſuch a griefe of the blowe that was giuen them, and ſuch a deſire they had to repaire their diſhonour, that no man needed the command either of a Tribune, or Centurion; and were withall, inflamed with an earnest deſire of fighting: in ſomuch, as many of the higher Orders, thought it requiſite to continue in the place, and reſerve the caufe to battell. But contrariwise, Cæſar vwas not affured of the terrifi'd ſouldiers, and thought it expedient beſides, to interpoſe ſome time for the ſettling of their minds; fearing likewife, leaſt he ſhould be ſtraightned through ſcarſity of Corne, vpon the leauing of his fortifications. And therefore, without any further delay giuing order for ſuch as were wounded

Cæſar.

The Philoſopher Crator, was wont to ſay, that To be no occaſion of ill hap, is a great comfort in any manner of aduertuſe. Plut. in conſo. Apo.

Ignominia no-tauſt.

Observations vpon the third

wounded and sicke; as soone as it was night, hee conuain'd all the carriages secretly out of the Campe, and sent them before, towards Apolonia, forbidding hem to rest vntill they came to their lodging; & sent one legion withall to con-oy them.

That beeing done, he retained two Legions within the Campe: and the rest, eeing ledde out at diuers Ports, about the fourth watch of the night, hee sent hem the same way. And after a little pause (for the obseruynge of Military order, and to the end his speedy departure might not be discovered) he commaunded t'l em to take vp the cry of trus sing up their baggage; and presently setting forward, overtook the former troope, and so event speedily out of the sight of the Campe.

Pompey, hauing notice of his purpose, made no delay to follow after: but ayning at the same things, either to take them in combered in their march, or astoyned with feare, brought forth his Armie, and sent his horsemen before, to stay the Rearward. But Cæsar went with so speedy a march, that he could not overtake them, vntill hee came to the Riuver Genusus; vvhile, by reason of the high and vnesie binkes, the Caualrie ouer too'e the taile of the Armie, and ingaged them in fight. Amongst whom, Cæsar opposed his horsemen, and intermingled wvith them foure hundred expedite soldiers, of them that had place before the Ensignes: It so much preualed in the insouer, that they draue them all away before them, slew many of them, and returned themselves in safetie to their troopes.

Cæsar, hauing made a iust daies march, according to his first determination, and brought his Armie over the Riuver Genusus, he lodged in his old Camp ouer-against Asparagus, and kept all the soldiers within the Rampier, commanding the horse that went out to forrage, to be presently taken in, by the Decumane Port.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



I belte that of Cato be true, that an Errour in fight is not capable of amendment: yet out of that which happeneth amisse, may alwaies be some-what gathered, to repaire the disaduantage, and to dispose a Partie to better carriage for the future. Accordingly we may note Cæsars notable temper and demeanour, after so great a losse; recal'ing the courage of his foulidiers, & setting their minds in a course of good resolution, with as many valuable reasons as humane wisdom was able to afford him: without which, all their other aduantages, either of valor or experiance & vse of Armes, or their assurednes after so many victories, or what other thing souer, that made the excell all other Armies, had beeene vterlie buried in this ouerthrow. For his better furtherance wherein, he thought it fit to vse the help of time, before he brought them to the like triall. For, that which is said of grieve, It reason wil not give an end

Commentary of the Ciuill Warres.

187
end vnto it, time will; is to be vnderstood of any other paision of the mind: which cannot possible be so great, but time will consume it.

*Finem dolens,
qui confitio non
fecerit, tempore
inuenit. Sene-
c. Epist. 64.*

Lib. 2.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.



He second thing which commeth to bee handled, is the maner of Cæsars retreit; beeing as exquisite a patteme in this kind, as is extant in any storie: and is the rather to be considered, forasmuch as it is one of the principall points of Militarie Art, and woorthiest the knowledge of a Generall, To be able, vpon all occasions, to make a safe and sure retreit. For, those that can doe nothing else, can easily put themselves into a vvarre: but, to returme them home againe in safetie, is that which concerneth the honour of a Leader.

Many are the causes, that may moue a Commander to dislodge himselfe, and to leaue his Aduersarie for a time: but, the meanes to doe it safely depend specially vpon these two points; The one is, to aduaunce hymselfe onward at first, as farre as possiblie he can, to the end he may get the start, before the enemie be ready to follow him: and is taught by Xenophon; who, after the death of Cyrus, in the battell against King Artaxerxes, brought backe a thousand men into Greece, from an Armie of two hundred thousand horse, that preaced hard vpon them, for five hundred leagues together. Whiche retreit is exactlie storied by the laid Author, in seauen bookees containing all the difficulties concerning this point: amongst which, we find this passage.

It much importeth vs, saith hee, to goe as farre at first as possiblie we could; to the end wee might haue some aduantage of space before the Enemie, that preaced so neere behind: for, if we once got before, and could out-strip them for a daies journey or two, it was not possiblie for them to ouer-take vs; forasmuch as they durst not follow vs with a small troope, & with great forces they could never reach vs: besides the scarcitie and want of victuall they fell into, by following vs, that confundeth all before them.

Thus farre goeth Xenophon. And according to this rule, Cæsar ordered his retreit: for, he got the start of Pompey so farre the first day, by that eighte mile hee gained in the after-noone, as it followeth in the next Chapter, that he was never able to ouer-take him.

The seconde thing for the assuring of a retreit is, So to prouide against the in-comberances of an Enemie, that hee may not find it easie to attack him that would be gone. Of all retreits which may any way be taken from example of Beasts, that of the Wolfe is most commended: who never flies, but with his head turned back vpon his aduersaries; and shewes such teeth, as are not to be trusted.

After the W wolves manner marched Cæsar: for, howsoeuer the body of his Armie retreitd one way, yet they turned so terrible a countenaunce towards the Enemie, as was not to be indured. And vpon these two hinges, is turned the carriage of a skilfull retreit.

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Observations vpon the third

Howbeit, for the better furtherance heereof, it shall not bee impudent to adde herevnto some inuentiones, practiced by great Commanduers, whiche may serue to amuse an Enemie, vwhile a Generall doth prepare himselfe to obserue the former points.

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2.1.1.2.

2.1.1.2.
2.1.1.2.

King Philip of Macedon, desirous to leaue the Romaine Armie, sent a Herald to the Consull, to demaund a cessation of Armes, while hee buried his dead: which hee purposed to performe the next day, with some care and solemnite. Whiche beeing obtained, hee dislodged himselfe secretlie that night, and was got farre on his way before the Romaines perceiued it.

Hannibal, to cleare his Armie from that of the Romaines, which was commanded by the Consull Nero, about midnight made manefites, in that part which stood next the Romaine Campe: and leauing certaine Paullions and Lodgings, with some few Numidians, to shew themselues vpon the Rampier, hee departed secretlie towards Puteolis. As soone as it was day, the Romaines (according to their custome) approaching the Counterscarpe, the Numidians shewed themselves; and then sudainely made after their fellowes, as fast as their horses could carry them. The Consull, finding a great silence in the Campe, sent two Light-horsmen to discouer the matter: who returning, told him of the Enemies departure.

In like manner, Varus (as is formerlie related) left a Trumpeter in the Campe, neare Vtica, with certaine Tents; and about midnight, caried his Armie secretlie into the Towne.

Mithridates, willing to leaue Pompey, that cut him off short; the better to couer his departure, made shew of making greater prouision of forrage then hee was accustomed: appointed conferences the next day: made great store of fires in his Campe; and then in the night escaped away.

The Persians, in the voyage which Solyman the Turke made against them, in the yeere one thousand five hundred fiftie four, beeing druien to a Place where the Ottomans thought to haue had a hand vpon them, gathered euerie man a fagot; and making a great heape thereof, set them all on fire, in the passage of the Turkes Armie: which burned so furiously, as the Persian escaped before the Enemie could passe by the fire.

CHAP.

Commentary of the Ciuitall Warres.

189

CHAP. XXVI.

Cæsar goeth on in his retreat: Pompey
ceaseth to follow him.

(. . .)

Cesar.



In like manner, Pompey hauing that day marched a full iourney, betooke himselfe to his former lodging at Asparages. And, for that the souldiers were not troubled with fortifying their Campe, by reason all the warkes were vvhole and intire, many of them went out farre off to get wood, and so seeke forrage. Others, rising hastily, had left a greate part of their luggage behind them; and induced by the neerenesse of the last nights lodg. left their Armes, and wrent backe to fetch those things that were behind. Insomuch, as Cesar, seeing them thus scattered (as before hee had conceiued how it wrould fall out) about high noone gaue wairning to depart, and so ledde out his Armie; and doubling that daies iourney, hee wrent from that place about eight mile: Whiche Pompey could not doe, by reason of the absence of his souldiers.

The next day, Cesar, hauing in like manner sent his carriages before, in the beginning of the night, set forward himselfe, about the fourth watch; that if there were any suddaine necessity of fighting, he might (at all occasions) be ready with the whole Armie. The like he did the daies following: by which it hapened, that in his passage ouer great Riuers, and by difficult and tumbersome waies, he received no detriment or losse at all. For, Pompey being staled the first day, and afterwards straining in vaine, making great iourneys, and yet not ouertaking vs; the fourth day gaue ouer following, and betooke himselfe to another resolution.

Cesar, as well for the accomodating of his vvhounded men, as also for payng the Armie, reassuring his Allies and Confederates, & leauing Garrisons in the townes, was necessarily to goe to Apolonia: but hee gaue no longer time for the dispatch of these things, then could be spared by him that made haste. For, fearing least Domitius shoulde beeingaged by Pompeys arriuall, hee desired to make towards him with all possible celerite: his vvhole purpose and resolution, infesting upon these reaasons: That if Pompey did follow after him, hee shoulde by that meane draw him from the Sea-side, and from such prouisions of warre as hee had stored up at Dyrachium: and so shoulde compell him to under-take the warre, upon equall conditions. If hee wrent ouer into Italie, hauing ioyned his Armie with Domitius, hee wrould goe to succour Italie by the way of Illerium. But, if hee shoulde goe about to besiege Apolonia, or Oricum, and so exelude him from all the Sea-coast, he woulde then besiege Scipio, and force Pompey to relieue him.

S. 3.

And

Observations vpon the third

And therefore, hausing wrist and sent to Cn. Domitius, what he would haue done (leaving four Cohorts to keepe Apolonia; one at Lissus, and three at Orikum, and disposing such as were weake through their wounds, in Epirus and Aeternania) he set forward.

O B S E R V A T I O N S .

 On effecto iusto itinere eius dies, saith the storie. VVhich giueth occasion to inquire, how far this iust daisies iourney extended. Lippius saith, it was twentie-fourte miles, alleaging that of Vegetius; militari gradu (saith he) viginti millia passuum horis quinq; duntaxat astius conscienda: pleno autem gradu qui citator est, totalem horis viginti quatuor; vnderstanding iustum iter, to bee so much as was measured militari gradu. But he that knowes the marching of an Armie, shall easilie perceiue the impossibilitie of marching ordinarielie twentie-fourte miles a day. Besides, this place doth plainly confute it; for, first, hee saith that hee made a iust daisies iourney: and then againe, rising about noone, doubled that daisies iourney, and wene eight miles. Which shewes, that their iustum iter was about eight mile: and so fureth the slowe conuiance of an Armie, with more probabilitie then that of Lippius.

CHAP. XXVII.

Pompey hasteth to Scipio. Domitius heareth of the ouerthowre.



Pompey also, conjecturing at Cæsars purpose, thought it requisite for him to hasten to Scipio, that he might succour him if Cæsar shoulde chaunce to intend that way: but if it so fell out, that he woulde not depart from the Sea-shore, and Corcyra, as expecting the legions and Caudarie to come out of Italie, he woulde then attack Domitius. For these causes, both of them made haste, as well to affiſt their Parties, as to surprise their enemies, if occasion wvere offered: but Cæsar had turned out of the way, to goe to Apollonia; whereas Pompey had a ready way into Macedonia by Caudania. To which there happened an other inconuenience: that Domitius, who for many daies together had lodg'd hard-by Scipios Campe, was now departed from thence, to make provision of Corne, unto Heraclea Sentica, which is subiect to Caudania: though Fortune woulde haue thrust him upon Pompey. Moreover, Pompey had wriuen to all the States and Provinces, of the ouerthowre at Dyrrachium, in farre greater tearmes then the thing it ſelue was: and had noyſed it abroad, that Cæſar wwas beaten, had lost all his forces, and fled away.

Which

Commentary of the Ciuill Warres.

Which reports, made the waies very hard and dangerous to our men, & drew many States from Cæſars partie: whereby it happened, that many Messengers beeing ſent, both from Cæſar to Domitius, and from Domitius to Cæſar, were forced to turne back againe, and could not paffe. Howbeit, ſome of the followers of Roseillus and Argus (who as is before ſhewed, had fled unto Pompey) meeting on the way vith Domitius Discouerers (whether it were out of their old acquaintance, hauing liued together in the warres of Gallia; or otherwise, out of vaine-glorie) related all what had happened; not omitting Cæſars departure, or Pompeis coming. Whereof Domitius being informed, and beeing but ſcarce ſoure houres before him, did (by the helpe of the enemy) avide a moft eminent danger, and met with Cæſar at Eginum: which is a towne ſtuate upon the frontiers of Theſſalia.

O B S E R V A T I O N S .

Oy is an opening and dilating motion; and oftentimes openeth the bodie ſo wide, as it letteth out the ſoule; which returneth not again. And in like manner, the cauſes of all ſuch exultations, doe for the moft part, ſpread themſelues further then is reuife.

Pompey, hauing victorie in hope, rather then in hand, boasted as though all were his: Not confidering, that the happineſſe or diſaſter of humane actions, doth not depend vpon the particulars, riſing in the courſe therof, which are variable and diuers; but according as the event ſhall cengeſure it. Where vpon, the Rusles haue a ſaying in ſuch caſes, that Hec, that laughs afterward, laughs too: as Cæſar did.

191

Iumanarū actionum felicitasque non ē singularis rerum partibus quæ multa sunt et varia. (ed. ex eventu iudicantur. D. onſ. Hal. lib. 9.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Cæſar ſacketh Gomphos, in Theſſalia.

Cæſar, hauing ioyned both Armies together, came to Gomphos, which is the firſt towne of Theſſalia by the way leading out of Epirus. These people, a few daies before, had of their owne accord, ſent Embaſſadours to Cæſar, offering all their meanes and abilities to be diſpoſed at his pleaſure; reauiring also a Guarition of ſouldiers from him. But now they had heard of the ouerthowre at Dyrrachium: which was made ſo great, and ſo preuailed vith them, that Androstenes, Praetor of Theſſalia (chuyng rather to be a partaker of Pompeis victorie, then a companion with Cæſar in aduersitie) had drawne all the multitude of ſeruaunts and children out of the Country, into the towne; and ſutting vp the Gates, diſpatched Meſſengers to Scipio. & Pompey, for succour to be ſent unto him, in that hee was not able to hold out a long ſiege. Scipio, underſtanding of the departure of the Armies from Dyrrachium, had

Obseruations vpon the third

ad brought the legions to Larissa: and Pompey did not as yet approach neare into Theffalia.

Cæsar, hauing fortified his Campe, commaunded Mantlets, Ladders, and Surdles to be made ready for a surprize: which beeing fitted and prepared, hee exhorted the souldiers, and shewed them what need there was (for the relievning of their wants, and supplying of all necessaries) to posseste the selues, of an open and full towne; as also by their example, to terrifie the other Citties: and what they did, to doe speedily, before it could be succoured. Where-upon, by the singular industrie of the souldiers, the same day he came thither, giuing the assault after the ninth houre (nowithstanding the exceeding height of the walls) hee tooke the Towne before sunne-setting, and gaue it to the souldiers to bee rided: And presently remouing from thence, came to Metropolis, in such sorte, as he out-went as well Messengers, as newes of taking the Towne.

The Metropolitanes, induced with the same respects, at first shutte up their gates, and filled their valls with Armed men: but afterwards, understanding by the Captives (whom Cæsar caused to be brought forth) what had happened to them of Gomphos, they presently opened their gates; and by that meates were all preserued in safetie. Which happynesse of theirs, beeing compared with the desolation of Gomphos, there was no one State of all Theffalia (excepting them of Larissa, which were kept in with great forces by Scipio) but yeelded obedience to Cæsar, and did what he commaunded. And, hauing gotten a place plentious of Corne, which was now almost ripe, he resolved to attend Pompeis comming; and thereto to prosecute the residue of that warre.

O B S E R V A T I O N S.

Iuie faith, that the siege of that Place which we would quicklie take, must be prosecuted & vrged hard. Which rule, Cæsar obserued: for, he followed it so hard, that he tooke the Towne fortifid with exceeding high walls, in fourre houres space, or thereabouts, after he beganne to assault it. Which, Plutarch faith, was so plentifullly stord of all necessarie prouision, that the souldiers found there a refection of all the miseries and wants they suffered at Dyrrachium: insomuch as they seemed to be new made, both in bodie and courage; by reason of the vvine, viuctuals & riches of that place: which were all giuen vnto them, according to that of Xenophon; *Lex inter omnes homines perpetua est, quando belligerantium urbs capta fuerit, cuncta eorum esse qui eam cuperint, et corpora eorum qui in urbe sunt et bona.*

Appian faith, the Germanes were so drunke, that they made all men laugh at them: and, that if Pompey had surprised the in these disorders, they might haue paid deate for their entertainment. Hee addeth moreouer (to shew the stiffeesse of the inhabitants against Cæsar) that there were found, in a Surgeons Hall, twentie-two principal Personages, stiffe-dead vpon the ground, without appearance of any wound, hauing their goblets by them: and hee that gaue

Commentary of the Ciuell Warres.

193

gave the poison, sittting vpright in a Chaire, as dead as the rest. And as Philip, hauing taken Acrolisse, in the Country of the Ictitians, drew all the rest to his obedience, through the feare they conceiued of their vngage: so the consideration of the calamite which befell Gomphos, and the good intreatie which the Metropolitanes found, by yielding vnto Cæsar, brought all the other Citties, vnder his commaund.

Polb. lib. 8.

CHAP. XXIX.

Pompey commeth into Theffalia: his Armie
conceiued assured hope of
victorie.



*P*ompey, a few daies after, came into Theffalia; & there, calling all the Armie together, first gaue great thanks to his owne men, and then exhorted Scipios souldiers, that the victorie beeing already obtained, they would be partakers of the bootie, and of the rewards: and taking all the legions into one Campe, he made Scipio partaker both of his honour and authoritie, commanding the Trumpets to attend his pleasure, for matter of direction, and that he should vse a Praetorial Pavillion.

Pompey, hauing strengthened himselfe, with an addition of another great Armie, every man was confirmed in his former opinion; and their hope of victorie was increased: so that the longer they delayed the matter, the more they seemed to prolong their returne into Italie. And albeit Pompey proceeded slowlie and deliberatly in the busynesse, yet it was but a daies worke, howsoeuer hee might be well pleased with authoritie and commaund; and to vse men both of Consular dignitie, and of the Praetorian order, as his vassals and seruants.

And now they began to dispute openly, concerning rewards, and dignities of Prelacie: and quoted out thofe, which from yeere to yeere were to be chosen Consuls. Others begged the houses and goods of such as were with Cæsar. Besides, a great controversie that further grew betweene them in open councill, whether L. Hertius were not to be regarded at the next election of Praetors, beeing absent, and implioed by Pompey against the Parthians. And, as his friends vrged Pompey with his promise giuen at his departure, requiring hee might not now be deceived through his greatnessse & authoritie; the rest, running a course of as great danger and labour, saw no reason (by way of contradiction) why one man shoulde bee respetted before all others. And now Domitius, Scipio, and Spinther Lentulus, began to grow to high words in their daily meetings, concerning Cæsars Priesthood: Lentulus alleadging, by way of ostentation, the honour that was due to his age and authoritie; Domitius vanting of the credit and fauour he had at Rome: and Scipio, trusting to Pompeis alliance. Moreouer, Atius Rufus accused L. Afranius to Pompey, for betraying the Armie in Spaine. L. Domitius

Cæsar.

Obseruations vpon the third

mitius gave out in counsell, That all such as were of the rank of Senators, should be inquired vpon by a triple Commission: and that those which were personally in the warre, should be of the Commission to iudge the rest; as well such were at Rome, as those that did no seruice in this warre. The first Commission, should be to cleare such as had well-deserued, from all danger. The second, Penall: and the third, Capitall. And to conclude, every man laboured, either haue a reward, or to bee auenged of his Enemie. Neither did they thinke so much of the meanes how to overcome, as how to use the victorie.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Continuall.

THe Tale which the Emperour Frederick related to the Commissioners of Lewis the eleventh, King of Fraunce (concerning the parting betweene them of the Territories of Charles, Duke of Burghundie) Not to sell the skin before they had killed the Beare; might well haue fittred these of Pompeis Partie, that contended for offices before they fell, and disposed of the skinnes ere they had tooke the Beares: Not sparing out of their impatiencie to tax Pompey of spinning out the warre, for the sweetnesse he found in authoritie & command; as Agamemnon did at Troy. Inasmuch as Plutarch reporteth, That one Fauonius, imitating Catos severity & freenes of speech, went about throughout all the Campe, demaunding, Whether it were not great pittie, that the ambitious humour of one man, should keepe them that yeare, from eating the figs and delicate fruite of Thuscum? And all men generally, stood so affected, as Pompey could not withstand their enforcements. For, as Florus saith; *Milites otium, socij morā, principes ambitum ducis increpabant*. Onely Cato thought it not fitt, to hazard themselves vpon a desperalte man, that had neither hope or help, but in Fortune. But, as in most things, besides, so in this he stooode alone, and could not preuaile against a multitude.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

Imma. p. 10.
Plaut.

Lacere sibi ternas tabellas dari, ad indicandum ijs, qui erant ordinis Senatorij, saith the storie, which Tabellas, I haue tranflated Commissiions, as best futing our English phrase; but the meaning was as followeth.

It appeareth by historie, that the Romaine people, as well in election of Magistrates, as in causes criminall, did give their voices openly & aloud, for sixe hundred yeeres together; vntill one Gabinius, a Tribune of the people, perceiving that the Commons, for feare of the great Ones, durst not dispose of their voices freely, and as they would, published an Edict, that The people should give their voices by Balating. Whiche law, Tully commendeth; *Quia est tabella qua frontes operit, hominum mentes tegit, datque eam libertatem quod velint faciant*. And in another place, hee calleth it *Principium iustissimum*.

Commentary of the Ciuill Warres.

195

iustissimal libertatis. Vpon an election of Magistrates, the baills were giuen according to the number of the Competitors; that every man might chuse he pleased.

In criminall Causes, every man had three: one marked with A, signifying Absolution, and another with C, for Condemnation, and another with N.L. for *Non liquet*, which they called *Ampliatio*, desirous to be further informed; which our Grand Justices doe expresse by an *Ignoramus*. And in this manner, would Domitius haue had his fellow Senators either quited or condemned. The baills which were giuen vpon the making of a law, were two: one marked with V.R. which signified *Prorogas*, that it might go on: and the other with A. signifying *Antiquo*; reiecting it. For, as Feltus noteth, *Antiquare est in modum prijnum reducere*.

And in this manner they would haue proceeded against Cæsars Partizans, beeinge altogether mistaken, in the assurance of their happines: the continuall whereof, depended vpon Virtue, and not vpon Fortune.

CHAP. XXX.

Cæsar, finding the Enemy to offer battell in an indifferent Place, prepareth to vndertake him.



Rosision of Corne beeing made, and the souldiers well resolute to which end he had interposed a sufficient space of time, after the battell at Dyrrachium Cæsar thought it time now to try what purpose or will Pompey had to fight. And therefore, drawing the Armie out of the Campe, hee imbatteleth his troopes, first, vpon the place, and some-what remooued from Pompeys Campe: but every day following, he went further off his own trenches, and brought his Armie under the hills whereon the Enemy lay incamped: which made his Armie the more bold and assured, keeping continually his former course with his horsemen; who because they were leesse in number by manie degrees then those of Pompeis partie, hee commaunded certaine lusty young men, chosen out of them that stood before the Ensignes for their nimble & swift running, to fight amongst the horsemen: and by reason of their daily practise, had learned the use of that kind of fight. So that one thousand of our Canarie, in open and Champaigne places, would when need were, undergoe the charge of seauen thousand of theirs, and were not much terrifid with the multitude of them. For, in that time they made a fortunate encounter, and slew one of the two Sauotens, that had formerly fled to Pompey, with diuers others.

Pompey, hausing his Campe vpon a hill, imbatteleth his Armie at the lower foote thereof, to see if he could get Cæsar to thrust himselfe into an unequall and disadvantageous place. Cæsar, thinking that Pompey woudly by no meanes bee drawne

*Virtus felicitati
nra. Gr. n.8 for-
tuna. Dio. Itali-
car. lib. 2.*

Cæsar.

Observations vpon the third

swne to battell, thought it the fittest course for him to shift his Campe, and to alwaies in mooning: hoping by often remoues from place to place, he shoulde better accomodated for prouision of Corne; and withall, might upon a march, d some occasion to fight. Besides, hee shoulde wearie Pompeis Armie, not accustomed to travell, with daily and continuall journeys: and there-upon, he gaue e signe of dislodging.

But, as the Tents were taken downe, it was a little before obserued, that Pompeis Armie was aduanced somewhat further from their Trenches, then ordinary they were accustomed; so that it seemed they might fight in an equall and different place. Whereupon, Cesar, when his troopes were already in the gates setting out; It behoueth vs, saith he, to put off our remouing for the present, and thinke our selues of fighting, as we haue alwaies desired; for, we shall not easi- hereafter find the like occasion: and presently drew out his forces. Pompey so, as it was afterwards knowne, was resolued (at the instance of all that were about him) to gaine battell; for, hee had giuen out in councell some few daies before, that he woulde ouerthrowe Cesars Armie, before the troopes came to ioyne attell.

And, as many that stood by wondered at it, I know, saith he, that I promise al- most an incredible matter: but take the ground wherupon I speake it, that you may undergoe the busynes with more assurance. I haue perswaded the Caualrie, and they haue promised to accomplish it, that whē they come neere to ioyne, they shall attack Cesars right Cornet on the open side; and so the Army being circum- vented behind, shall be amased and routed, before our men can cast a weapon at them. Wherby, we shall end the warre without danger of the Legions, or almost without any wound received: which is not difficult or hard to doe, for vs that are so strong in horse; and withall, gaue order that they shoulde be ready agaist the next day, forasmuch as the occasion was offered (according as they had often intended) not to deceiue the opinion which other men had of their prouesse and valour.

Labienus, secounding this speech, as contemning Cesars forces, extolled Pompeis resolution to the skies. Doe not thinke, Pompey, saith he, that this is the Ar- mie wherē with he conquered Gallia, or Germania; I was present my selfe at all those battells, and doe not speake rashly vwhat I am ignorant off. There is a very small peice of that Army remaining: a great part of them are dead, as can- not otherwise be chosen, in so many battells. The Pestilence (the last Autumnne) in Italy conuiced many of them; many are gone home, and many are left in the Continent. Haue ye not heard, that the Cohorts which are now at Brundusium, are made and raised of such as remained behind there to recover their healthes? These forces that ye see, were the last yere gathered, of the Musters made in the hither Gallia; and most of them, of the Colonies beyond the Po: and yet all the flower and strength of them, was taken away in the last two ouerthrowes at Dy- rachium.

When he had spoken these things, he tooke a solemne oath, not to returne into the Campe but with victorie, exhorting the rest to doe the like. Pompey, com- mending him, tooke the same oath: neither was there any man that refused it.

These

Commentary of the Ciuiti Warres.

197

These things beeing thus caried in the councell, they rose vp, and departed, with great hope and ioy of all men; as haing already conceiued victorie in their minds: and therather, because they thought that nothing could be spoken vaine- lie, by so skilfull a Commaunder, in so weightie and important a Causē.

O B S E R V A T I O N S.



Concerning the fashion of the Caualrie, in which either Partie reposeth so much confidence, wee are to note, that the Romaines had two sorts of horsemen: the one compleadie armed (according to their manner) and incorporated in the bodie of their Legions, whose entertainment, was thrice as much as the foote-men. *Leque impotens polistatum fuit (saith Littie) vt deslipendio equitum (mercant autem triplex ea tempesti) atra demerentur.* And the other, were as light-horsemen, which they called *Alarij*.

The first sort were thus armed, as Iosephus witnesseth; They wore a sword on their right side, somewhat longer then that of the footmen, & caried a long staffe or speare in their hand, a Target at their horse side, and three or more Darts in a quiver, with broad heads, and not much lesse then their staves; ha- uing such head-peeces and corslets as the foote-men had.

The light-armed men, had either light Darts, or Boawe and Arrowes. And doublefle, their chiefeſt seruice was with their casting weapons. And accord- ingly, Tully putteth his sonne in mind, of the praise hee had got in Pompeis Armie (where he comauanded a wing of horse); *Equitando, iaculando, omni militari labore tolerando.*

And, as their seruice consisted in breaking their Staves vpon an Enemy, & in casting their Darts; so wee exercise the practice of the former, in our tri- umphs at Tilt; and the Spaniards the later, in their *Tocuo di cane*.

Our moderne horsemen, are either Launciers, Petronelliers, or Pistoliers. The Petronelliers do discharge at a distance, making their left hand that holds the bridle, their rest: which is vncertaine, and to no great effect.

The Pistoliers, that will doe some-what to purpole, doe come vp close one to another, and discharge his Pistoll in his enemies necke, or vnder the cors- let, about the flanke or seate of a man; and commonly misfet not.

I haue seene a deuice to vfe a Musket on horse-backe, which if it proue as seruiceable as is by some conceiued, will be of great aduantage.

Lib. 7.

Lib. 3. Excid.

2 offe.

T.

CHAP.

The manner of imbattelling their Armies.

Cetim



S Cæsar approached neare vnto Pompeis Campe, hee obserued his Armie to be imbattelled in this manner; There were in the left Cornet two legions, which in the beginning of these broiles, were by order and decree of Senate, taken from Cæsar; whereof one was called the first, & the other the third: and with them stood Pompey. Scipio had the middle squadron, with the legions he brought out of Syria.

The Legion of Cilicia, ioyned with the Spanish Cohorts, which Afranius brought with him, made the right Cornet. These Pompey held to be very strong. The rest of the troops were interlaced, betwene the middle Squadron, and the Cornets, and made in all one hundred and tenne Cohorts, which amounted to fiftie-five thousand men: besides two thousand old souldiers, and men of note, whom he had called out to that warre, and dispersed them ouer all the Armie. The rest of the cohorts, which were seauen, he had left in the Campe, or disposed about the forts neare adioyning. The right Cornet was flanked with a Riuere, that had high & cumber som banks: and therupon he put all his Caualrie, together with the Archers and Slingers in the left Cornet.

Cæsar, obseruing his former custome, placed the tenth legion in the right Cornet, and the ninth in the left; albeit they were very much weakened in the fights at Dyrrachium: but to this he so ioyned the eight, that he seemed almost to make one of two, and commaunded them to succour each other. Hee had in all about eighty cohorts, which made twenty-two M. men. He left two cohorts to keepe the Campe, and gaue the left Cornet to Antonius: the right to Pub. Sylla, and the middle Squadron to Cn. Domitius, and put himselfe opposite to Pompey. And vntiiall, hauing well obserued these things (according as I haue formerly declared) fearing least the right Cornet shoulde be inclosed about with the multitude of the Caualrie, he speedily drew sixe cohorts out of the third battell, & of them he made a fourth, to encounter the horsemen: and shewred them what hee would haue done, admonishing vntiiall, that the victorie of that day consisted in the valour of those cohorts, commaunding the third battell; and likewise the whole Armie not to ioyne battell without order from him: which when he thought fit, he would give them notice thereof by an Ensigne.

And going about to incourage them to fight, according to the use of warre, he put them in mind of his fauours, and his carriage towards them from time to time; and specially, that they themselves were witness, with what labour and meanes he had sought for peace, as well by treaty with Vatinius, as also by employing Cladius to Scipio: and likewise how he had indeauoured at Oricum with Libo, that Embassadors might be sent to treat of these things. Neither was he willing at any time to misspend the souldiers blood, or to deprive the Common-wealth of either of those Armies.

This

Obseruations vpon the third
Cetim
Cæsar
Lib. 7.

This speech beeing deliuered, the souldiers both requiring and longing vwith an ardent desire to fight, hee commaunded the signe of battell to bee giuen by a Trumpet.

O B S E R V A T I O N S.

Concerning the order vsed in disposing these Armies, for the triall of this Cause, it appeareth by the storie, that Pompey set two Legions in his left Cornet, which are heere named the first and the third. Howbeit, Lucan saith, that those Legions were the first and the fourth.

*Cornus tibi cura sinistri,
Lentile, cum primi, que tum fuit, optima bello,
Et quartâ legione datur.*

The middle squadron was ledde by Scipio, with the legions he brought out of Syria, which were also two; *Exp. Et abat cum Scipione ex Syria legiones duas*, as it is in the second Chapter of this booke.

In the right Cornet, was the Cilician legion, with the Cohorts that Afranius brought out of Spaine: which, amounting to the number of a Legion, made that Cornet equall to the rest. And so of these sixe Legions, which were the strength and sinowes of his Armie, hee fashioned his battell into a middle Squadron, and two Cornets. His other forces, beeing young souldiers, hee dispoised in the distancies, betwene the Cornets and that middle Squadron.

Frontinus, speaking of this point, saith: *Legiones secundam virtutem, fuisse in medio, et in cornu locauit; spacia his interposita Tyronibus suppleuit.* His number of men, by our text, was fiftie-five thousand; but Plutarch maketh them not about fiftie-five thousand.

Cæsar had not halfe so many men, and yet made a triple battell; but not so thick or deepe with Legions: for, in the right Cornet he put the tenth Legion, and in the left the ninth and the eight; beeing both weake and faire spent, by the former ouer-throwes. Of the other Legions he maketh no mention: but it seemeth they filled vp the distancies betwene the Cornets and the bodie of the Armie; and were as flesh to those sinowes & bones, which out of the prerogative of their valour, tooke the place of the Cornets, and the middle bulke of the battell. And fearing least his right Cornet shoulde be circumvented, by the multitude of their Caualrie, hee drew sixe Cohorts out of his third or last battell, to make a fourth battell to oppose the Caualrie: which gote him the victorie. For, howsoeuer the Text saith, *Singulas cohortes detraxit*: yet Plutarch saith plainly, that Those Cohorts he thus tooke, were sixe, and amounted to three thousand men: which refeth to the number of so many Cohorts. And Appian, agreeing herewnto, saith, that his fourth battell consisted of three thousand men. Frontinus likewise affirmeth, hee tooke out sixe Cohorts, *et tenuit in subfido, sed dextro latere conuersas in obliquum*: Where-vnto that of Lucan agreeith:

Tenet obliquas post signa cohortes.

T. 2.

Which

Lib. 2. cap. 3.

Singulas cohortes detraxit.

Lib. 2. cap. 3.

Lib. 7.

Obseruations vpon the third

Which is thus to be vnderstood: that they turned their faces towards the left Corner of Pompeis Armie, that they might bee the readier to receiue the Caualrie comming on to inclose Cæsars right wing; as beeing lute of the other side, which was fenc'd with a Riuier and a Marish.

Touching Cæsars Speech to the souldiers, it seemed like that of Themistocles, at the battell of Salamina; where Zerxes made a long Oration to encourage the Persians, and lost the day: Themistocles spake but a few words to the Greekes, and got the victorie. How-soever, one thing is not to bee omitted, that Plutarch, and such others as haue dipped their penes, either in the sweat, or in the blood of this battell, doe all agree, that Cæsar had not aboue twentie-two thousand men.

CHAP. XXXII.

The Battell beginneth; and Cæsar overcommeth.



Here vvas one Craftinus, in Cæsars Armie, called out to this warre, who he yeere before had ledde the first companye of the tenth Legion; a man of singular valour: who vpon the signe of battell giuen, Follow me, saith he, as many of you as were of my company; and doe that indeauor to your Emperor; which you haue alwaies beeene willing to performe. This is the only battell remaining unfought: which beeing ended, He shall be restored to his dignitie, and wee to our libertie. And vwithall, looking towards Cæsar, I will, saith he, O Emperour, so carry my selfe this day, that thou shalt giue mee thanks, either aline or dead. And when he had thus spoken, he was the first that ranne out of the right Cornet: & about one hundred and twentie elec-
ted souldiers of the same Centurie followed voluntarilie after him.

There vwas so much space left betweene both the battells, as might serue either Armie to meeke vpon the charge. But Pompey had commaunded his men to receiue Cæsars assault, and to under-goe the shoke of his Armie, vwithout mouing from the place wherein they stood (and that by the aduise of C. Triarius) to the end that the first running out & violence of the souldiers being broken, & the battell distended, they that stood perfis in their Orders, might set vpon the that were scattered & dispersed; hoping, the piles would not fall so forceable vpon the Armie standing still, as when they aduaanced forward to meet them: And that it would fall out withall, that Cæsars souldiers, haing twice as farre to runne, vwould by that meanes be out of breath, and spent vwith vweariness.

Which, in my opinion, was against all reason: for, there is a certaine incitati-
on and alacritie of spirit, naturally planted in every man, vwhich is inflamed with a desire to fight. Neither should anie Commaunder repreesse or restraine the same, but rather increase it, and set it forward.

Nor

Commentary of the Ciuill Warres.

201

Nor vvas it in vaine of ancient time ordaine, that the Trumpets shoule cue-
rie where sound, and every man take vp a shout; but that they thought these
things did both terrifie the Enemy, and incite their owne Party.

But our souldiers, vpon the signe of Battell, running out vwith their Piles
ready to be throwne, and perceiving that Pompeis souldiers did not make out to
meet them (as men taught with long use, and exercised in former fights) stopt
their course of their owne accord, & almost in the mid-way stood still; that they
might not come to blowes vpon the spending of their strength: And after a little
respite of time, running on againe, threw their piles, and presently drew their
swords, as Cæsar had commaunded them. Neither were Pompeis souldiers wan-
ting in this busines; for, they received the piles which were cast at them, tooke
the shoke of the Legions, kept their ranks, cast their piles, and betooke them to
their swords.

At the same time, the Caualrie, according as was commaunded them, issued
out from Pompeis left Cornet, & the whole multitude of Archers thrust them-
selves out. Whose assault our horsemen were not able to indure, but fell backe a
little, from the place wherein they stood: vwhereby Pompeis horsemen, beganne
to presse them with more eagernes; and to put them selues in squadrons, to in-
close the Army about. Which Cæsar perceiving, he gaue the signe of aduaancing
forward, to the fourth Battell, whom he had made out of the number of the Co-
horts; who came with such a shoke vpon Pompeis horsemen, that none of them
were able to stand before them; and turning their backs, did not onely giue place,
but fledde all as fast as they could, to the highest Hills: whereby, the Archers and
Slingers, beeing left naked vwithout succour, were all put to the sword. And
vwith the same violence, those Cohorts encompassed about the left Cornet, not-
withstanding any resistance that could be made by Pompeis partie, and charged
them behinde, vpon their backs.

At the same time, Cæsar commaunded the third Battell, vwhich as yet stode
still, and were not remoued, to aduaunce forward: by means of which fresh
and sound men, relievning such as were faint and wearie, as also, that others did
charge them behinde vpon their backs, Pompeis partie were able no longer to in-
dure it, but all turned their backs and fledde.

Neither vvas Cæsar deceived in his opinion, that the beginning of the victo-
rie would growe from those Cohorts which he placed in the fourth Battell, ag-
ainst the horsemen; according as he himselfe had openly spoken, in his inea-
ragegement to the souldiers. For, by them, first the Caualrie was beaten; by them,
the Archers and Slingers were slaine; by them, Pompeis Battell vvas circum-
vuated on the left Cornet, and by their meanes they began to flee.

As soone as Pompey saw his Caualrie beaten, and perceiving the part where-
in hee most trusted, to bee amased and affrighted, and distracting the rest, hee
forth-with left the Battell, and conuiced himselfe on horseback into the Camp.
And speaking to the Centurions that had the watch at the Praetorian gate with
a loud voice, as all the souldiers might heare, said, Keape the Campe, and defend
it diligently, to preuent any hard casualtie that may happen. In the meane while,
I will goe about to the other Ports, to settle the Guards of the Campe.

T 3.

And

Obseruations vpon the third

And hauing thus said, hee wuent into the Pratorium, disbrusing the mairent, and yet expecting the euent.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Dompey so caried himselfe in the course of this warre, as he rather seemed a sufferer then a doer; never disposing his Armie for any attempt or on-set, but onely when hee brake out of the place wherein he was besieged at Dyrachium. And accordingly he gaue order, that In the mairent action and point of triall, the souldiers should suffer and sustaine the assault, rather then otherwise. But, whether hee did well or no, hath since been in question. Cæsar verterly disliked as a thing contrary to reaon. *Est quædam, faith he, animi incitatio atque acrius, naturaliter innata omnibus, qua studio pugna incenditur; hanc non primere sed augere Imperatores debent.*

Agreeable wherevnto, is that of Cato the Great; that In cases of battell, an Enemy is to be charged with all violence. And to that purpose it is requisite, to put the souldiers (at some reasonable distance) into a Posterne of vaunting and defiance, with menaces and cries of terror; and then to spring forward in such manner, as may make them fall vpon their enemies with greater force. As Champions or Wrafflers, before they buckle, stretch out their ambes, and make their florishes as may best serue to affuse themselves, and dis courage their aduersaries; According as we read of Hercules & Antæus.

*Ille Cleonai proiecit terga Leonis,
Antæus libici, perfudit membra liquore.
Hospes, Olympiacæ seruato more Palestre.
Ille parum fidens pedibus contingere matrem,
Auxilium membris, calidæ infudit arenas.*

Howbeit, forasmuch as all men are not of one temper, but require severall fashions to tune their mindes to the true note of a battell, wee shall find severall Nations, to haue severall vances in this point. The Romaines (as appeareth by this of Cæsar) were of auncient time accustomed to sound Trumpets, and Hoboies, in all parts of the Armie, and to take vp a great clamour and shout: whereby the souldiers (in their vnderstanding) were encouraged, and the Enemy affrighted. Where-as, contrariwise, the Greekes went alwaies with a close and silent mouth, as hauing more to doe then to say to their Enemies. And, Thucidides, writing of the Lacedemonians (the flower of Greece for matter of Armes) saith, that Instead of Trumpets, and Cornets to incite them, they vsed the sweet harmonie of Flutes, to moderate and qualifie their passions, least they shoulde be transported with bridles impetuosity.

It is reported, that Marshall Biron, the Father, seemed to dislike of our English march (hearing it beaten by the Drummes) as too slowe, & of no encouragement: and yet it so fitteth our Nation (as Sir Roger Williams then answere

research

Lucan. lib. 4.

Warw. Blad. 3.

Commentary of the Ciuill Warres.

swered) as wee haue diuers times ouer-runne all France with it. Howloever, the euent of this battell is sufficient to disprove Pompeis error hecine, and to make good what Cæsar commaunded.

203

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

Defe sixe Cohorts, which made the fourth battell, did so incounter Pompeis Caualrie, that they were not able to withstand them. It is said, that Cæsar gaue them order, not to fling their Piles as commonly they did, but to hold the in their hands like a Pike or a Laucelin, and make onely at the faces of those Gallants, & men at Armes on horseback. For the holding of them in their hands, I doe not understand it, and can not conceiue how they could reach more then the next ranks vnto them in that manner. But for making at the faces of the Caualrie, Florus saith, that Cæsar, as he galloped vp and downe the ranks, was heard to let fall bloody and bitter words, but very pathetricall, and effectuall for a victorie: as thus, Souldier, cast right at the face; VVher-as Pompey called to his Men, to spare their fellow Cittizens.

Europius, in his Epitome of Suetonius, affirmeith the same thing, both of the one and of the other: and Lucan seemeth to auerre the same, concerning that of Cæsar;

Aduersusque iubet ferro contundere vultus.
Frontinus hath it thus; *C. Cæsar, cum in partibus Pompeianis, magna equitatu Romanorum effet manus, eaque armorum scientia milites conficeret, ora oculo-que eorum gladijs peti iussit, et sic aduersus am faciem cadere coegit.*

Lib. 4. cap. 2.

Lib. 7.

Lib. 4. cap. 7.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

Amongst these memorials, Crastinus may not be forgotten, being the first man that began the battell, whom Plutarch calleth C. Crastinus; and saith, that Cæsar seeing him in the morning, as hee came out of his Tent, asked him what hee thought of the successse of the battell? Crastinus, stretching out his right hand vnto him, cried out aloud, O Cæsar, thine is the victorie; and this day shalst thou command mee, either aliue or dead: And accordingly, brake afterwards out of the ranks; and running amongst the midst of his Enemies, with manie that followed him, made a great slaughter. At last, one ranne him into the mouth, that the swords pointe came out at his neck, and so slew him.

By him, and others of like courage and worth, was Cæsar raised from the extremitie of his wants, and the disgrace of his former losses, to the chieffest height of earthly glory: And hecine might well affiue, vnto himselfe, that which was formerly said of the people, *Magna populi Romani fortuna, sed semper in malis maior resurrexit;* Together with that of Plutarch, *Res inuita a Romanorum*

In the life of Pompey.

Florus.

Obseruations vpon the third

manorum arma. Lucan ipeaking of Sæua, formerly mentioned, saith: He
ewed a great deal of valour to get Rome a Lord: but vpon Craftinus, hee
eth a heauie doome.

Dij tibi non mortem, que cunctis paena paratur, sed sensum post fata tua dent
a fine morti. Cuius torta manu commisit lancea bellum, prima que Thessali-
o Romano sanguine tinxit.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Cæsar preaceth hard after the Enemie, and taketh the Campe.

Pompey's souldiers beeing thus forced to slie into their Campe, Cæsar, thinking it expedient to gine them no time of respite, exhorted the Armie to use the benefit of Fortune, and to assault the Campe: who, notwithstanding the extreame heate (for the busines was drawne out vntill it was high noone) were willing to under-goe any labour, and to yeld obedience to his commandements. The Campe was indubiously defended, by the Cohorts that had the guard thereof; but much more stoutly by the Thracians, and other succours of Barbarous people. For, such souldiers as were fledde thither out of the battell, vvere so terrified in mind, and spent with weariness, that most of them (hauing laid aside their Armes, and Military Ensignes) did rather thinke how they might best escape, then to defend the Campe. Neither could they which stood vpon the Rampier, any longer indure the multitude of weapons; but fainting with wouneds, forsooke the place: and presently fledde into the high Mountaines adioyning unto the Campe; being ledde thither by the Centurions, and Tribunes of the souldiers.

In the Campe were found tables ready laid and prepared with linnen, together with cupboards of plate, furnished & set out; and their Tents strewed with fresh hea bes and rushes: and that of Lentulus, and diuers others, with tue, & many other superfluities, discouering their extreame luxurie and assurance of victorie. Whereby it was easily to be conceiued, that they nothing feared the event of that day, beeing so carefull of such vnecessary delights. And yet for all this, they upbraided Cæsars patient and miserable Army, with riot and excess: to whom there were alwayes wanting such requisites, as vvere expedient for their necessary vses.

Pompey, when as our men were come vwithin the Campe, hauing got a horse, and cast away all Ensignes of Imperiall authoritie, got out at the Decumane gate, and made towards Larissa, as fast as his horse could carry him. Neither did hee stay there: but with the same speede (hauing got a few followers that escaped by flight) passing night & day, came at length to the Sea-side, with a troope of thirtie horse; and there went aboard a shipp of burthen: complaining that his opinion

enely



Commentary of the Ciuill Warres.

205
only deceived him; beeing (as it were) betrayed, by such as beganne first to sue: from vvhom hee hoped chiefly to haue had victorie.

O B S E R V A T I O N S.

VHere-as it is said, that a dilatorie course is very profitable and safe; wee are to understand it as a chiefe and maine point, in the dutie of an Embassadour, to temporise in things which are preſed hard vpon him; as beeing accountable for words and time: but no way charged with expeditions of warre. Wherein Protraktion is oftentimes the interrupter of absolute victorie, and the onely ſplanter of that which is desired. *Vincere scis Hamball, sed vicitoria vti nefis*, was a common by-word, and happened then well for the ſtate of Rome. But now it ſell out otherwife; hauing met with one that knew how to conquer, and how to follow victorie to purpoe.

For, notwithstanding the battell he had fought, and the aduantage hee had thereby got, might haue ſeemed ſufficient for one daies labour, yet hee would not let occation paſſe, without taking the benefit that was then offered; and neuer ceaſed, vntill he had forced the Campe, and ouer-taken thoſe that eſcaped the battell: and ſo made victorie ſure vnto him, by drivning the naile home to the head. In regard whereof, he did not vnitlie vſe for his word or Motto, they call it, *μυδεν ανελλαγετος*, BY. DEFERRING. NOTHING.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Cæſar besieged thoſe that were escaped into the Hills.



Cæſar, hauing got the Campe, instantly required the ſouldiers not to looke after pillage and booty, and let ſlippe the meaneſ of ending the reſt of their buſineſſ: which, after hee had obtained, hee began to incloſe the Hill about with works of fortification. They of Pompei parti, diſtructing the place, for that the Hill had no water, left it at an instant. And all thoſe that were partakers of that fortune, made towards Larissa. Which Cæſar obſerving, diuided his forces, and commaunded part of the Legions to remaine in Pompei Campe, and part he ſent back into his owne: leading fourre Legions along with him, he tooke a neerer way to meet with them; and hauing gone ſix miles, he imbarreſted his forces. Which they perceiving, betooke themſelues vnto a high Hill, under which ranne a Riner.

Cæſar, perſuaded the ſouldiers, albeit they were ſpent with continuall labor all that day, and that night was now at hand, yet they would not thinke it much to

Cæſar.

Observations vpon the third

cut off the Riuver from the Hill by a fortification, to keepe them from watering the night. Which worke beeing perfected, they beganne by Commissioners to eat of conditions of yielding themselues. Some few of the Senators escaped in the night-time away by flight.

Cæsar, as soone as it was day, caused them all to come downe from the Hill into the Plaine, & there to cast away their Armes: which they performed without fusall: And casting themselues upon the earth, their hands spred abroad, with weeping of many teares, desired mercie. Cæsar, comforting them, commannde them should stand vp: and having spoken somewhat touching his clemencie, a little to ease them of their feare, hee gave them all their liues with safetie, commanding the soldierns not to hurt any of them, nor that they should want any thing that was theirs.

The things beeing thus atchieued with diligence, hee caused other Legions to meet him from the Campe, sending those he had with him to rest themselues: and the same day came to Larissa. In that battaile, hee lost not above two hundred soldierns, but of Centurions, and other valiant men, hee lost thirtie. And Crastinus, fighting valiantly, was slaine (of whom wee formerly made mention) with a sword thrust into the face. Neither was that false which hee said as hee went to the battell: for, Cæsar was perswaded, that Crastinus behaved himself admirably in that fight, and did deserue as well of him as a man possibly could.

There were slaine of Pompeji Armie, about fifteene thousand: howbeit, there were of them that yielded themselues, aboue twentie-fourre thousand. For, such Cohorts as were in the Forts, did likewise yield themselves to Sylla: and manie fledde into the next Townes and Citties. Of Military Ensignes, there were brought out of the battell to Cæsar, one hundred and fourescore, with nine Eagles. L. Domitius, flying out of the Campe into the Mount, fainting for want of strength, was slaine by the horsemens.

OBSERVATIONS.

AND thus we see the issue of that battaile, and the victory which Cæsar obtained, at as cheape a rate as could be imagined: for, there were slaine twentie-three M. of the enemie, and as manie taken, by rendering themselues, with the loss of two hundred soldierns, and thirty Centurions; amongst whō was Crastinus: whose death obliged Cæsar to make this honourable mention of his valour. But as it is obserued by Dionysius Halicarnassus, *Non Deus quisquam se ducibus, pro salute omnium qui certamen inuenit, sponorem sifit: nec ea conditione imperium accepimus, ut omnes homines deuincamus nullo ex nostris amissio-*

CHAP.

Commentary of the Ciuill Warres.

207

CHAP. XXXV.

Lælius attempteth to block-in the Hauen at Brundufium: and Cæsius fireth Cæsars shippes at Messina.

(..)



Bout the same time, D. Lælius came with his Navie to Brundufium; and according as Libo formerly did, tooke the Iland in the mouth of the Port. And in like manner, Vatinius, Gouvernour of Brundufium, having furnished and sent out certaine Shippes, inticed out Lælius shippes, and of them tooke a Galleys, that was further shot out with two lesser shippes into the straights of the Port: & also had disposed his Caualry along the shore, to keep the Mariners from fetching water. But Lælius, having the time of the yeare more fauourable and fitter for sayling, supplied his Armie with water from Corsew and Lyrrachium: neither could he be beaten off his designe, nor be driven out of the Port, or from the Iland, either with the dishonour of the shippes he lost, or with scarcitie and want of all necessaries, vntill hee heard of the battell in Theſſalia.

About the same time also, Cæsius came into Sicilia, with the Navie of Syria, Phenicia and Cilicia. And, vhere-as Cæsars shippes were diuided into two parts, Pub. Sulpitius, Praetor, beeing Admirall of the one halfe, and lying at Vibone in the Straights: and M. Pomponius, Admirall of the other halfe at Messana; Cæsius came first to Messana, and was arruined before Pomponius heard of his comming: by which meanes, he surprised him, distrafled, and much amysed, without any order or guardes. And finding a strong and fauourable wind, filled the shippes of burthen, with Rosin, Pitch and Tove, and like matter of firing: and sending them out to Pomponius Navie, he burned all the shippes, beeing in number thirtie-five; amongst which there were twentie that had decks. By meanes vhereof, they conceiued such a terror, that albeit there was a legion in Gaurizon at Messana, yet the Towne was hardly kept. And, but that certaine Messengers comming post, brought newes at the same instant of Cæsars victory, most men thought the Towne would haue beeene lost: but the newes comming so opportunely, the towne was kept.

Cæsius departed from thence, & went to Sulpitius fleete at Vibone; where the shippes beeing brought to shore, were there laid, for feare of the like danger, as formerly they had accustomed. Cæsius, finding the wind good, sent-in fortie shippes of burthen, furnished with matter to burne the Nasie. The fire having taken hold of both Cornets of the fleete, fiftie of them were burned downe to the water. And as the flame beganne to be further caried with the vwind, the soldierns of the old legions, which were left for the defence of the shippes, and were

Cæsar.

Constraste.

of

Obseruations vpon the third

the number of them that were fuke, did not indure the dishonour: but getting aboard of their owne accord, put the shippes from the shore; and setting vp in Cæsars fleet, tooke two Gallies, in one of which was Cæsarius himselfe: at hee, being taken out, with a Skiffe fled away. And furthermore, they tooke two Triremes: and not long after, certaine newes came of the battell in The ssia, so that Pompeis-party believed it; for, before that time, it was thought to be but a thing giuen out by Cæsars Legats, & other of his friends. Where-pon, Cæsarius departed wth his Naue, and left those places.

O B S E R V A T I O N S .

HE branches of a Tree doe receive life from the stooke, and the stocke is maintained by the roote: which beeing once cut a-sunder, there remaineth no life for stocke or bough, leafe or branch. Accordingly it happened wth this large-sprede Partie; the roote whereof was then in The ssia: and beeing broken alunder by the violence of Cæsars forces, it booted not what Lælius did at Brundisium, or Cæsarius, either at Misane, or Vibone. For, all the parts were ouer-thrownne with the bodie: and the fortune of the battaile ouer-twaid other partie losses whatsoeuer; beeing so pouerfull, in the opinion of the world, *vt quod se fortuna, eodem etiam fauor hominum inclinat.* Or, as Lucan saith, *Rapimur, quod cuncta feruntur.*

CHAP. XXXVI.

Cæsar pursueth Pompey: who is slaine in Egypt.

Cæsar, setting all other things apart, thought it expedient for him to pursue Pompey, into what parts soeuer hee should take himselfe, least he shoulde raise new forces, and renewe the warre againe: and there-pon, made forward every day, as farre as his Caualrie was able to goe; commandinge one Legion to follow after by lesser iourneis. There was a publication made in Pompeis name at Amphipolis, that all the youth of that Province, as well Grecches, as Citizens of Rome, shoulde come to bee inrolld for the warre. But it is not possible to discouer, whether Pompey did it to take away all cause of suspicion, that he might the longer hide his purpose of flying away, or whether he went about by new leuies, to keepe Macedonia, if no man preaced hard after him.

Howsoeuer; he himselfe lay at Anchor there one night. And calling unto him his ancient Hofs and Friends, hee tooke so much money of them, as would defray his necessarie charges: and understanding of Cæsars comming, within a few dates he arrived at Mitylen, where hee was kept two daies with foule weather: and

Commentary of the Ciuill Warres.

and there, reinforcing his fleet with some Gallies he tooke to him, he went into Cilicia; and from thence to Cyprus. There hee understood, that by the generall consent of the Antiochians, and such Citizens of Rome as were there residing, the Citadell was already taken to keepe him out: and that Messengers were sent about to those that were fled from his Party, into the bordering Citties forbidding them to come to Antioche; for, if they did, they shoulde hazardis wth the danger of their heads. The like happened to L. Lentulus, who the yeare before was Consull; and to Pub. Lentulus, of Consular dignitie: and to some other at Rhodes. For, as many as fled thither after Pompey, and came unto the Island, were neither received into the Towne, nor into the Hauen; but were commanded against their will: and now, the fame of Cæsars comming, was spredde abroad throughout all the Citties.

Where-pon, Pompey, leauing off his purpose of going into Syria, hauing taken what money he found in Banke, besides what he could borrow of his priuate friends, and putting aboard great store of Brasse for the use of warre; wth eleven thousand Armed men (which he had raised partly out of the townes, and partly had forced vp, with Marchants, and such others of his followers, wthom he thought fit for this busyness) he came to Pelusium. There by chaunce was king Ptolomy, a child, within yeeres, with great forces making war against his sister Cleopatra; whom a few Months before, by meanes of his Allies and Friends, hee had thrust out of his kingdome: And Cleopatras Campe wwas not farre distant from his.

Pompey sent unto him, that in regard of ancient hospitalitie, and the amitie he had wth his Father, hee might be received into Alexandria; and that hee would aide and support him wth his wealth and meanes, being now fallen into miserie and calamitie. But they that were sent, hauing done their message, beganne to speake liberally to the Kings souldiers, which Gabinius received in Syria, and had brought them to Alexandria; and upon the ending of the warre, had left them wth Ptolomy, the father of this child. These things being known, such as had the procuracion of the kingdome, in the minoritie of the Boy, whether they were induced through feare of gaining the Armie, wthereby Pompey might easily seize upon Alexandria & Egypt; or whether despising his fortune (as for the most part, in time of miserie, a mans friends doe become his enemies) did give a good answere publicuely to such as were sent, and willed him to come unto the King: but, secretly plotting amongst themselves, sent Achillas, a chiefe Commaundeur, and a man of singular audacie, together wth L. Septimius, Tribune of the souldiers, to kill Pompey. They, giuing him good words, and he himselfe also knowing Septimius to haue led a Company under him in the warre against the Pirats, went aboard a little Barke, wth a few of his followers: and there was slaine, by Achillas and Septimius. In like manner, L. Lentulus wwas apprehended by commaundement from the King, and killed in prison.

Obseruations vpon the third

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

It is now demanded, Where was Cæsars desire of Peace? and why hee pursued not a treatie of Composition, at this time when as his tale would haue been heard with gladnes, and any conditions of attonement very acceptable to the vanquished? The answere is already made in the beginning of this Commentarie: That there was one time of making peace: and that was, when both Parties were equall, which was now past; and Cæsar too farre gone, to looke back vpon any thing that might worke a reconcilment. The one was crept so high, and the other downe so lowe, that they seemed not compatible in any *Medium*, although were to the sauing of the Empire. Howbeit, it is not denied, but that Pompey gaue great occasion of these warres. For, Seneca saith; Hee had brought Common-wealth to that passe, that it could not longer stand, but by the neft of feruitude. And he that will looke into the reaons of this confusion, will find all those *Caui corruptentes*, which are noted by Aristotle to threaten the well-fare of a State, in the excesse of Pompeis exorbitancie: for, hauing nothing in a Meane, hee held all his fortunes by the tenure of *Nimium*; and was ouer-grown, first, with too much honour: secondy, with too much wealth: thirdly, with too much power: whereby he exceeded the proportion of his fellow Citizens; and so blemished the beaute of that State, whose chief graces were in a fusing equalitie. And, adding to these the convulsions of state, he made no difficultie to ingage Rome in a bloody warre; as hauing neither hope, but in the confusion of Armes.

It is said, that at his attuall at Mitylene, he had much conference with Crappus, whom Tully mentioneth in his Offices: wherein, amongst other reuontrances, the Philosopher made it plaine, that his course of government, had brought a necessarie of changing that State, from the liberty of a Common-wealth, to the condition of a iulf Monarchie. And sith it fell to Cæsars fortune, if there were any errour committed in the seizure, he may take the benefite of the generall pardon, exemplified by Trebellius Poliæ: That no Nation can shew a Man that is altogether blameleſſe.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

Concerning the state of Egypt, wee are to note, that Alexander the Great being cut off by death, his Captaines laid hold vpon such Provincees and kingdomes as were vnder their commandments: amongst whom one Ptolomeus, the sonne of Lagus a Macedonian, seized vpon Egypt, where he reigned 40 yeres; & of him were all his successors called by the name of Ptolomey. This first Ptolomey, pofest himſelfe of Egypt, about the yere of the world 360: which was 275 years before Pompeis overthrow. His ſon that ſucceeded, by the name of Ptolomey Philadelphus, cauſed the Bible to be tranſlated out of Hebrew into Greek by 70 Interpreters, which are called the *Septuagint*; and made the famous Librarie which was burned in theſe vwarres.

The Father of this young Ptolomey, was the ninth in ſucceſſion from the firſt; and at his death, made the people of Rome Tutors to his children. His eldeſt ſonue, and Cleopatra his daughter, raigned together ſix yees; but in the end, fell to ſtrife and warres, and were deeply ingaged therin, when Pompey arriued: but ſhortly after, Cæſar ſo ordered the diſſerences, that hee ſette the Crowne vpon Cleopatras head; who held it peaceably, vntill he came to play that tragical part with Anthony: which beeing ended, the kingdom was then reduced to a Prouince, vnder the obedience of the Romaine Empire.

Commentary of the Ciuill Warres.

211

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Concerning this miserable end of Pompey, it is truly ſaid of Seneca, that Death is alike to all: for, althoſt the waies are diuers by which it happeneth, yet they all meet in the ſame end. And, forasmuch as Plutarch hath diſcribed particularly the manner of this Cataſtrophe, it ſhall not be impertinent to inſert his relation thereof.

When Pompey heard newes that king Ptolomey was in the City of Pelusium with his Army, making warre againſt his ſister, hee went thither, and ſent a Messenger before, vnto the king, to aduertife him of his attuall, and to inſtruct him to receiue him. K. Ptolomey was then but a young man, in ſomuch, that one Philinus governed all the whole Realme vnder him. He assembled a Councell of the chiefeſt & wiſteſt men of the Court, who had ſuch credit and authoritie, as it pleaſed him to give them. They being aſſembled, he commanded every man in the Kings name to ſay his mind, touching the receiuing of Pompey, whether the King ſhould receiue him or not. It was a miſerable thing to ſee Philinus, an Eunuch of the Kings, and Theodotus of Chio, an hired Schoolemaister to teach the young king Rhetorick, & Achillas, an Egyptian, to conſult among theſelues what they ſhould do with Pompey the great. Theſe were the chiefeſt Councillors of al his Eunuches, & of thoſe that had brought him vp.

Now did Pompey ride at anchor vpon the ſhore ſide, expeſting the reſolution of this Councell: in the which, the opinions of others were diuers, for, they would not haue receiued him; the other alſo that he ſhould be receiued. But the Rhetorician, Theodotus, to ſhew his eloquence, perſuadeth them, that neither the one nor the other was to be accepted. For, quoth he, if wee receiue him, we ſhall haue Cæſar our enemy, and Pompey our Lord: and if they do deuine him, on the other ſide, Pompey wil blame them for refuſing him, & Cæſar for not keepeing of him; therfore this ſhould be the beſt reſolution, to ſend to kill him. For, therby they ſhould win the good wil of the one, and not feare the diſpleaſure of the other: & ſome ſay moreouer, that he added this mock withall, A dead man bites not. They, being determined of this among theſelues, gaue Achillas commission to doe it. He, taking with him Septimius (who had charge afore-time vnder Pompey) and Saluius, another Centurion alſo, with three or four ſouldiers beſides, they made towards Pompeis Gallies, about whom were at that time the chiefeſt of his traine, to ſee what would become of this matter. But, when they ſaw the likelihoode of their entertainment, & that it was not in Princeley ſhew nor manner, nor nothing anſwerable to the hope which Theophanes had put them in, ſeeing ſo few men come to them in a ſiſher boat; they beganne then to miſtruct the ſmall account that was made of them, and counſelled Pompey to returne backe, and to lauch againe into the ſea, beeing out of the danger of the hurling of a Dart.

V 2

Mors omnium
parat: per qua
perni diuers: a
ſunt, id in qua
diſponi vnu eſt
I. p. 67.
Hominis ſent
pom: aut matu
ra calunt, aut
accident.
P. u. in vita
tempor.

In

Obseruations vpon the third

the meane time, the fisher-boat drew neer, and Septimius role, and falu-
ompey in the Romane tongue, by the name of Imperator, as much as so-
gne Capitaine: and Achillas also spake to him in the Greek tongue, and
him come into his boat: because that by the shore-side, there was a great
e of mud, & sand banks, so that his Galley should haue no water to bring
in. At the very same time, they saw a faire off diuers of the Kings Gallies,
h were arming with all speed possible, & all the shore besides, full of soul-
. Thus, though Pompey & his company would haue altered their minds,
could not haue told how to haue escaped: and furthermore, shewing that
had mistrusted them, then they had giuen the murderer occasion to haue
uted his crueltie. So taking his leaue of his wife Cornelia, who lamented
eath before his end, hee commaunded two Centurions to goe downe be-
him, into the Egyptians boat, & Philip, one of his flaues infranchised, with
her flaue, called Scynes. When Achillas reached out his hand to receive
into his boat, he turned him to his wife and sonne, and said these veres of
S. hoclcs vnto them;

*The man that into Court comes free,
Must there in state of bondage bee.*

These were the last words he spake vnto his people, when hee left his owne
ly, & went into the Egyptians boat, the land being a great way off from his
ly. When he saw neuer a man in the boat speake friendly vnto him, behold-
Septimius, he said vnto him; Me thinks, my friend, I shoulde know thee, for
thou haft serued me heretofore. The other nodded with his head,
it was true, but gaue him no answer, nor shewed him any curtesie.
Pompey, seeing that no man spake to him, tooke a little booke he had in his
d, in which hee had written an Oration, that hee meant to make vnto King
lomey, and began to read it. When they came neer to the shore, Cornelia,
her seruants and friends about her, stood vp in her shipp, in great feare, to
what shoulde become of Pompey. So, she hoped well, when she saw many
the Kings people on the shore, comming towards Pompey at his landing, as
ere to receiue and honor him. But euen as Pompey tooke Philip his hand
arise more easily, Septimius came first behind him, and thrust him through
his sword: next vnto him also, Saluius & Achillas drew out their swords
like manner. Pompey then did no more but tooke vp his gowne vnto his
ands, and hid his face, and manly abid the wounds they gaue him, only sigh-
a little. Thus, being 59 yeres old, hee ended his life the next day after
of his birth.

They that rode at anchor in their shippes, when they saw him murthered,
e such a feasfull cry, that it was heard to the shore: then weyng vp their
thors with speed, they hoisted saile, and departed their way, hauing wind at
ll, that blew a lustie gale. As soone as they had gotten the maine Sea, the
gyptians which prepared to rowe after them, when they saw they were past
eir reach, and vnpossible to be ouer-taken, they let them goe. Then, hauing
ken off Pompeys head, they threw his body ouer-board, for a miserable
etacle to all those that were desirous to see him.

Philip,

Commentary of the Ciuill Warres.

Philip his enfranchised bond-man, remained cuer by it, vnull such time as
the Egyptians had seen it their bellies full. Then, hauing washed his body with
salt water, & wrapped it vp in an old shirt of his, because he had no other shife
to lay it in, he sought vpon the sands, and found at length a peece of an old fi-
shers boat, enough to seru to burn his naked bodie with, but not all fully out.
As hee was busie, gathering the broken peeces of this boat together, thither
came vnto him an old Romaine, who in his youth had serued vnder Pompey,
& said vnto him; O friend, what art thou, that preparest the funeralls of Pompey
the great? Philip answered, that he was a bond-man of his, infranchised.
Well, said he, thou shalt not haue all this honor alone; I pray thee yet let mee
accompany thee in so deuout a deed, that I may not altogether repent mee to
haue dwelt so long in a strange Country, where I haue abidden such misery &
trouble; but that to recompence mee withall, I may haue this good hap, with
mine owne hands to touch Pompeys body, and to help to burie the onelie and
most famous Capitaine of the Romaines.

The next day after, Lucius Lentulus (not knowing what had passed) com-
ming out of Cyprus, sailed by the shore-side, and perceiued a fire made for fu-
neralls, and Philip standing by it: whom he knew not at the first. So hee asked
him, What is hee that is dead, and buried there? but straight fetching a great
ligh, alas, said he, perhaps it is Pompey the great. Then he landed a little, and
was straight taken and slaine. This was the end of Pompey the great. Not long
after, Cæsar also came into Egypt, that was in great warres; where Pompeis
head was presented vnto him: but he turned his head aside, and would not see
it; & abhorred him that brought it, as a detestable murtherer. Then, taking his
Ring where-with he sealed his Letters, wherupon was grauen a Lyon holding
a sword, he burst out a weeping. Achillas and Photinus he put to death. King
Ptolomey himselfe also, being ouer-thrown in battaile, by the Riuier of Nilus,
vanished away, & was neuer heard of after. Theodorus, the Rhetorician, esca-
ped Cæsars hands, and wandered vp and downe Egypt in great misery, despis-
ed of every man. Afterwards, Marcus Brutus (who slew Cæsar) conquering
Asia, met with him by chaunce, and putting him to all the torments he could
possibly devise, at the length slew him. The ashes of Pompeis bodie, were af-
terwards brought vnto his wife Cornelia; who buried the in a towne of hers,
the Cittie of Alba.

And, hauing in this manner paid the tribute which the law of Nature doth
exact, the law of the Twelue Tables did free his Sepulchre from any further
disturbance; *Vbi corpus demortui hominis condas sacer ebo.* Only this may
be added; That as Fabius was called Maximus, Scipio Magnus, and Pompey
Magnus, which titles they caried, as markes of speciall Noblenes, to raise the
aboue the common worth of men: so their ends made them euen with the lowest
of the State. According to that of Seneca; *Interuallis distinguimur: exitu e-
quamur.*

*Mors Naturæ
lex. s. Moris tri-
butum officium
que mortuum.
Sen. natural.
que s. 6.
Fabius datus
Maximus. Scipio magnus. Po-
tius. lib. 8.
Epist. 100.*

Prodigious Accidents, happening vpon the
Battell in Pharsalia. Cæsar commeth
into Egypt.

Cæsar, comming into Asia, found T. Ampius going about to take the money out of the Temple of Diana, at Ephesus: and for that cause had called together all the Senators that were in the Province, that hee might use them as witnessnes in the matter: but, beeing interrupted by Cæsars arrivall, hee fled away: so that two severall times, the money was saued at Ephesus by Cæsars meanes. It was further found very certeine, that in the Temple of Minerva at Elide (a iust calculation of the time beeaten) the same day that Cæsar ouer-threw Pompey, the Image of victorie which stood before Minerva, & looked towards her portraiture, did turne it selfe vards the Portall, and the Temple-gate. And the same day likewise, there was such a noise of an Armie, twice heard at Antioche in Syria, and such sounding of Trumpets, that the Cittie ranne in armes to keepe the walles. The like opened at Ptolomaida. And likewise at Pergamum, in the remote and hiddennes of the Temple, which are called adynta, into which it is not lawfull for a man to enter but the Priests, were belles heard to ring. Besides, at Tralibus, in Temple of Victory (wher they had consecrated an Image to Cæsar) there shewed a Palme-tree, which in those daies was growne from betweene the roots of the stomes, out of the paument.

Cæsar, staying a few daies in Asia, hearing that Pompey was seene at Cyprus, conjecturing he went into Egypt, for the amities and correspondencie hee had with that Kingdome, besides other opportunities of the place; hee came to Alexandria with two legions, one that hee commannded to follow him out of Asia, and another vvhich hee had called out of Achaia, from Fusius a Legate, together with eight hundred horse, ten Galles of Rhodes, and a few shippes of Asia. these Legions, were not above three thousand two hundred men; the rest, were either vounded in the fightes, or spent with trauell, and the length of the journey: but Cæsar, trusling to the fame of his great exploits, did not doubt to go with these weak forces, thinking every place would entertaine him with safetie. At Alexandria hee understood of Pompeis death: and as hee was going out of the shippes, hee heard a clamour of the soldiery, which the King had left to keepe the towne, and saw a concourse of people gathered about him, because the bundle of Rods was carried before him; all the multitude crying out, that the Kings authority was diminished. This tumult being appeased, there were often vp-roare and commotions of the people for every day after; and many soldiery were slain in diuers parts of the Cittie. Where-upon, Cæsar gaue order, for other Legions to bring him out of Asia, which hee raised and inrolled of Pompeis soldiery.

He

This that falleth
is worth the
cost of one
other file.

The Prince of
Egypte falleth.
That whichever
for the Amities
the bundle of
Rod, carrieth
to Alexandria
the power of
their Kings
should preuen
by cause: accor-

He himselfe was staled by the winds, called Etesiae, which are against them that sail to Alexandria.

In the meane time, forasmuch as he conceiued, that if controueries between Kings, did appertaine to the people of Rome, then consequently, to him, as Consull; and so much the rather it concerned his office, for that in his former Consulship, there was a league made by the decree of Senate, with Ptolomey the Father: In regarde hereof, he signified, that his pleasure was, that both the King and his sister Cleopatra, shoulde dismisse their Armies, and rather plead their Cause before him, then to decidet by Armes.

There was at that time, one Photonius an Eunuch, one that had the administration of the kingdome, during the minoritie of the Child; he first began to complaine among his friends, and to take it in scorne, that the King shoulde be called out to pleade his Cause: and afterwards, hauing gotten some assistance of the Kings friends, he drew the Armie secretly from Pelygium, to Alexandria, and made Achillas (formerly mentioned) Generall of all the forces; inciting him forward, as well by his owne promises, as from the King, and instructing him by Letters & Messengers, what he woulde haue done.

Ptolomey, the Father, by his last Will and testament, had left for heires, the eldest of two sonnes, and likewise the eldest of two daughters: and for the confirmation thereof, had in the same Will, charged and required the people of Rome, by all the gods & the league he made at Rome, to see this accomplished. For which purpose, he sent a copy of his Will to Rome, to be kept in the Treasury: and by reason of the publicke occasions, which admitted no such busines for the present, were left with Pompey; and the Originall, signed and sealed vp, was brought to Alexandria.

While Cæsar was handling these things, beeing very desirous to end these controueries by arbitrement, it was told him on a suddaine, that the Kings Army, and all the Caualry, were come to Alexandria. Cæsars forces were not such that he durst trust upon them, to hazard battell without the towne; onely it remained, that hee kept himselfe in such places, as were most fit & convenient for him, within the towne, and to learn what Achillas intended. Howsoeuer: he commannded all the soldiery to Arme; and exhorted the King, that of those which were nearest vnto him, and of greatest authority, hee woulde send some to Achillas, to knowe his meaning.

Dioscorides and Serapion, beeing deputed there-unto, hauing beeene both Embassadours at Rome, and in great place about Ptolomey the Father, they came to Achillas: whom as soone as they were come into his presence, & before he woulde heare or understand what they woulde, commannded them to be taken away, and slaine. Of whom, one hauing receiued a wound, was caried away by his own people for dead. The other was staine out-right. Whereupon, Cæsar wrought to get the King into his owne hands; thinking that his Name & Title would preuaile much amongst his people: as also to make it appeare, that this warre was rather moued by the priuate practice of some seditious thieues, then by order & commandement from the King.

O B S E R-

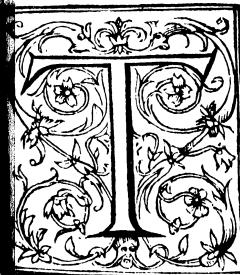
ding as it was
written in a Co-
lumne of gold,
at Memphis.

O B S E R V A T I O N S .

He multiplicities of occasions and troubles, which happen to such as haue the ordering of any busynesses of import, doth make that of Plinic often remembred; *Veteribus negotijs noua accrescunt, nec tam priora peraguntur; tot nixibus, tot quasi Catenis, manus in dies rationum agmen extenditur.* For, albeit Pompey had now spent his man and was no more to appeare in Armes against Cæsar; yet his hap was by g, to draw him (as it were by way of reuenge) into a place, where hee was flatlie to be intangled in a dangerous warre. To these prodiges heere mentioned, may be added that of Aulus Gellius, The same day the battell happened, there fell out a strange wonder at Pat: where a certaine Priest, called Cornelius, of Noble race, and holie life, auncie fell into an extasie, and said, he saw a great battell afarre off; Darts Piles sic thicke in the ayre, some flying, and some pursuing, greatлаugh- accompanied with many lamentable groanes and cries: and in the end, d out, that Cæsar had got the victorie. For which, he was mocked for the ent; but, afterwards, held in great admiration. Plinic maketh the small increase of Nilus, to bee a fore-teller of Pompeis nich; *Minimunque Pharsalico bello veluti necem magni prodigo quodam fluere auersante.*

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Cæsar landeth his forces, taketh Pharus, and causeth Photinus to be slaine.



HE forces that were with Achillas, were neither for their number, or fashion of men, or use or experience in war, to be contemned, haing twentie-two thousand men in Armes. These troops consisted of the Gabiniian souldiers, which were now growne into a custome of life and liberty of the Egyptians: and haing forgot the name and discipline of the people of Rome, had there married wives, and most of them had children. To these were added such as were gathered from the thieues and robbers of Syria, the Province of Cilicia, and other finnitiate regions. besides many banished men, and others, condemned to die, that fledde thither. And for all our fugitives, there was ever a sure and certaine receipt at Alexandria, and a certaine condition of life: for, vpon giuing vp of his name, he

Commentary of the Ciuill Warres.

he was presently involded a souldier: and if one chaunced to be taken and apprehended by his Maister, hee was presently rescued by the concourse of souldiers; vwho, beeing all in the same condition, did striue for him, as for thsclues: the/ required the Kings friends to be slaine. These were accustomed to rob rich men of their goods to better their pay, to besiege the Kings house, to expell some out of their kingdome, and to send for others home, according to an old custome and priuiledge of the Alexandrian Arme.

There were, besides, two thousand horse, that had beeene of auncient continuance in many of the warres held at Alexandria, and had brought back Ptolomey the father, and restored him to his kingdome; had slaine Bibulus two sons, and had made warre with the Egyptians: and this vse and knowledge they had of warre. Achillas, trusting to these forces, and contemning the small number of Cæsars troopes, did take and posseſſe Alexandria; and further, assaulting that part of the towne which Cæsar held with his men, did first of all indeauour to breaſe into his house: but Cæsar, hauing diſposed the cohorts in the streets & waſis, did beare out the assault. At the ſame time, they fought likewiſe at the Port, and it came at length to a very forcible encounter: for, hauing drawne out their troopes, the fight began to be hot in diuers ſtreets and lanes; and the Enemie (in great troopes) went about to posſeſſ themſelues of the Gallies, of which there were L. ſound there, that were ſent to ſerue Pompey, and returned home againe after the battell in Theſſalia. These were all Triremes, and Quinque-remes, rigg'd, and ready to goe to ſea.

Besides theſe, there were twenty-two, which were alwaies accustomed to bee the best, for the deſence of Alexandria, and were all furnished vwith decks: which if they had taken, together with Cæſars ſhipping, they would haue had the Hauen and the ſea at their command; and by that meaneſ, hindered Cæſar fro ſuccours and prouiſion of victuall: in regard whereof, they fought hard on both ſides; Achillas expellit victory, and our men for their ſafetie. But Cæſar, obtained his purpoſe: and because he was not able to keepe ſo many ſeverall things with ſo small forces, he ſet them all on fire, together with thoſe that were in the Road, & preſently landed ſome ſouldiers at Pharus, which is a tower in an iſland, of a great height, & built with ſtrange workmanſhip, taking that name from the iſland: this iſland lieth ouer againſt Alexandria, and ſo maketh it a Hauen. But former Kings had enlarged it 9 hundred paces in length, by raiſing great mounts in the ſea: and by that meaneſ, had brought it ſo neare to the towne, that they ioyned them both together by a bridge.

In this iſland dwelt diuers Egyptians, and made a Village, of the bignesse of a Towne: and what ſhippes ſouer had fallen off their course, either by tempeſt or errour, were there robbed by thoſe Egyptians. For, by reaſon of the narrowe entrance, no ſhippes can come into the Hauen, but by the fauour and leaue of them that hold Pharus. Cæſar, beeing afraid of this, while the Enemie was busie in fight, landed his ſouldiers, and there put a gauarison. Whereby he brought it to paſſe, that both corne and ſuccours might ſafely come by ſea to ſupply him: for, he had ſent to all the confining Regions for aide. In other places of the towne they ſo fought, that they gaue ouer at length upon equall conditions: which

Obseruations vpon the third

happened by reason of the narrownes of the passages: And a few of each
being flaine, Caesar tooke in such places as were most conuenient for him, &
set them in the night. In this quarter of the Towne, was contained a stile
of the Kings house (wherein, hee himselfe at his first arriuall, was appointed
to) and a Thester ioyned to the house, wch was in sted of a Castle, and
passage to the Port, and to other parts of Road. The daies following, hee
set these fortifications, to the end he might haue them as a wall against the
y, and thereby need not fight against his will.

the meane time, the younger daughter of King Ptolomey, hoping to obtaine
rowne, now in question, found meanes to conuay her selfe out of the Kings
e, to Achillas, and both ioyntly together, undertooke the managing of that
e: but presently there grew a controuersie between them, who should comand
pice; which was the cause of great larges and rewards to the souldiers, ei-
of them beeing at great charges and expences to gaine their good wills.

While the Enemy was busied in these things, Photinus, the Gouvernour of the
g King, and Superintendent of the kingdome on Caesars partie, sent Messen-
to Achillas, exhorting him, not to desist in the busyness, or to bee discoura-
upon the discouering and apprehension of which Messengers, Caesar caused
to be slaine. And these were the beginnings of the Alexandrian warre.

O B S E R V A T I O N S.

Pharus is a little Iland in the Sea, ouer-against Alexandria; in
the midst whereof, Ptolomey Philadelph built a tower of an
exceeding height, all of white Marble. It contained many Sta-
ges, and had in the toppe many great Lanternes, to keepe light
in the night, for a marke to such as were at Sea. The Archiec-
ingraued there-upon this inscription; *Solstrates Gnidien, the sonne of Dexi-
enes, to the Gods, Conservators, for the safetie of Nauigators.*

It was reckoned for one of the leauen Wonders of the world. The first
ereof was the Temple of Diana, at Ephesus. The second, was the Sepulchre
of Artemisia, Queene of Caria, made for her Husband, Mausolus, whose
es she dranke. The third, was the Collossus of the Sunne, at Rhodes. The
forth, was the Walls of Babylon. The fift, was the Pyramides of Egypt. The
sixt, was the Image of Iupiter Olympian, at Elide, which was made by Phi-
los, and contained three-score cubites in height; and was all of Iuorie, and
of Gold. And the seauenth, was this Pharus.

F I N I S.

L D F 65

E R R A T A.

Page.	Line.	Faults.	Corrections.
41	2	Ensignes	enfignesse.
125	25	uncaple	uncapable.
133	30	ergo	ergo.
150	3	spoken	spoken.
205	19	they	as they.